UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01731125 9

HANDBOUND
AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO PRESS

7621

MEMOIRS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

GEORGE, LORD LYTTELTON,

FROM 1734 TO 1773.

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY ROBERT PHILLIMORE,

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

"Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
"Ingenium." . . . . . .—*Juven. Sat. IV.*

"Letters of affairs from such as manage them or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves."—*Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Human and Divine, Second Book.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1845.

15734 5 1 7 19

DA
501
L8P45

TO

GEORGE, SIXTH LORD LYTTELTON,

These Memoirs

OF AN ANCESTOR,

WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN JUSTLY PROUD OF HIM,

ARE INSCRIBED

BY HIS SINCERE FRIEND,

THE COMPILER.

rity: for history of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces and deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages of men and matters. But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wires, '*maxima è minimis suspendens*,' it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business, than the true and inward resorts thereof. But Lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions, both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation."*

"If they be well written," is indeed an awful condition of the usefulness of Memoirs. In the present instance, the intrinsic difficulty of the task has been much increased by the absence of any journal kept by Lord Lyttelton, and I am painfully conscious of many imperfections in my execution of it; but still I venture to hope, that these volumes will be found a contribution not without its value, in illustrating the Political, Literary, and Social condition of England, during the period over which they extend.

* Second Book of the Advancement of Learning.

ROBERT PHILLIMORE.

42, CLARGES STREET,
June, 1845.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

PAGE.

Memoirs of the Lyttelton family to the birth of George first Lord Lyttelton 1

CHAPTER II.

1709—1734. 31

CHAPTER III.

1735—1737. 62

CHAPTER IV.

1738—1741. 103

CHAPTER V.

1741. Literary Correspondence 160

CHAPTER VI.

1741—1742. 186

CHAPTER VII.

From 1742 (Resignation of Walpole), to 1744 (Government of the Pelhams).—The Carteret, or "Drunken Administration." 209

CHAPTER VIII.

1745—1748.

The Pelham or Broad-Bottom Administration, from its beginning to the peace of Aix-La-Chapelle 241

CHAPTER IX.

Domestic and Literary, 1743—1751 . . . 271

CHAPTER X.

Correspondence with Doddridge 345

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

MEMOIRS OF THE LYTTELTON FAMILY TO THE BIRTH OF GEORGE FIRST LORD LYTTELTON.

[MSS. preserved at Hagley.—Clarendon's Hist. of Reb. vol. i.—Camden, vol. ii.—Collins' Peerage, vol. iii. ed. Brydges.—Nash's Worcestershire, vol. i. — Ludlow's Memoirs. — Memoires de Grammont.]

A FAMILY of long descent and gentle blood, dwelling for centuries on the same spot, has been deemed an agreeable object of contemplation by the wisest and best of men; the feelings which it awakens are akin to those excited by the aspect of the coeval oaks which have defied the storm and time on their estate, and so distinct from any servile admiration of the accidents of birth and rank, that the emotion of pleasure changes into that of sorrow where the long transmitted name has been disgraced by those who have borne it, or indeed where it has not been considered as an inheritance, obliging its possessors to increase as well as preserve its lustre. "Nobility of blood,"* (says

* "O poca nostra nobiltà di sangue.
* * *
Ben se' tu manto che tosto raccorce,
Si che se non s' appon di die in die,
Lo tempo va dintorno con le force."
DANTE PARADISO, Canto xvi. 1—8.

the great Italian poet, reproaching himself for thinking for a moment on such a subject in Paradise) "is a cloak soon shortened, for unless it be added to from day to day, Time goes round it with his shears." It is because in the Lyttelton family, the worth, wisdom, and fortune of the sons has, with few exceptions, repaired the clipping of Time in the inherited mantle of the father, that I have prefaced the history of George, first Lord Lyttelton, with a brief sketch of his ancestry.

The name of this ancient family was derived from the parish of South Littleton, or Littelton, which lies in the upper division of Blakenhurst Hundred, within the Deanery of Evesham in the County of Worcester. Lands in this parish seem to have been usually allotted as jointures to the widows of the house of Littelton, till the property was sold by Sir John Littelton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In Henry the Third's reign Thomas de Littelton married, for his first wife, Emma, daughter and heiress of Sir Simon de Frankley, and thereby became possessed of the manor of that name, called in Domesday book *Franckeleia*, or the free and privileged district. The issue of this marriage was an only child, also called Emma, who married Auger de Tatlington. Their son, Nicholas de Tatlington, sold the manor which he inherited. It passed through several hands to a person styling himself, "filius et hæres Augeri de Tatlington;" but, in the ninth year of Henry IV.'s reign, Thomas de Littelton, the great grandson, by a second marriage, of that Thomas who married the heiress, recovered the manor by a writ of

right, as being the lawful heir to Tatlynton. From this period Frankley, which gives birth to the river Stour, and is surrounded by scenery of great natural beauty, became the sole abode of the Lytteltons (according to the modern spelling) till the year 1564, when they began to reside occasionally on a recent acquisition by purchase, the adjacent domain of Hagley. The only child of Thomas Littelton (who recovered the manor of Frankley) and Maud Quartermain his wife, was Elizabeth, who married Thomas Westcote of Westcote, in the county of Devon. One of the children of this marriage was Thomas Littelton, the author of the famous treatise on Tenures.

This distinguished person, though not strictly speaking the founder of the family, was yet, undoubtedly, the chief source from whence its dignity, splendour, and great territorial possessions were derived. The exact date of the birth of one destined to occupy so conspicuous a place in the history of the municipal law of his country is uncertain. His life, though not long, was prosperous. Before its close, great abilities and unremitting diligence had been rewarded by wealth and distinction; and the vessel of his fortunes escaped shipwreck in the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses. After a close application to the study of the law in the Inner Temple, in 1445 he was promoted to the degree of Serjeant-at-law, and was afterwards appointed Steward of the Marshalsea of the King's Household. In the following year he was made King's Serjeant, and rode as Justice of the Assize on the Northern circuit. In 1447, (26 Henry VI.) he served the office of High Sheriff for the county of

Worcester. In 1454 he received a general pardon under the Great Seal, and two years afterwards was named in a commission to raise forces in the county of Warwick. He appears to have been a favourite of Edward the Fourth, for in 1464, that monarch invested him with the order of Knight of the Bath, appointed him one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and granted to him an additional salary; "*ut statum suum decentiùs tenere et expensas sustinere valeret.*" He kept this state at a house which he rented from the Abbot of Leicester, near the church of St. Sepulchre's, in the city of London. On the 22nd of August, 1481, he made his will, which, unlike the usual testamentary dispositions of great lawyers, was characterised by extreme simplicity, clearness, and brevity; and expired on the following day at his seat at Frankley. He was buried under an altar-tomb, erected by himself during his life, on the south side of the nave of Worcester Cathedral. "He" (says Lord Coke, in his Proemium to the first Institute) "that is desirous to see his picture may, in the churches of Frankley and Hales Owen, see the grave and revered countenance of our author, the outward man, but he hath left his book as a figure of that higher and nobler part, that is of the excellent and rare endowments of his mind, especially in the profound knowledge of the fundamental laws of this realm." It appears from county records, that in the east window of the chancel in the chapel of St. Leonard at Frankley, there was the figure of a man in scarlet, with a coif on his head, in the posture of prayer, probably the original of the print prefixed to the old editions of Lord Coke's Commentaries.

Cornelius Jansen painted from this likeness a full-length picture of the Judge, which is now in the Inner Temple Hall, and an excellent copy of which is preserved at Hagley.

Judge Littelton married the widow of Sir Philip Chetwynde of Shropshire, the daughter and co-heiress of William Burley of Bromscroft in the same county. Three sons were the issue of this marriage, William, Richard, Thomas. Richard, the Second son, to whom his father addressed his book on Tenures, was a lawyer; he married Alice the heiress of William Winnesbury of Pillaton Hall, Staffordshire; the family bore the same arms, but a different crest, from the Lytteltons of Frankley; they obtained a knighthood and a baronetage. In 1812, the male branch became extinct, and the estates ultimately devolved on the present Lord Hatherton, the representative of the female branch.

The Third son of the Judge, Thomas, founded the house of the Lytteltons of Spetchley in Worcestershire, and of Mounslow in Shropshire. This family also obtained a knighthood and baronetage; its most distinguished descendant was the Lord Keeper Lyttelton, mentioned by Clarendon. He was created Solicitor-General in 1634, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1639, and shortly afterwards, on the flight of Lord Keeper Finch from the resentment of Parliament, received the custody of the Great Seal, and in the following year was created Baron Lyttelton of Mounslow in Shropshire. He was a person of great ability and attainments, and very intimate both with Selden and Lord Clarendon. The latter gives a very

particular account of him. "He was a man," writes this accurate painter of characters, "of great reputation in the profession of the law, for learning, and all other advantages which attend the most eminent men." * * * * "Upon the mere strength of his abilities he had raised himself into the first rank of the practicers in the Common Law Courts, and was chosen Recorder of London before he was called to the Bench, and grew presently into the highest practice in all the other Courts, as well as those of the law." Clarendon laments, however, that in the high office of Lord Keeper, he displayed an unsteadiness of purpose and vacillation of mind, which greatly disappointed the expectations raised by his former reputation. The historian relates that the King, distrusting his Lord Keeper, sent a messenger from York to London with orders to bring back the Great Seal; Lyttelton gave it up, but followed the messenger himself next day. He died at Oxford, and was buried in that part of the Cathedral of Christ Church, usually called the Latin Chapel, having been, as his epitaph records, "strenuus Regiæ Majestatis Assertor," and "tam Marti idoneus quam Mercurio;" he died "inter armorum strepitum," 1645. His daughter and heiress, who erected the monument to him in 1683, left by her marriage with Sir Thomas Lyttelton, an only son, also called Sir Thomas. He was Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of William the Third, and dying in 1709, the baronetage and this branch of the family became extinct.

I return to the descendants of the eldest son of Judge Lyttelton, who continued to reside at Frankley

till 1564. About that period, Sir John Lyttelton, who had by his marriage with Bridget, daughter and heiress of Sir John Packington of Hampton Lovel, acquired a large fortune, purchased the domain of Hagley, which has ever since been the abode of his descendants. Being a Roman Catholic, he was in great favour with Queen Mary, but, nevertheless, was employed in offices of high trust by Elizabeth, who knighted him during her memorable sojourn at Kenilworth Castle. The grandson of Sir John was John Lyttelton, who married Meriel (sometimes written Muriel) daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Both husband and wife occupy a large space in the annals of the family. To Meriel, indeed, the preservation of the house of Hagley from total ruin is almost alone to be ascribed, and the fate of John is connected with the public history of his times. The life of this extraordinary man is to be found among the Additional Lives in Bayle's General Dictionary, but that author was ignorant of some of the most remarkable circumstances relating to John Lyttelton, both before and after his fall, and apparently had seen only a portion of the letters preserved at Hagley, which throw great light upon his history.

To enter at length into this subject would be inconsistent with the limits within which I have thought it expedient to confine this preliminary chapter. But I may observe, that these documents prove that John Lyttelton was deserving of much esteem as a gentleman of high courage, of great natural and acquired endowments, of a liberal disposition and amiable temper.

The former qualities, at least, ought to have secured, that which the ties of blood should have strengthened, the friendship and protection of Sir W. Raleigh, and some proof of the latter may be inferred from his courtesy towards the Bishop of his Diocese, not an usual, perhaps scarcely a natural, feature in the character of Roman Catholics of that day. There is extant a most friendly letter from him to the Bishop, inviting him to hunt at Frankley.*

John Lyttelton's popularity may be estimated from the fact, that he was not only chosen without opposition to represent his county in Parliament when he was a very young man, during the lives of his father and grandfather, but that the other knight of the shire was left to his uncontrolled nomination. There is also ample proof that he was a faithful and loving husband, and an affectionate father. With all these appliances and means for happiness, his life was perpetually overcast with clouds, and, while he was yet in the prime of manhood, his sun went down in blood. His father, who appears to have been a weak and bad man, and meanly jealous of his son's superior abilities, disliked and thwarted him. "*Heu me! cui nec ulscisci nec tantum queri licet*," is the sad inscription on his picture at Hagley. His political attachments were the cause of his destruction, and his kinsman, whose influence might have preserved him, took no measure to avert, if he did not actually abet his ruin.

Lyttelton was among the few followers of the

* This pastime was no uncommon episcopal recreation, till the Archbishop Abbot, in the next reign, accidentally shot and killed a keeper at Bramhill Hill Park, in Hampshire.

unhappy Earl of Essex when he sallied forth from Drury House, in the Strand, in his ill-conceived and ill-executed attempt against the Government of Queen Elizabeth. It appears from the letters preserved at Hagley, that he was a stranger to any designs which the Earl of Essex might entertain of a treasonable nature. According to the account in Camden, he was condemned on very slender proof, amounting to little more, on the whole, than that he was one of the retinue which accompanied the Earl from Drury House to the city, the chief ground for suspicion against him being the number of arms and horses which he had in his inn at the time of this outbreak. Whether his estate did not tempt the Queen, either directly or indirectly, through Sir Walter Raleigh, to determine that his life should be taken, must be matter of conjecture. Such conjecture, is fortified by the fact that many, at least equally guilty, were pardoned; and that while so dangerously sick as to make it possible that he might die before sentence could be passed upon him, he was, by the Queen's command, brought to his trial. The following letters to Sir W. Raleigh, and his wife, are printed in the Biographia Britannica, and in Nash's Worcestershire; but as these books are not in every body's hands, and as the compositions are excellent, I insert them here.

"Sir,

"It is not worthye the vertue and honour you professe, to persecute persons fallen into misfortunes. If heretofore you have borne me causelesse displeasure, now, of all others, it is the time lesse seasonable to shewe it. Remember, Sir, what it is to be truely

noble, and how it agreeth not with generous hartes to delight to trample upon dejected fortunes.

"It is nowe in your power to do me good or ill offices; if you do ill you shall wrong your own reputation, if you do me good you shall give me cauze to be thankfull. There is allready betweene your son and me one tye in blood and nature: I could be contente you did now double the knot with offices of love and friendship. To begge your favour in the state I stand, were too much basenesse; to refuse it, were arrogancy and indiscretion; but to require you to do me no harm is but justice, and that one gentleman of right oweth to another. What construction you will make of this, or what is nowe meete to be don, I must refer to your own judgement, and so I ende.

"J. Littleton."

When no long time afterwards the all-accomplished Raleigh begged his life at the hands of the minion Buckingham, his supplication was in a far less noble strain. The next letter is from John Lyttelton to his wife.

"TO MRS. MERIEL LITTLETON.

"Be not discomforted with the appearance of my presente misfortunes. I have no doubt, no acte, that can burthen my conscience. I have committed no offence that may justlie bring scandal to my reputation. I have conceaved no disloyal thoght towardes my prince, nor consented to any conspiracye against my contrye. My fault is my follie, (if it may be termed a follie,) to have been over zealouse and affectionate to the frendes I professed to love and followe.

If the sway of the times, and the power of great persons, will make other interpretations, and wreste privatte actions to the offence of the publick quiet, then must I, as well as others, be subjecte to that general and fatal imputation. I carye, notwithstanding, and ever will bear about me, a cleer, sincere harte, and an unspotted conscience, upon which arches I doe supporte my mind, and with those pillars staye up myself, agaynste all adversitye that men or fortune can laye upon me. I fynde no cause to despayre of myne own safety, my offence being not in any nature capital, and my frendes giving daily hopes to those that sollicit for me in this businesse; but I build no strong walls upon these frail foundations; my principal trust is in Him only that is only able to help me. Yf He fynd it meete I muste perishe, that my sins and the sins of my house do require this sacrifice to purge it, welcom be his will; and I hope He will make it unto me non other than as a bridge to passe over from a base, vile, contemptible world, into a kingdom replenished with all blisse and happinesse. Whether I lyve or dye, I humblye beseeche Him I may be His; and then it little signifyeth whether now, or at what other tyme, I take my jorneye towards Him. And howsoever it shall please Him in his wisdom to dispose of me, I hope in His mercye and goodnesse, He will give me grace so to live, and with constancye so to die, as you shal not be after ashamed to term me your husband, nor your childeren blushe to avowe me for their father.

"The blacke box I hope you have receaved safe, wherein you may find an assurance of all my lands

upon your childeren, and a provision for you to breede them up in a moste plentiful sorte, that my estate could possibly extend to. My brothers also are therein provided for, not so well, happely, as they expecte, but full as amply as my wasted fortune could admitt, and more liberally than to my owne younger children.

"My debts I order'd to be satisfyed, and yf ther shal be cause to gyve further directions in that poincte, I truste God will give me tyme to doe it. Let me in your letters receave a particular of all the writings and notes contayned in that box, and doe it with all the speede you can. Acquaint my brothers with this my letter; who, I judge, are perplexed with the present apprehension of myne, and therin the consideration of theyr own fortune. Be you all notwithstanding, of good cheer; and doe you my wife, comforte yourselfe, and believe that the greatest dewtye you can now performe unto me, is to rayse up your owne mynde, and conserve yourself able to cherish, and breede up in virtue, those our poor childeren, who, should you by griefe and sorrowe overthrowe yourself, were in manifest danger (but bye God's great mercye) to be wholly undon and ruined. Allmighty God blesse you all; His mercy and blessing be with us, and remayne upon us for ever, Amen, Amen, Amen.

"J. LITTLETON."

TO THE SAME.

"I had a purpose, at such time as I wrote last unto you by Humfrye Perrott,* in this letter of mine to have discoursed at large, both the reasons that

* His steward.

moved me to devyse the conveyances contayned in this box, as also in sundry other matters then intended, touching the education of your children, and the guiding of yourself and the small estate left unto you, to have declared my mynd and judgment. But suche in trewth hath bin the troble of bringing these businesses to perfection, and the summonce given me to hasten towards my jorney so sodaynly followinge, as I am utterly dissappointed; in brief therefore, I must bothe enter and conclude at once, this, that wold otherwise require at my hands, both in regarde of the subjecte and of my will, to omitte no necessary caution, a much larger disputation. But to com to the matter. I have, in these conveiances, desired to provide for yourself and children, to satisfye my creditors, to save harmlesse my sewrtyes ingaged for my debts, and lastly, to recompense in sorte as my state doth permitt, my antiente servants and followers.

"In this, as you are the party neereste unto me, firste and beste provided for, placed in most truste and confidence by me, so doe I require at your hands, and charge you by the love that you owe as a wife, and by the dewtye that you beare as a Christian woman, that in all these thinges devised by me, you indevor your uttermoste to see them truly performed. And because the children God hath given me, are sought of all other matters in this world moste to be respected, of them firste, I require that above all other things, you take spetiall care that they be brought up in the feare of God, upon which dependeth all future blessinges, bothe in this world and in the world to come.

Nexte, that they may be instructed carefully in learning and good manners, without which there can be no expectation of any worthyness to be in them; and lastly, that a spetiall care be had when they attayn to yeares of understandinge, they be not taynted with the filthe of base companye, but seasoned even in theyr beginnings, with such liquors of civil and virtuous sobrietye, as maye rellishe all the reste of their lives and actions.

"These things, my deer wife, I doe most earnestly recommende unto you; and in the case to see this performed I praye you shewe your love unto me; for there will com a time when you and I shall meet agayn, yf it please God now otherwise to dispose of us, I mean before the face of God Almighty, where I will demand it at your hands, and in whose name I once again require it of you.

"There are, in the little paynted casket, certayn letters not meete to be seen or perused. I praye you of love between you and me, that the same maye be burned, and that no dishonour nor disgrace come to any person whom the same doth concern; for as my frayltye hath bin the occasion thereof, so wold the publishinge of those follyes leave a spotte and blemishe in my reputation. My most deerly esteemed wife, Almighty God, of his greate infinite mercye and goodness bless thee, and bless all thy children, give us all of his grace, to serve and honor his holy name, and make us happy partakers of his glorious kingdom in heaven: Amen, Amen, Amen.

"JOHN LITTLETON."

In a MS. survey of Worcestershire, by Mr. Thomas Habington of Hendlip, is this remarkable passage :— "John Lyttelton, a man of that undaunted spirit as he trampled over all affliction,* scorning as dust his large revenues, and with that resignation and submission to Almighty God as he esteemed himself not a man but a worm; of all which I being an eye-witness, do hope that this heyre of the worthy Judge hath so acquitted himself before the tribunal of our eternal Judge, as his faults of imperfection being washed away with the blood of Christ, he possesseth never-ending felicity; and I wish these my poore lines were a tomb of brass to celebrate his memorial."

Poor Lyttelton was thrown into prison, where he lingered and died; his estates were confiscated, but he left behind him a wife, whose wisdom, goodness, and firmness of purpose, restored the fallen fortunes of the house. She threw herself at the feet of James the First at Doncaster, while that monarch was journeying from Edinburgh to London, on his accession to the throne of England: from him she obtained a grant of her husband's forfeited estate, for which there is extant the King's letter to Mr. Edward Coke, his Attorney-General, the very "Coke upon Littelton" destined to be familiar as "household words" in the mouths of English lawyers. She also procured an Act of Parliament to be passed in the first year of the King's reign, whereby Lyttelton's attainder was reversed, and his children restored in blood.

* "Parran faville della sua virtute
In non curar d'argento nè d' affanni," &c.
Paradiso, xvii. 83.

Unfeigned piety, enduring love, excellent sense, dauntless patience, great ability, and untiring energy, mark the rare character of this exemplary lady; a description which will appear overcharged to none who have read her manuscript correspondence at Hagley, where to this day her name is held in deserved veneration. It is with much regret that I confine myself to a few specimens of her style. There is one letter written after her husband's death to the Lady Elizabeth Fenton, the greater part of which is lost; the fragment is as follows.

"Respected and Honourable deare Cosin,—These lines can tell how much contente I shold take in attending you sum time this summer at your delitefull seat of Inglefielde, to glad myself with your presence; but such a multiplicitye of toyling troubles are cast upon me, all lying upon my own hand and directions, thogh weak, as holds me a prisoner and servant unto them, skarce yielding me convenyent tyme for rest, but non can I find for recreation; God give me comfort in them hereafter for whose sakes I am content to abridge myself of it now; yet among these I am not without my present joyes, I prayse God for it; as your assurance of his ever assistinge hand: helth also vouchsafed to me and mine. Riches convenient to defend the world, with som loving and especially friends who contribute a great deal to make lief happy. *These* must I repeate, as well as recount my trobles, lest I should seem a murmurer at His holy ordinance.

"M. L."

TO THE SAME.

"My Honorable and Deer Cosin,—I know your fortune is not without many greate and goode imployments, howbeit I find well, both by your own friendly and loving saluting letters, as also by my brother Gerrard, that you have not cast off remembrance of me, therefore I account my letters will not be unseasonable; you vouchsafe to wish me sum good occasion to visit London, and I wish that I might doe you sum acceptable servis there; then, believe it, my faithfull and good Cosin, my person should attend you before these my ragged lines, or might I give soe much content unto my own best pleasing desires, a gorney to visit yourself should not be long in undertakinge. But my shorte fortunes tell me I must requite with prayers, what I have reaped by favors, and attend the country life.

"I hope you have ended with the Lord Norris, tho' I never doubted the event, yet for your quiet I desire it. Your ladyship's helth and my lord's I shall esteem very welcome newes to heare of, even so with all faithful love and due respects recommended to yourself and my very honorable good lord, I end these, committing you to the safe keeping of the Almighty.

"Your Cosin ever to be commanded,

"M. Littleton.

"Frankly, this 19th March, 1606."

"If my cosin, your father be with you, I praye you let my best salutations be remember'd unto him. I should have been glad, and so wold my good neigh-

bour, Mrs. Middlemoor, to have heard how my lady, his wife, liketh the dairymaid which was sent out of these parts."

Another letter to an unknown friend, whose aid she invokes against the attempt of a powerful kinsman to oppress her widowed state, is as follows:

"TO ———

"SIR,—The welth and wilfulness of my great spirited unkell, Sir Thomas Coningsby, ys of that proportion as I can have no quiet with him. Howbeit, twice he hath bin nonsuited, but will now, with all his might and strength, again to tryall at this next assizes for your county of Salop, for that petty piece of waste wood ground, unduly chaleng'd by him only from me, by whose weakness he hopeth to make an unjust triumph. All, or the greater part of the jurie, I presume, doe much respect you. Only their appearance I desire, leaving the reste unto Almighty God. May it please you herein to give me your good help, which, with the rest of your good favors, shall never be forgotten. If in any sorte I may have means to shew my love to you, or any of yours, even so, good Cozin, with my best love commended to yourself, and my good Lady, your bedfellow, I committe you to the blessed protection of the Almighty, resting

"Your loving Cosin

"And assured poor Friend,

"M. LITTLETON."

The good and wise Meriel laid her posterity under this further obligation. She brought up her children in the doctrine of the Church of England, from which

her descendants have never swerved. She lies in the church-yard at Hagley, buried, according to the request contained in her will, "amongst her poor neighbours."

In 1605, Hagley was the scene of a very remarkable event,—the concealment and discovery of two of the "*powder conspirators.*" Two of the Lytteltons were concerned in what was called "the bloody hunting match at Dewhurst, for surprising the Princess Elizabeth," set on foot by Sir Everard Digby; at the request of Catesby, they had secreted arms and gunpowder at Hagley, which accidentally blew up, and they were discovered and taken.*

Meriel's eldest son, Thomas, was, in the year 1618, made a Knight and Baronet. He married the heiress of Sir T. Crompton, whose daughter became Lady Paget; and of her Lord Bacon, in his Apothegms, relates the following anecdote.

"The Lady Paget, that was very private with Queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against the match with Monsieur.† After Monsieur's death, the Queen took extreme grief, at least as she made show, and kept in within her bedchamber and one antechamber for three weeks' space, in token of mourning: at last she came forth into the Privy-chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access unto her; and amongst the rest my Lady Paget, who came to her with a smiling countenance. The Queen bent her brows, and seemed

* In Rymer's Fœdera there is a proclamation for apprehending Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttelton, dated Nov. 8, 1605; tom. xvi. p. 638.

† The Duke of Anjou.

to be highly displeased, and said to her, 'Madam, you are not ignorant of my extreme grief, and do you come to me with a countenance of joy?' My Lady Paget answered, 'Alas, if it please your Majesty, it is impossible for me to be absent from you three weeks, but that when I see you I must look cheerfully.' 'No, no,' said the Queen, not forgetting her former averseness to the match, 'you have some other conceit in it: tell me plainly.' My Lady answered, 'I must obey you: it is this; I was thinking how happy your Majesty was you married not Monsieur: for seeing you take such thought for his death, being but your friend; if he had been your husband, sure it would have cost you your life.'"

It appears from the following most characteristic letter, preserved among the Hagley MSS., that the Queen in her turn consoled the affliction of her subject.

"*A Memorial.* ELIZABETH R.

"Cal to your mynde, good Kate, how hardly we princes cā broke a crossing of our comandes; how yreful wyl the hiist power be, may you be sure whā a murmure shal be made of his pleasings and wyl; let Nature, therefore, not hurt your selfe, but give place to the Giver; &nd thogh this lessō be frō a sily Vikar, yet is hit sent frō a lovinge

"SOUVERAINE."

The letter is endorsed as follows:

"A letter of Queen Elizabeth to my grandmother Pagett, upon ye death of my grandmother Crompton.

"S. LYTTELTON."

Sir Thomas Lyttelton's two eldest sons, "*eximiæ spei*,"—both scholars of Magdalen College, were drowned at Oxford,—the eldest at the age of seventeen, the youngest of thirteen. According to the epitaph on their tomb, "*minorem lubricus pes, majorem pietas sua in undam misit.*" The epitaph, which, though rather obscure and involved, is still very affecting, ends, "*nescis quâ horâ vigila.*" Their death appears to have created a great sensation at the time,—partly from its singularity, but chiefly, it should seem, from the great promise of the eldest son,—for Cowley, who was then seventeen, and one of the King's Scholars of Westminster School, wrote "an elegy on the death of John Lyttelton, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, who was drowned, leaping into the water to save his younger brother." The lines are disfigured by the conceits so common in Cowley's writings, but are not (what that he wrote was?) without considerable merit.*

A very remarkable fatality attended the children of Sir Thomas; his four daughters died unmarried; and

* They begin—

"And must those waters smile again, and play
About the shore, as they did yesterday?
Shall the sun court them still? and shall they show
No conscious wrinkle furrow'd on their brow," &c.

They describe his mind as "a little academy," and

"His learning had outrun the rest of heirs,
Stol'n beard from Time, and leapt to wintry years," &c.

"In's body, too, no critic eye could find
The smallest blemish to belie his mind;
He was all pureness, and his outward part
But represents the picture of his heart," &c. &c.

of his twelve sons only one had issue. He was succeeded by his fifth son, Henry. During the civil war both father and son were staunch Royalists. One of the consequences of their loyalty was the utter destruction of the ancient seat of Frankley, which was garrisoned by Prince Rupert in 1642; and destroyed by him when compelled to abandon it, lest the enemy should occupy it for a similar purpose.

Among the family MSS. are letters from Lord Falkland, Lord Clarendon, and Charles the Second, of no particular interest, but bearing testimony to the fidelity of Sir Henry Lyttelton, who was imprisoned by Cromwell for two years in the Tower. The first wife of Sir Henry was Philadelphia, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Cary, second son to the Earl of Monmouth, great grand-daughter to the Sir Robert Cary, who is said to have ridden from London to Edinburgh in three days to tell King James the news of Queen Elizabeth's death. There is a letter of this lady to Sir Henry, apparently before her marriage, which confirms the curious anecdote about the Protector, mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs.

"TO SIR HENRY LYTTELTON.

"SIR,—I found so good success by the resolution I took last week, that now I hope I shall find no cause to repent me: for my mother has, by this last return, given me full leave to conclude my business: but she expresses much anger for the opinion my friends had of the jorney, and says, that since they think it ridiculous, she is so far from desiring my sister's

coming, that she forbids her doing it. You will easily imagine it is a great satisfaction to me to think that I shall have her company, if my mother's displeasure did not allay it; but I hope she will be satisfied when she has considered it. I think it is time for you to write now to her. I sent this week to be asked at Winchester; for though the Parliament have ordered that all marriages should be by a minister, they have not altered the asking. I shall not fail to be there three days before you. Since you have given me the liberty, I must desire you will not take it ill that I make use of it, for in earnest I cannot well be ready sooner. My Lady Judeth saes she is your very humbel servant, and will not forget the Gentleman. She would have told you this herself, but that she is not very well; but I hope it will be nothing. Betty is this day at her devotions, which must be her excuse. I believe my Platonick tells you all the news; but having not seen him to-day, I know not whether he have told you, that the Protector was yesterday overturned in his coach,* and so bruised in his belly and his thigh, that he cannot stir himself in his bed, and his Secretary's leg broke; but how this accident came is a great secret, because of the dishonour of it; for he would needs drive his coach himself, and the horses ran away and threw him amongst them, whereby he was in great danger; and judge whether the coach-

* The Duke of Holstein sent the Protector a present of Friesland horses. Cromwell would drive himself and Thurlowe in the Park to try them. The coach was upset, and a pistol went off in the Protector's pocket. Ludlow's indignation at the whole freak is very amusing, p. 193. It happened in 1654.

man was not in great fault to venture *all our* Majesty so.

"If it were not to you, who I know have kindness enough for me, to be pleased with conversing with me, I ought to make great excuses for this long letter; but I will not question your regard for me, because the belief of that is absolutely necessary to the satisfaction of

"Your affectionate cozen and servant,

"PHIL. CARY.

"September 30."

Sir Henry was succeeded by his brother Charles, seventh son of Sir Thomas. Sir Charles, who was living in retirement at Sheen, had been distinguished by his zeal for the Royalist cause, and his gallant defence of Chirk Castle. In 1662 he accompanied Lord Windsor to Jamaica, and was left Governor of the island. On his return to England he was made Colonel to the Duke of York's regiment, and under him served a Captain Churchill, afterwards the renowned Marlborough. Some letters of this illustrious person are among the Hagley MSS.; neither from the spelling or style could any omen of his future distinction have been collected.

The first wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton was Catherine, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Steton, in Yorkshire, to whom he wrote the following letter:—

"TO MRS. CATHARINE LYTTELTON.

"Yesterday, 5 minutes before 10, y^e^ Queen was deliver'd of y^e^ Prince of Wales, and he is a delicate

fine boy. I came just now from seeing him. He is to have no wett nurse. Mr. Kneller drew his picture this afternoon, which I saw, and 'tis very like him. Your mother is here, and has seene him too. God bless you, dear Kate.

"CH. LYTTLETON.

"London, June 11th, 1688.

It will be remembered that the same party spirit, which in 1682 had imputed to the Queen, then Duchess of York, then pregnant, the intention of imposing upon the nation a supposititious child, renewed the calumny in 1688. But I do not recollect ever to have met with the anecdote about Kneller before, and I doubt whether it would have weighed with Bishop Burnet* against the miserable malignant gossip which he brings forward in support of his supposititious child.

The second wife of Sir Charles was Anne Temple, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in Warwickshire.

This lady was one of the beauties of Grammont, who gives a curious and entertaining account of a sort of lecture which Mademoiselle Hobart read to "La jeune Temple," setting forth the conquests she had made, and the character of her lovers—"le beau Sidney vous lorgne. My Lord Rochester se plait à vous entretenir et *le très serieux Lyttelton* sent dégourdir sa gravité naturelle en faveur de vos attraits le bon homme vous épouseroit et vous íriez representer son

* See 3rd vol. of Burnet His Own Times, p. 239, edition of 1823, with Dartmouth, Hardwicke, and Onslow notes. According to the Bishop there must have been *three* supposititious children at least.

petit Gouvernement, ou vous passeriez gaiment vos jours à tenir les comptes de ménage et à raccomoder ses serviettes. Quelle gloire d'avoir pour époux un Caton dont les discours sont pleins de censures et les censures remplis de travers." In spite of all these dissuasives, we read in the last page of Grammont, that "la jeune Temple épousa *le serieux Lyttelton.*" *

Sir Charles' son became an adherent of the Prince of Orange, and served under a commission from him on his landing. The following letter is from Sir Charles to his wife:—

"TO LADY LYTTELTON AT SHEENE.

"I had yours last night. I told the King I could not see his Majestie without some confusion, that so much of my blood had forfeited his duty in my son's defection; which he was pleased very graciously to return: "He could not wonder that my son had done so since his own children were so disobedient:" but I should have told you, that I said withall as he went without my leave, so he should never have my blessing till he had returned to his duty, and the King was pleased to say he was satisfyed. —— was not (he knew) in the fault, and told Sir John Talbot to that purpose afterwards.

"I was with the King last night at his Couchee, and he told us my Lord Churchill waited 4 hours after he came to the Prince of Orange's quarters before he was admitted to see him, and then had no quarters assigned

* Memoires de Grammont, quarto edition, pp. 218, 9, 313: see her portrait, p. 213.

him, so was faine to goe 5 or 6 miles off to get any. Indeed, they say there is very little regard to those that are gone, and the Prince pays nobody a penny but those he brought with him, and those have been raised by his commission; so that I believe our spark will grow quickly wearie of his adventure.

"Till the Trumpet comes back we can tell nothing what to think of the treatie. The Lords who were gone upon the Trumpet went to demand their passe. There is come an Addresse last night from the fleet, brought by Lord Berkely and Captain Leighton, signed by Lord Dartmouth, and every Captain, to thank the King for calling a Parliament, as the only expedient to preserve his Majesty, the Peace, old Kingdom, and the Protestant Religion, which they resolve to defend (I think) with their blood. Sir Roger Strickland's hand is to it.

"The poor King is mightily broken, a great heart can't so easily bend. I don't know yet if I shall be commanded to stay here or goe back; I hope to-morrow tho' to come and dine with you. I have not time to say more, and the room is full of officers, so dear, Good morrow. C. L.

"Tuesday morn."

This son Henry, who had espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange, died in his father's lifetime. Sir Charles was succeeded by Sir Thomas, who married Christian, daughter of Sir Richard Temple, of Stowe; he had six sons and six daughters. I. GEORGE, THE FIRST LORD, and the subject of these Memoirs. II. Tho-

mas,* page of honour to Princess Anne, died 1789. III. Charles, the historian of his family, was bred to the bar, but became rector of Alvechurch, Worcestershire, chaplain to George II. (1747), Dean of Exeter (1748), Bishop of Carlisle (1762), President to the Antiquarian Society, and died, 1768, unmarried; to his MSS. Nash was largely indebted in his History of Worcestershire. IV. Richard, who died young. V. Richard, first page of honour to Queen Caroline; then successively ensign of the guards, captain of marines, aide-de-camp to the Earl of Stair at the battle of Dettingen, deputy quarter-master general in South Britain, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Lieutenant-General. On the 11th of December, 1756, he was appointed master of the Jewel Office, which he resigned in December, 1762, when he was appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the island of Minorca, April 19, 1766. Having resigned the Government of Minorca, he was appointed Governor of the island of Guernsey. In the Parliament summoned to meet on the 13th of August, 1747, he was elected member for Brackley, and in the next Parliament sat for Poole, in the county of Dorset. On the 27th of December, 1753, he was installed Knight of the Bath, and died October 1st, 1770, without issue. He married Rachael, daughter of Wriothesley second Duke of Bedford, and widow of Scroop, first Duke of Bridgewater. VI. William Henry, second heir, who succeeded to the estates on the death

* Chalmers erroneously supposes Lord Lyttelton to have been the page —Biog. Dict. title Lyttelton.

of his nephew in 1779, and was created Baron Westcote, of Balamore, in Ireland, in 1776, and, (third) Baron Lyttelton, of Frankley, in 1794. He was Governor of South Carolina, and afterwards of Jamaica, and grandfather of the present Lord.

The daughters were—1. Christian, who married Thomas Pitt, of Bocconock, was mother of the first Lord Camelford, and died 1750. 2. Mary. 3. Penelope. 4. Amelia, who all died young. 5. Anne, married Thomas Ascough, D.D. Clerk of the Closet to Frederic, Prince of Wales, first Preceptor to George the Third, afterwards Dean of Bristol; his wife died 1776. 6. Hester, the youngest, married 1763, John Fitzmaurice, of Springfield, Limerick.

CHAPTER II.

1709—1734.

[Hagley MSS.—Printed Letters in Lyttelton's Works.—Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes, p. 160.—Chalmers' Biog. Dict. "Lyttelton."—Nicholls' Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi. p. 457, tit. "Lyttelton."—Bowles' ed. of Pope, vol. iv. p. 139; vol. ix. lett. 85.—Swift's Works, Sir W. Scott's ed. vol. iv. p. 265; xix. p. 169.—Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iv. p. 50, 1. 8vo. ed.—Coxe's Life of Walpole, vol. i.—Maty's Life of Chesterfield.—Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. ii.—Dr. Johnson's Life of Lord Lyttelton.—Schlosser's Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. i]

George Lyttelton was born in 1709; it is said that the event happened two months before its due time, and that he was not, until after close inspection, discovered to have been born alive. No confirmation however of this report is to be derived from any manuscript or oral tradition in the family, but it is certain that he was reared with some difficulty, that his health was always delicate, and his appearance that of a lean and pale person. Personal allusions to these peculiarities are to be found in the political writings and caricatures of the day. He was educated at Eton, where his early proficiency in classical studies obtained for him the extraordinary distinction of having his exercises recommended as models to his school-fellows. This circumstance is remarked by Dr. Johnson in his notice of Lord Lyttelton among his Lives of the Poets,

and it has been repeated by other biographers probably upon his authority. I should observe at the outset of these memoirs, that his criticism of Lord Lyttelton's writings and character, is, as even Boswell* admits, tinged with a personal dislike, and which, according to Malone, was caused by a rivalship for the good graces of a Miss Boothby, who preferred Lyttelton to Johnson; but the depreciating tone of Dr. Johnson's remarks may also be ascribed to the scanty materials which he possessed for his composition, and partly to displeasure at the refusal which his plan for writing the life of Lord Lyttelton, met with from the family—partly also, no doubt, to the scorn with which he could not help regarding a Whig who had written Pastorals—feelings, which even his sincere respect for the unaffected piety, acknowledged acquirements, and generous temper of Lord Lyttelton, subdued but could not extinguish.

After Lord Lyttelton's death, the following letters were written by Dr. Johnson to Lord Westcote:

"My Lord,—The course of my undertaking will now require a short life of your brother, Lord Lyttelton. My desire is to avoid offence, and to be totally out of danger. I take the liberty of proposing to your Lordship, that the historical account should be written under your direction by any friend you may be willing to employ, and I will only take upon myself to ex-

* Boswell's Johnson, 8vo. ed. p. 50, 51.—Malone's note, and Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes, p. 160.

amine the poetry. Four pages like those of his work, or even half so much, will be sufficient. As the press is going on, it will be fit that I should know what you shall be pleased to determine.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, July 27, 1780."

"MY LORD,—I wish it had been convenient to have had that done which I proposed. I shall certainly not wantonly nor willingly offend, but when there are such near relations living, I had rather they would please themselves. For the life of Lord Lyttelton I shall need no help—it was very public, and I have no need to be minute. But I return your Lordship thanks for your readiness to help me. I have another life in hand, that of Mr. West, about which I am quite at a loss; any information respecting him would be of great use to,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"July 28, 1780, Bolt Court, Fleet Street."

George Lyttelton early acquired a great facility of composition. The "Soliloquy of a Beauty in the Country,"* printed among his other poems, was written

* The young lady laments her exile from London; for in the country—

"Ah, what avails it to be young and fair,
To move with negligence, to dress with care," &c.

while he was at school, with considerable spirit and vivacity, in easy and flowing verse.

From Eton he was sent to Christ Church, where he appears to have sustained his reputation for superiority over his contemporaries, though he remained for a very short time at Oxford. His father, Sir Thomas,* was a steady voter with Walpole, under whose administration he held the office of a Commissioner for the Admiralty; but his son appears to have early imbibed the spirit of the "boy patriots" of the day. In some verses, written at school, on "Good Humour," he ascribes that cha-

And after dwelling on the delights of town, contrasts with them her present existence:—

"In stupid indolence my life is spent,
Supinely calm and dully innocent;
Unblest, I wear my useless time away,
Sleep (wretched maid!) all night, and dream all day.
Go at set hours to dinner and to prayer,
For dullness ever must be regular.
Now with Mamma at tedious whist I play,—
Now without scandal drink insipid tea,
Or in the gardens breathe the country air,
Secure from meeting any tempter there," &c.

* Swift makes very singular mention of Sir Thomas:—"Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a Speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the House and report it. I am sure it is reckoned in England the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the house. Sir Thomas Lyttelton thought that a House of Commons, with a stinking breath (supposing the Speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect everything within the walls, and a great deal without."—A Letter to a Member of Parliament on choosing a New Speaker there, 1708. Swift, vi. p. 265.

racteristic quality of Walpole to Wyndham and Pitt. When he was about to leave the University and begin his travels on the Continent, he published the poem of Blenheim. It is written in blank verse, and in this as well, I think, as in every other respect, bears no comparison with Addison's effusion on the same subject. It betrays an intimate acquaintance with Milton, and it is hardly possible not to smile at the plagiarism by which the beautiful address of the soft, gentle, modest Eve—

"With thee conversing I forget all time,"

is transferred to the "Atossa" of Pope—the haughty, turbulent, intriguing Sarah Duchess of Marlborough.* The Duchess, we learn from the first of George Lyttelton's printed letters to his father, graciously approved of the verses.

Early in 1728, George Lyttelton set out on his travels for the Continent, and in obedience to the orders of Sir Thomas, made his first sojourn at Luneville, the capital of then independent Lorraine. The subsequent incorporation of Lorraine into France is an event which the printed letters of George Lyttelton to his father (a main source of the writer's history for the next three years) would not lead one to regret. Luneville seems

* Perhaps the most respectable lines in this poem are—

"With spoils adorned,
Of conquered towns, and glorying in the name
Of that auspicious field, where Churchill's sword
Vanquished the might of Gallia, and chastised
Rebel Bavar—majestic in its strength,
Stands the proud dome, and speaks its great design."

to have been afflicted with all the vices and follies of a petty Court—destitute of learning and science, the resort of worthless foreigners, where the day was spent in the punctilious observance of frivolous ceremonies, and the night devoted to quadrille. "I have already," writes George Lyttelton to his father, "complained of the foppish ignorance and contempt for all I have been taught to value, that is so fashionable here. You have heard me describe the greater part of the English I know there, in colours which ought to make you fear the infection of such company for your son. But supposing no danger in this brutal unimproving society, it is no little grievance, for to what barbarous insults does it expose our morals and understanding?"* The writer dwells also on "quelques bévues d'ecolier," which he made at Luneville, which he calls his "school of breeding," one of the early indications of the extreme sensitiveness of nature which seems to have accompanied him through life. He accordingly went to Soissons, which he describes as "one of the agreeablest towns in France," where he spent some time, and acquired an accurate knowledge of the French language. About this period he became acquainted with Mr. Poyntz, whom the influence of Lord Townshend had caused to be employed at this period in the diplomatic service of England. With this gentleman he contracted a great intimacy, and was initiated by him into some of the mysteries of diplomacy—mysteries carried to their fullest extent in the endless negotiations and treaties which embarrass

* Letter ix.

and obscure the interval of history between the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, to the third Treaty of Vienna, in 1738, and which Lyttelton afterwards ridiculed in his Persian Letters. It does not appear, however, that Lyttelton was employed by Poyntz in any matter of moment. In 1729, that gentleman wrote to Sir Thomas an account of his son, of whom, amongst other things, he says, "He cannot fail of making you and himself happy, and of being a great ornament to our country, if, with that refined taste and delicacy of genius he can but recal his mind at a proper age from the pleasures of learning and gay scenes of imagination, to the dull road and fatigue of business. This I have sometimes taken the liberty to hint to him, though his own good judgment made it very unnecessary."* In a subsequent letter he speaks of the delicacy of his constitution, chiefly from weakness of digestion, which he ascribes in some measure "to the vivacity of his imagination pursuing some agreeable thought too intensely, and diverting the spirits from their proper functions, even at meals—for we have often been obliged at that time to recal him from *reveries* that made him almost absent to his company, though without the least tincture of melancholy, which I ever met with," &c.†

Poyntz, Horace Walpole, and William Stanhope (cousin to the celebrated Lord Chesterfield, then Ambassador at the Hague) were at this time the English Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Soissons, the object of which was to induce the King of Spain to

* Letter xii. † Vol. 3, p. 270. Letter xxiv.

ratify the preliminaries, signed by his ambsasador without his authority, at Vienna, in 1727. The subsequent death of George the First, and the hopes of discord in the Cabinet and Parliament of Great Britain, had fortified Philip the Vth, in his reluctance to accede to any treaty which did not include among its stipulations the cession of Minorca and Gibraltar, on the part of Great Britain. The sagacity and firmness of Walpole defeated these expectations, and in 1728, Philip was compelled to sign, what was then called, the Act of the Prado, whereby he referred the adjustment of all disputes to a Congress about to be held at Soissons. The Congress opened in June, and at this period George Lyttelton appears to have frequently partaken of the hospitality of the three Plenipotentiaries at Soissons and the adjoining Haute Fontaine at Compiégne, and at Paris.* His letters, which

* From Paris he wrote a poetical epistle to his late tutor, Dr. Ayscough, (afterwards his brother-in-law) descriptive of France and the French. These lines seem to me not without merit.

"Yet here the Muses deign'd a while to sport
In the short sunshine of a frowning court :
Here Boileau, strong in sense, and sharp in wit,
Who, from the ancients, like the ancients writ :
Permission gain'd inferior vice to blame,
By flattering incense to his master's fame.
Here Moliere, first of comic wits, excell'd
Whate'er Athenian theatres beheld ;
By keen, yet decent, satire skill'd to please,
With morals mirth uniting, strength with ease.
Now, charm'd, I hear the bold Corneille inspire
Heroic thoughts, with Shakspere's force and fire !
Now sweet Racine, with milder influence, move
The soften'd heart to pity and to love."

breathe throughout a spirit of warm and dutiful affection to his father, as well as a most perfect confidence in him as a friend, are for some time chiefly occupied with relating the slow and tedious process of the negotiations. They contain also frequent mention of that extraordinary character, Ripperda, who, in every respect but talent, deserved to be branded as the "scorn and wonder of our days," as much as the original of Pope's picture, the more accomplished, but not more infamous, Duke of Wharton. Ripperda had escaped to England in 1726. In a letter of December 20, our traveller writes—"I have troubled you so often with Ripperda, that I am almost ashamed to mention him again; but the conclusive answer of Mr. Stanhope to the Duke of Ormond and the other Spanish Ministers was, that when Spain would give up the other English wretch, England would send back Ripperda." The letter concludes with the mention of an event destined, though he seems to have felt no presage of it at the time, materially to affect his future life. "Prince Frederick's journey was very secret. Mr. Poyntz did not hear of it till Friday last, at least he had no publick notice of it. There will be fine struggling for places. I hope my brother will come in for one."* The consequences of the arrival of the Prince of Wales (father of George the Third) in England, to the subject of these memoirs, will be noticed in another place.

In October, Lyttelton set out for Italy. From Lyons he wrote a very elaborate and very interesting letter†

* Letter x. † Letter xxv.

to his father on the state of France, the character of Louis Fifteenth, and of Cardinal Fleury; for the latter he seems to have felt great admiration. He describes him as more absolute than Richelieu, and "the reverse of Mazarin, both in his temper and his administration—naturally honest and sincere." Having "found the people almost ruined by the fatal *système* of the Mississippi, the king's finances ill-directed, and his treasures wasted in needless pensions and profuse expenses,* the principle of his conduct was to ease the people, to restore their decaying trade, to save the king all the money he was able, and to retrench all superfluous goings out." Hence his earnest desire for the maintenance of general peace and amity with Great Britain, his great sin, political

* He writes to Dr. Ayscough, in the letter already cited :—

"With mingled pain and pleasure I survey
The pompous works of arbitrary sway."
* * * * *

And thus alludes to Chantilly and to St. Cloud—

"With more delight those pleasing shades I view
Where Condé from an envious Court withdrew;
Where, sick of glory, faction, power, and pride,
(Sure judge how empty all who all had tried!)
Beneath his palms the weary chief repos'd,
And life's great scene in quiet virtue clos'd.
With shame that other fam'd retreat I see,
Adorn'd by art, disgrac'd by luxury:
Where Orleans wasted every vacant hour,
In the wild riot of unbounded power;
Where feverish debauch and impious love,
Stain'd the mad table and the guilty grove."

and moral, being the persecution of the Jansenists. "You see (he writes) by the account I have given you, that he is not the crooked politician we take him for in England, nor yet so weak as some here are apt to think him—but a man of plain sense that lays down a reasonable scheme, and pursues it honestly and fairly." He dwells on the corruption of the Court and nobility, the improvement of their navy, and the great advantages and opportunities of the country for commerce. His conclusion is—"But notwithstanding all these natural advantages, the abject slavery they are in, the number of hands that are employed in the military service, the swarms of idle ecclesiastics, and above all, the chimerical distinction between a gentleman and a merchant, will always keep their traffic low, and the country will continue in the poverty I see it now, which is more miserable than I could ever have imagined." One may see in these letters, the cloud, as yet no bigger than a man's hand, from which the tempest of the future revolution was to burst forth. From Lyons he travelled with Sir W. Wyndham's son to Geneva and Turin, from thence to Genoa, with which he was enchanted, though he laments over the decay of the great families of Doria, Spinola and Grimaldi, and makes rather a curious comment on the frauds notoriously practised in the voting by ballot in the elections and councils of the State; he mentions them "to let his father see, that the method by ballot may be abused as well as any other," alluding probably to a scheme, mooted about this time, for voting by ballot in the House of Commons in ques-

tions relating to elections,* for it had not then been proposed as a general specific against corruption in England. From Genoa he went to Milan, Venice, and Rome. From the latter place he wrote the poetical epistle to Pope, which is prefixed to most of the editions of that author's works. In one of his letters Lyttelton says,—"In speaking of Italy,† I have confined myself to the decay of learning there,‡ because Mr. Addison has written so very finely upon every other point, in his verses to Lord Halifax, that I durst not think of attempting them after him." At Rome he heard the successful issue of Mr. Stanhope's expedition to Spain, whereby the tardy negotiations of Soissons were, by the skill and ability of our diplomatist, closed in the celebrated treaty of Seville. Mr. Poyntz writes to our traveller—"The satisfaction that it gives, will much increase when it

* Such I found to be Mr. William Wynn's opinion on this point. It appears from the Journals of the House of Commons, that in 1708, one election was actually decided by ballot; and that several subsequent *resolutions* were passed that all elections should be so decided; though there is no trace of these having been carried into effect.

† Letter xxxiii.

‡ "Unhappy Italy! whose altered state,
Has felt the worst severity of fate:
Not that Barbarian hands her fasces broke,
And bow'd her haughty neck beneath their yoke;
Not that her palaces to earth are thrown,
Her cities desart, and her fields unsown,
But that her ancient spirit is decay'd,
That sacred Wisdom from her bounds is fled,
That there the source of science flows no more,
Whence its rich streams supplied the world before."

From the Epistle to Mr. Pope.

comes to be known and felt, that far from having made a *paix paltrée*, we are really upon better terms with Spain than ever, and have the predilection over all the powers of Europe in her friendship, which I may venture to assure you in confidence, is really the case." This treaty was, in truth, highly advantageous to Great Britain. The principal terms of it were, a defensive alliance between England, Spain, and France (to which Holland afterwards acceded), that Spain should garrison certain towns in Tuscany and Parma, the intended future succession of Don Carlos (but which were exchanged by the treaty of Vienna, 1738, for the Two Sicilies), that the English trade with America should be established on its former footing, all captures restored, and full compensation given for former losses. The privileges granted to Austria were revoked, and no mention was made of the obnoxious Gibraltar or Minorca. Lyttelton writes—"I hear Mr. Stanhope is made a peer, and they say that Mr. Walpole will be Secretary of State; but nothing is talked of for Mr. Poyntz. I hope his modesty will not be made a reason for leaving his other virtues unrewarded. I am sure he had as great a share in the merit of the present treaty as either of his colleagues." Mr. Stanhope was deservedly created Lord Harrington. But soon after the date of this treaty, Lord Townshend, the patron of Mr. Poyntz, quitted the administration in disgust. The well-known scene occurred in Colonel Selwyn's house, and the firm of Walpole and Townshend (to borrow the expression of the former) was dissolved for ever. Mr. Stanhope, and not Mr.

Walpole became Secretary of State. The second treaty of Vienna, signed March, 1731, brought the Emperor into these engagements, and successfully, as it appeared, completed Walpole's system of negotiations. The peace was the achievement of another Stanhope, the Earl of Chesterfield, then Ambassador at the Hague, and was a triumph over greater obstacles than those overcome by his kinsman at the treaty of Seville.

In 1731, Lyttelton wrote the verses to his friend, Mr. Poyntz, which are printed in his works; and also about this time he seems to have submitted his four Eclogues or Pastorals to the judgment of Pope, from whose hand they underwent some correction. The first, called "Uncertainty,"* was dedicated to Mr. Pope; the second, "Hope," to the Hon. George Doddington; the third, "Jealousy," to Edward Walpole, Esq.; the fourth, "Possession," to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Cobham. Dr. Johnson passes a most characteristic, but not wholly unjust, criticism on them, when he says, "The verses cant of shepherds and flocks, and crooks dressed with flowers." I am afraid it should be added, that they are not wholly free from indelicacy of thought and expression.

Lyttelton returned from his continental tour towards the close of 1731. It is one of Dr. Johnson's errors to suppose that in the same year he became a member of Parliament, and that in 1733, he voted

* In the first Eclogue is this line—

"And light's last blushes tinged the distant hills,"

which was added with some others by Pope. See Warton's note, containing Lyttelton's letter, to Pope's Imit. of Horace, book 1. Ep. 1. v. 29.

against the celebrated Excise measure of Sir Robert Walpole. Lyttelton had no seat in the House of Commons till 1734.

His acquaintance with Pope began before his expedition to the Continent, and from the period of his return to England, to the death of that poet, in 1744, he appears to have been among the most welcome, and most honoured guests who sought the classic bowers of Twickenham; and surely they were a brilliant company. Deeper and purer philosophy, alas! might well have been drunk at other fountains, but poetry, wit, learning, eloquence, and genius of many kinds, flowed here in no scanty streams. Here, too, high birth and great station, aided by their wealth, and encouraged by their advice, the development of those gifts in others, which largely adorned themselves. Here it was that Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Bathurst, Pulteney, Orrery, Horace Walpole, Wyndham, Marchmont, Murray, Queensbury, Cobham, and his kinsman "young Lyttelton,"* mingled in all the gaiety and freedom of social intercourse with Pope, Gay, Thomson, Glover, Mallett, Hammond, Moore, and sometimes Swift—at an earlier period, with Kneller, the painter of his day—and foreigners of no mean note, Algarotti, Voltaire,—then rising into celebrity as the author of the Henriade,—and the illustrious Montesquieu.† About this time,

* "Free as young Lyttelton her cause pursue,
Still true to virtue, and as warm as true."—POPE, Imit. of Horace, book 1. ep. 1. v. 29, 30.

† As to Bolingbroke's influence on the writings and style of Montesquieu and Voltaire, see Schlosser's Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. i. p. 442, though this author appears to me a very unsafe guide in English history generally.

Lyttelton wrote his "Advice to Belinda,* or to a Lady;" a poem, as it appears to me, of great merit. "It contains," says Dr. Johnson, "much truth and much prudence, very elegantly and vigorously expressed; and shews a mind attentive to life, and a power of poetry which cultivation might have raised to excellence."

At the time that Lyttelton arrived in England, Sir Robert Walpole's power had reached its full tide. Townshend, his only rival in the Cabinet, had been vanquished and ejected. At home, trade throve, taxes were light, and the Pretender seemed to be forgotten; abroad, a successful and honourable peace had been concluded, where a general European war had appeared

* "E'en in the happiest choice, where favouring heaven
Has equal love and easy fortune given,
Think no the husband gain'd, that all is done;
The prize of happiness must still be won;
And oft, the careless find it to their cost,
The lover in the husband may be lost:
The graces might alone his heart allure,
They and the virtues meeting must secure.
Let e'en your prudence wear the pleasing dress
Of care for him, and anxious tenderness.
From kind concern about his weal and woe
Let each domestic duty seem to flow.
The household sceptre, if he bids you bear,
Make it your pride his servant to appear:
Endearing thus the common acts of life,
The mistress still shall charm him in the wife.
And wrinkled age shall unobserv'd come on,
Before his eye perceives one beauty gone:
E'en o'er your cold, your ever-sacred urn,
His constant flame shall unextinguish'd burn."

From Advice to a Lady.

inevitable; everything wore the face of prosperity. The opposition compared Walpole to an unskilful, but fortunate pilot, who steers his vessel amid rocks and shoals, but arrives by a miracle in perfect safety at his port; and an old ex-Scotch secretary said to the prosperous minister, "What can you have done, sir, to God Almighty, to make him so much your friend?" Nevertheless, from this period, Walpole's ascendancy was on its wane. The "inequitable engrossment"* of power, to borrow the sagacious expression of Hume, had arrayed against him such a host as no government could long withstand. The tide of prosperity which began to ebb in 1732, retreated rapidly in 1733. The principles of his famous Excise measure are now acknowledged by the best authorities to have been wise and statesmanlike, and have in some measure found their practical adoption in our present warehousing system; but it would be difficult to exaggerate the alarm which it then excited in the country, and it is not easy at this time to reconcile the declamations of such men as Pulteney and Wyndham against the despotism and corruption which they represented as the sole objects of the measure, with a conviction of their perfect sincerity of purpose. Walpole abandoned his measure, but Queen Caroline fully shared his disappointment; and he lost no time in visiting the mutineers in his own camp with punishment. Chesterfield, no mean stay of his government in the House of Lords, was deprived of his office of Lord High Steward; Lords Clinton and Burling-

* See the early edition of his Essays.

ton, the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, were also deprived of their offices; and by a most unwise act of violence, the Duke of Bolton, and Lyttelton's kinsman, Lord Cobham, were dismissed from the command of their regiments.

From this period, if not before, Lyttelton's opposition to the Government assumed a decided character; he became a contributor to a paper called "Common Sense," and it is supposed that he had already written articles, though I have not been able to ascertain the fact, in the "Craftsman." About this time the Opposition had arrayed itself under what wore the semblance of a national standard. The alienation of Frederic Prince of Wales from his father begun soon after his arrival in 1729, and in 1733, became daily more apparent. It has been already observed in one of the extracts from Lyttelton's letter, that in 1729, Frederic Prince of Wales had taken a sudden and unexpected departure from Hanover. This was in obedience to an imperative order from George the Second, who had learnt and determined to break off his attachment with the Princess of Prussia. The Prince was coldly received by his father on his arrival in England. For some years he appears to have continued passive under the unwise system of restraint and estrangement, to which the dislike or jealousy of his father condemned him. He seems to have been rather an amiable, but a weak and ill-educated person; he was not, however, without a taste for literary pursuits; and both from policy and inclination, patronised the rising genius and talents of the

day. As he gradually became more aware of the importance of his position as heir to the throne, and more conversant with the language and manners of the country, he began to take an active share in its politics. In 1733, his apartments had become the resort of Carteret and Pulteney, the leaders of the Opposition in the Houses of Lords and Commons, of Sir William Wyndham, and of Chesterfield and Cobham. These were men whose prowess in the conflict of debate had been well approved—but into the Heir Apparent's camp came also the yet maiden chivalry of Pitt, of Lyttelton, and of the Grenvilles, who speedily became the officers of his household, as well as his intimate associates.

There seems to have been one master spirit which had hitherto organized the Opposition out of the discordant materials of Jacobites, Hanover Tories, offended Whigs, and "boy patriots," as Pitt, Lyttelton, and the Grenvilles were called by Sir Robert Walpole, or the "Cobham cousins," according to the phrase of his son Horace. This master spirit was Bolingbroke, "the all-accomplished St. John" of Pope; the "Lord Bolingbroke of impious memory," as described by Lord Chatham, in 1759, in a letter to his nephew.* He it was, who, though prevented from openly thundering against the minister in Parliament, poured upon him and his measures a volley scarcely more secret or less destructive, through the pages of the "Craftsman;" and, like Goethe's devil, enabled his pupils to triumph in the conflict, by striking up, unseen, the swords of their antagonists.

* See Letters to Lord Camelford, edited by Lord Grenville.

His conversational powers and knowledge of literature no doubt aided the effect which his abilities had produced on the Prince. It is said, that Lord Bolingbroke, having arrived before the Prince at a place appointed for their first meeting, took up a book and was reading in it when His Royal Highness approached him; Lord Bolingbroke, rising hastily from his chair, would have fallen had not the Prince supported him, saying at the same time, "My Lord, I hope this may be an omen of my succeeding to raise you."

To this Royal company should be added, most, if not all, the distinguished poets and writers of the day, whom Walpole was too careless or too proud to cultivate. Swift (who called Walpole, "Bob, the poet's foe") and Pope, probably owed their introduction to Bolingbroke and Chesterfield—but the rest were gathered around him by Lyttelton, who never ceased to exert his influence, which at a later period was very great, in securing the patronage of Frederic for men of letters. Such, among others, were Thomson, Mallett, Moore, Akenside, and Hammond—of the last Dr. Johnson says, "He was equerry to the Prince of Wales, and seems to have come very early into public notice, and to have been distinguished by those, whose friendship prejudiced mankind at that time, in favour of the man on whom they were bestowed, for he was the companion of Cobham, Lyttelton, and Chesterfield."

During this year, Lyttelton wrote an Essay which he entitled "Observations on the Reign and Character of Queen Elizabeth." It is in the form of a dialogue, in James the First's reign, between Sir Francis Bacon,

Sir Harry Wotton, and Sir Walter Raleigh, soon after the release of the latter from prison. The style is clear, the language often eloquent, and the writer had read every work which could throw light on the history of her reign; but the essay, though ingenious, is chiefly a compilation and reproduction of the thoughts of others. It was never printed. On the blank leaf of the MS. is written in the author's hand, "Not to be published, unless any false copy of it should be printed."

I find among the MSS. the draft of a letter, written about this time, by Lyttelton to the Prince of Wales. It is very honourable to the writer, and curious both from its contents and endorsement, the latter was evidently written at a later date, probably at the time of the Prince's quarrel with him, which will be mentioned in another chapter.

The letter is as follows:—

"Sir,—The extream impatience with which your Royal Highness heard me speak to you this morning, obliges me to take this method of representing most humbly to you the great difficulty and uneasiness in which I find myself.

"I desire to be obliged to your R. H. every way that is consistent with your service and my own honour; I shall always be proud to receive any mark of your favour; but to putt you to expence without necessity is what I never could consent to, though it was as easy for your R. H. to find money as I know it to be difficult.

"Were my father to object to my staying in town (which I do believe is necessary for your service at this conjuncture) on account of the expense, I would

not scruple to remove that objection, by accepting such assistance as your goodness would be ready to offer me; but as long as my father is not uneasy on that account, I beseech your R. H. to let me serve you without being paid for it.

"How can I ever advise you (as it is my duty) to economy in other instances, when I suffer you to be lavish in this? and what will you think of me when I tell you that if you don't set some bounds to your generosity, it will certainly ruin your affairs? For God's sake, Sir, permit me to keep my actions consistent with my words: and as this is the first petition I have made you, do not answer it with a denial: but give me leave to return again, with a thousand thanks, the bank bill you forced into my hands. I assure your R. H. by this compliance you will do me the greatest pleasure, and I shall be encouraged to serve you always with that free and disinterested zeal which has hitherto governed all my conduct,

"I am, with the greatest passion and respect,

"Sir,

"Your Royal Highnesse's most devoted

"And most obedient humble servant,

"GEORGE LYTTELTON."

The indorsement, evidently of a later date, was as follows:—

"Copy of a letter I wrote to the Prince the second year of our acquaintance, before I came into Parliament.

"N.B. He then advised with me in all his affairs, for I was his chief favourite."

It has been said, and apparently with great truth, that the position of the Prince was at the time beneficial to our country.* It gave (as Lord Hardwicke's sagacity predicted) the discontented Tories a leader, by following whom, they reconciled their loyalty to the crown of Hanover, with their opposition to the Government, while it, in some measure, separated them from the Jacobites, their intimate alliance with whom had been one of the indirect supports of Walpole's government.

In 1734, the Prince forced his way into the antechamber of the King, and made three requests:— 1. To serve a campaign in the Imperial army. 2. To receive an increase of revenue. 3. To be married. The King, greatly incensed at the whole of this procedure, made no answer to the first two, but intimated his intention of considering the third proposition. It was not, however, till 1737 that Frederic openly and altogether threw off the mask, and avowed, what seems to be the necessary politics of every heir-apparent of the House of Brunswick, opposition to his father's government. 1733 was the last year of Walpole's tranquillity. During this year the war broke out for the succession to the Crown of Poland, in which England took no part, but during the course of which France made (to borrow M. Guizot's language,) one of her "conquêtes sensées,"† the large and valuable acquisition of Lorraine, while the Spanish

* Vide Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 534, for a most curious dialogue on the subject between Lord Hardwicke and Walpole.

† P. 397. Cours d'Histoire Moderne.

Bourbons secured for their younger branch the throne of the Two Sicilies.

About this time, Lyttelton's father, Sir Thomas, put forth an Address to the Freeholders of Worcestershire, containing a temperate, spirited, and sensible defence of his support of the Excise measure, which was chiefly directed against some insinuations cast upon him by the other member for the county, Sir Herbert Packington. It will be seen, however, that his enemies proved too strong for him.

That Sir Thomas was happy in his marriage seems a fair inference from this note :—

"TO SIR THOMAS LYTTELTON, AT THE ADMIRALTY OFFICE, WHITEHALL.

"My dear,—Yesterday I remembered I was thirty years agoe happy in marrying a man whom I prefer to all y^e^ world, and I must say I am vain of y^e^ choice I made. My late dangerous illness had like to have dissolved y^e^ union, but God was pleased to spare me to live and give you every proof of affection and gratitude you can wish. We drank your health, and many happy years to you. I am not content with the account yours gave me this morning, because you still are low-spirited. I hope you will be better when you come back, which I long to hear. We are all pretty well.

" I am, ever entirely yours,

" Chr. Lyttelton."

" Hagley, May 8, 1733."

In January, 1734, a motion was made by Mr. Bromley (the son of Queen Anne's Tory secretary) to repeal the Septennial Bill, The disaffected Whigs seem to have been rather reluctantly induced by Bolingbroke and the Tories, without whom they were but a small minority, to vote for the undoing of their own work. Lyttelton, in his Persian Letters, (which probably spoke the language of his party at this time,) sketching the history of Parliaments to the time of James's expulsion, observes, "It was thought expedient not long after to pass a law for the choosing a new Parliament at the end of every three years. This term has since been prolonged to seven; I think for very good reasons, because the country interest could not support the redoubled expense of contesting with court corruption so much oftener than now; and there are no good grounds to suppose that the efforts on that side would be much less for a triennial than a septennial Parliament, a majority in *that* being equally necessary to a court as in *this;* so that the attacks would be the same, or near the same, and the resistance much weaker on the side of the people. If then the good proposed by shortening the term be very uncertain, it must be considered that very great and certain evils attend upon frequent elections, viz.—the inflaming of party divisions, depraving the morals of the people, and many other inconveniences of no little weight. However, this is a point about which I have found the best men differ, and which thou wilt therefore consider as more problematical than others I

have mentioned before."* But in this passage, and in the manuscript notes of a speech, the date of which I cannot ascertain, but which was probably delivered after the fall of Walpole, I find Lyttelton arguing against triennial Parliaments upon the same grounds on which they were afterwards opposed by Mr. Burke; namely, that such a change would produce triennial, instead of septennial corruption; and that the fortunes of country gentlemen would be ruined in contesting elections with the crown.†

* Letter lxv.

† Smythe observes in his Lectures on Modern History, vol. ii. p. 219-20.—"One great question that gives interest to these times, and to the debates of these times, was the Septennial Bill. Originally the Parliament had no precise limit of duration; one sat in Charles the Second's time for seventeen or eighteen years.

"William III. however, was induced at last to consent to the Triennial Bill, which limited the duration to three years. To enact, therefore, the Septennial Bill, was to diminish the extent of the victory which the popular part of the constitution had obtained, and the measure has therefore been always made a matter of reproach to the Whig party. In this reproach, when I first gave lectures, more than twenty years ago, I concurred, unwillingly indeed: for to the Whigs of the last century I then believed, and I shall always believe, we owe all the constitutional blessings we enjoy. But I have since satisfied myself from what I understand of the nature of the Stuart Papers, and what I have learnt from other sources, that the measure of the Septennial Bill was necessary to the maintenance of the Brunswick family on the throne, and that a general election at the time could not have been ventured upon.

"It is to be observed also, that the Triennial Bill had been enacted but twenty years before, and was a fair subject of revision.

"The speeches, however, of Shippen and others, are worthy of attention, and particularly the speech of Sir Robert, in the year

The great battle on this occasion was between Wyndham and Walpole. Let us suppose, said the former, in his speech on that occasion, a man raised by accident to be chief minister, and then proceeded to paint the character of his antagonist in the colours which his politics and Bolingbroke suggested, and which his eloquence enabled him to use. Let us suppose, said the latter, in his answer, an *anti-minister*, in a country where he might and ought to have been put to death as a traitor; and then proceeded to describe Bolingbroke,—treating Wyndham contemptuously as his mouth-piece,—in language, the effect of which has, perhaps, never been surpassed in Parliament.

Walpole found himself supported by a majority of 247 to 184. On the 16th of April, the Parliament, which would otherwise soon have expired by a natural death, was dissolved.

It was probably during this year that Lyttelton wrote, in manifest imitation of Montesquieu, his "Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan." These letters are not without occasional indelicacy both of thought and expression; and were on this account, as well as that of their extreme political opinions, a subject of regret to Lyttelton in after-life. Graves, in his Reminiscences of Shenstone, ascribes, probably without authority, Lyttelton's subsequent failure as a candidate for Worcestershire, to the

1734, when the Repeal of the Bill was brought forward, and when he placed his argument on the fair and right ground, that the Septennial Bill had improved the constitution, and prevented it from being too democratic."

offence which they gave to the clergy.* Yet, I think, Warton's observation,† that these letters have been too much depreciated and neglected, is well founded. They contain a satirical sketch of the manners of society in London,—the gambling, then almost universal among the higher classes,‡—the dull indecency of the comedies,§—the conjugal infidelity, then esteemed fashionable, to which parents by "superficial and bad education," might be said, "negatively to breed up" their children,‖—the ignorant and licentious *free-thinking*,¶ the false and shallow philosophy by which "virtue is deprived of glory here, and the hopes of recompence hereafter,"**—"the cold and lifeless unconcern to every thing but a narrow private interest,"—the disposition "to jest away our liberties and all that is serious to our happiness."††

A lamentable picture, it must be confessed, of the private life of the higher classes in the Metropolis; and highly coloured as it probably was, one, of which the general features, there is too much reason to believe, were faithfully drawn. There is, however, some light to all this shade:—for instance, the portrait of a religious, amiable, and affectionate gentleman, intended for his father; and an admirable sketch of Dr. John Hough, Bishop of Worcester, who is praised for his singular and extraordinary character, shewn,

* Graves' Recollections of some particulars in the Life of the late W. Shenstone, Esq., a dull, scarce, and rather curious book.

† Letter v. ‡ Letter viii.

§ Warton's note to Pope's Epil. to Satires, Dial. 2. l. 240.

‖ Letter ix. ¶ Letter lxxii. ** Letter xvii. †† Letter lxx.

among other instances, in residing perpetually in his diocese, hoarding no wealth, asking no favours at court, laying out "the revenues of his see in a decent hospitality, and a charity void of ostentation."*

The letters which contain remarks on the constitution, and strictures on the political state of England,

* Letter lvi. "Such as on Hough's unsullied mitre shine," is Pope's description of the "trophies" and "stars" of the good, in his Epilogue to the Satires, p. 391. Hough is also the subject of a beautiful eulogy in Hawkins Browne's poem, 'de immortalitate animæ.' He was successively Bishop of Oxford, Lichfield, and Worcester; he was also the President of Magdalen College, whom the Fellows chose in opposition to the mandate of James II. He died in 1743, at the age of 93, having been 53 years a Bishop. He lived on terms of great intimacy with the Lyttelton family; many of his letters are among the MSS., but none sufficiently interesting to be published. He is described in the verses to Dr. Ayscough as follows:—

"Good Wor'ster thus supports his drooping age,
Far from court-party, far from party rage;
He, who in youth a tyrant's frown defied,
Firm and intrepid on his country's side,
Her boldest champion then, and now her mildest guide.
O generous warmth! O sanctity divine!
To emulate his worth, my friend, be thine:
Learn from his life the duties of the gown;
Learn not to flatter, nor insult the crown;
Nor basely servile court the guilty great,
Nor raise the church a rival to the state:
To error mild, to vice alone severe,
Seek not to spread the law of Love by fear.
The priest who plagues the world can never mend:
No foe to man was e'er to God a friend.
Let reason and let virtue faith maintain:
All force but their's is impious, weak, and vain.

though they shew the writer's fondness for historical research, are not remarkable for much depth of thought.

Sir R. Walpole is pourtrayed as the great corruptor of the nation:* and the Persian stranger advises his English friend to pay no regard to Whig or Tory; "to pull down at once these ensigns of Party,—which are, indeed, false colours hung out by faction,—and set up instead, one national standard, which all who leave, by whatever name they may call themselves, should be considered and used as deserters."† This was the doctrine which about this period Lord Bolingbroke took great pains to inculcate. It is, perhaps, worthy of notice, that in one of these letters the unrepresented state of some of the large towns, and the decayed constituency of certain hamlets which sent two members to Parliament, is censured, while Septennial Parliaments are, as has been remarked, faintly approved of.‡ One letter contains a just animadversion on the mode of educating, as mere classical scholars, without a thorough acquaintance with the constitution and history of their country, persons destined by birth or talents to take an active share in the government of their country. This letter is remarkable, as it has been supposed, chiefly on the ground of H. Walpole's sneers in his Memoirs of George the Second, and, as it seems to me, erroneously, that Lord Lyttelton's own character bore the stamp of such an imperfect discipline and culture. "The new science produced in

* Letter xxi. &c.
† Letter lx.
‡ Letter lxv.
§ Letter xlvii.

Europe of late years, the *Treaty Learning*,"* the huge heap of negotiations "which has occupied this little spot of earth for the last thirty years," the extensive study in which "not only the rights of every prince, but their inclinations to the rights of every other," come in for their share of ridicule, which no one acquainted with the intricate reticulations of treaties, congresses, &c. &c. of this period, will think undeserved.† The Bankrupt Law, which consigned insolvent debtors to perpetual imprisonment,‡ and the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, are unfavourably glanced at.§ Of the supplies afforded by the Commons to the Government, it is said, "That when these gifts are most liberal, they have a natural tendency, like plentiful exhalations drawn from the earth, to fall again upon the place from whence they come."‖ The propriety and beauty of this metaphor, have rendered it a favourite ornament in the compositions of the historian, the orator, and the divine.¶

* Vide infra, Congress of Soissons, &c. † Letter lxxi.

‡ Letter iv. § Letter xxvii. ‖ Letter xxxviii.

¶ See Hume's History of England, reign of Charles the First, chapter 53. "That whatever supplies had been levied on his subjects had been employed for their advantage and preservation, and like vapours rising out of the earth and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had at first been exhaled."

Mr. Canning, I think, made use of the same metaphor in one of his speeches. The earliest source to which I have been able to trace it in our literature, is a passage in Jeremy Taylor's Sermon, called "The Marriage Ring," Pt. 1. "But as the earth, the mother of all creatures here below, sends up all its vapours and proper emissions, at the command of the sun, and yet requires them again to

There are many of the minor poems of Lyttelton, which I pass by without comment, but his Epigram—

> "None without hope ere loved the brightest fair,
> But love can hope when reason would despair,"

has secured itself a place in English literature.

Towards the close of the year (1734), Lady Suffolk, George the Second's mistress, the patroness of opposition, debaters, wits, and poets—of Pope, Gay, and Swift—finding her influence lost, withdrew from court. In 1732, Lyttelton had written, with more elegance than truth, these lines for her bust, set up in a wood at Stowe:

> "Her wit and beauty for a court were made;
> Her truth and goodness fit her for a shade."

The retreat of Lady Suffolk at this time from the scene of active politics, had the effect of greatly disheartening the opposition.

In November, 1734, Lyttelton wrote from London to his father an account of the rumoured preliminaries of peace between the Emperor, France, and Sardinia, to which Spain, he thought, would afterwards become a party. These preliminaries were not signed till 1736, and in 1738 became the Third Treaty of

refresh her own seeds, and they are deposited between them both in the bosom of a cloud as a common receptacle, that they may cool his flames and yet descend to make her fruitful—so does the proprieties of a wife to be disposed of by her lord, yet all are for her provisions, it being a part of his need to refresh and supply hers; and it serves the interests of both, while it serves the necessities of either."

Vienna, seating Carlos on the independent throne of the Two Sicilies, giving to France Lorraine, and to the Emperor Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese.

In this letter he observes, that the proffered mediation of the English and Dutch had been peremptorily rejected. "However," he adds, "we must satisfy ourselves, and rejoice that a peace is got, whoever made it, for nothing was so dangerous to the ministry as a continuance of a war, which they could neither have well engaged in nor kept out of, had it lasted a little longer." Yet there is no doubt that at this time the writer was leagued with the opposition, and therefore the *rejoicing* must have been on his father's behalf, from whose office he appears to have dated the letter.

CHAPTER III.

1735—1737.

[Hagley MSS.—Parliamentary History, vol. ix. — Doddington's Diary; and authorities referred to in former Chapter.]

The new Parliament met in January, 1735, when it was discovered that though the minority had increased, the majority was still compact and overwhelming. The opposition seeing the star of Walpole, notwithstanding all their efforts, so manifestly in the ascendant, though they vigorously attacked the address, and carried some members for contested elections against the Government, became disheartened for a season. Some of their motions were indeed permitted by Walpole to pass unopposed; but there were few important debates, and none directly pointed against the minister.

Pulteney was dejected. Bolingbroke betook himself to his villa of Chanteloup in Touraine, writing, in classical phrase, to Wyndham, "he who remains on the stage after his part is over, deserves to be hissed off. I thought it my duty not to decline the service of my party, till the party itself either succeeded, or despaired of success." His disappointment at the result

of the elections, the retirement of Lady Suffolk, the dislike which Pulteney and the sections of discontented Whigs bore to him, the stings which Walpole's speech had left in the minds of his hearers against him, and, perhaps, the publication at this time of his former correspondence with the Pretender, conspired to produce the sudden disappearance of this political meteor.

In April, George Lyttelton was returned to Parliament for the first time, as the colleague of his brother-in-law, Thomas Pitt, for Okehampton in Devonshire, *vice* Mr. Northmore, deceased: a borough which he continued to represent from this time till his elevation to the House of Peers. His father, Sir Thomas Lyttelton, who had represented Worcestershire in Parliament, from 1714 to 1734, fell a victim at this election to the unpopularity of the Excise measure, and to the combined strength of his enemies in the county, backed by an ally out of the county, whose aid they could scarcely have counted upon. Never did the old Duchess of Marlborough write a more characteristic letter than the following to Dr. Sandby, a Prebendary of Worcester.

"Tunbridge Wells, August 26, 1733.

"Sir,—You may very well wonder at this address, from one that has not only receiv'd justice, but great civility and some favour, when I have had occasion to apply to you and the Chapter in my affairs; and yet have never had any opportunity of expressing myself, as I wish always to do when I am oblig'd. I am

sensible, likewise, that what I am going to write may seem impertinent: because my simple sex are not allowed to be judges in such matters. However, I venture to trouble you with this, having been desir'd by one, that I am sure is perfectly honest, to make what interest I can for votes in the choice of the next Parliament, tho' it won't be this twelve-month. And I own, I wondered to see so much application as there is, so long before the time; but I am told, 'tis absolutely necessary, because people are very busy about it, that I am sure design no good to the publick. And I say this, from being an eye-witness for many years of what has pass'd. And after the pains which has been taken to prevent looking into frauds, to refuse the publick an account of things, which they have a right to be satisfy'd in, and to raise such vast sums of money for troops that cou'd be of no use to England, if the money had really been paid, as pretended, upon a nation already so overloaded with debt, every man that is capable of reflection must see that we have nothing left to preserve our valuable liberties, but the choice of a wise and honest Parliament. And before I come to the chief reason of my writing to you, I will beg leave to tell you what I have done myself, and what I will ever do upon such occasions. Having a very great estate in my own power, I have writ to all my tenants and people that I have influence over, to desire that they would not engage to promise any body their votes, till 'tis seen what members will offer. And then I shall desire of them to give all my interest to such as have the best characters, and the best

estates, without distinction of that odious thing, Party; which I have seen kept up for so many years on each side, by turns, only for the advantage of the leaders, without any honest regard for the good of the nation; and never to be for any man that has an employment, since experience shews us, how few there are that have virtue enough to vote on the side of reason and justice, when they must lose by it a profitable place, or the hopes of a title, and other trifles not necessary to name.

"I acknowledge this caution will not always serve, because 'tis evident, that men of great estates have been so weak, or so covetous as to do very wrong things to do more; which, in my opinion, is like a man that out of fondness for the present gain, will take a false mortgage to have so much more per cent. To preserve the laws of England has cost a great deal of blood and treasure, and has been the occasion of forcing some things to be done, that, I believe, every body was sorry to do. And after that, it would be a sad thing to give up the rights of England to any Minister whatsoever. Some people will answer to this, that nothing done by Parliament is against law; but I think, there is nothing so bad as to make laws void by a corrupt Parliament. And tho' one can't be sure, that a man may not be bought after he is in the House, yet certainly a member that has never voted an ill thing, and has a good estate is most likely to serve his country well. The members, that are candidates for Worcestershire are Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Sir Herbert Packington, and Mr. Lechmere. I don't

know the two latter; but I do know that Sir Thomas Lyttelton has always voted as he is directed. And 'twas for that reason, I imagine, he had an employment he can know nothing of. He is my cousin, but he ought not to take what I say ill; because I do solemnly protest, if I had a son that would from weakness, or any by-end, be influenced to act any thing against the true national interest, if I had a thousand votes, I would give them all against him. And now 'tis high time to beg your pardon for so long a letter upon this subject; which, I am persuaded you will have the goodness to forgive, because it is the truth, and because I am with the greatest respect imaginable,

"Sir, your most faithful, and most
"obedient humble servant,
"S. MARLBOROUGH."

Sir Thomas rejected by Worcestershire, took refuge in the borough of Camelford, which he continued to represent till he retired from Parliament in 1741.

Lyttelton was now fairly launched into public life. It is not uninteresting, or without bearing on the subject of these memoirs, to consider the auspices under which his first appearance was made. One of his sisters had married Thomas Pitt, father of the first Lord Camelford, and grandson of Governor Pitt, the possessor of the famous diamond, and the purchaser of several Boroughs. For one of these (Oakhampton) Thomas Pitt returned himself and his brother-in-law Lyttelton, and for another, his

1735. younger brother, William. With this extraordinary man Lyttelton early contracted a very intimate friendship, which continued, with one brief though bitter interruption, till his death. Lyttelton's mother was a sister of Lord Cobham, the owner of princely Stowe; another sister of the same noble person had married Mr. Grenville of Wotton in Buckinghamshire, whose children, Richard (afterwards Earl Temple), George, and James, began their political career about the same time with their cousin, the subject of these memoirs.*

This was the small band of persons, then comparatively insignificant, in whose company Lyttelton began to climb the steep and thorny path of political ambition. Could the curtain of the future have been lifted for an instant, what a vision would have presented itself! With what emotions would he have seen the names and fortunes of his contemporary kinsmen interwoven with the destinies of his country, during *some* of the most memorable epochs of her history—not, indeed, the *most* memorable, because, by a rare accident, the sons of these very persons stood at the helm of their country in yet more perilous times, than those during which their fathers had guided the vessel of the state. How would the classical mind of Lyttelton have delighted in adding the distinguished progeny of his

* Viscount Cobham's title was granted with remainder to Mrs. Grenville and her male issue, and in their default to the male issue of "Dame Christian Lyttelton." Mrs. Grenville became Viscountess Cobham on the death of her brother, and was afterwards created Countess Temple.

kinsmen and contemporaries to the scanty catalogue of exceptions which History furnishes to the sad remark of Aristotle,* that the virtues of illustrious men usually become vices in their degenerate offspring. Every one will admit that the great abilities of Lyttelton's contemporaries, of Chatham, George Grenville,† and the first Lord Holland were rivalled by those of William Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Charles Fox. In my judgment the sons were entitled to the Homeric boast, that they far excelled their fathers. I may be excused for observing in this place, that another of Lyttelton's contemporaries, the son of Lord Hardwicke, "turned back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain,"‡ and was appointed to the office of Lord High Chancellor, so long and so worthily filled by the father; though the dream of family ambition vanished at the moment it seemed to be realized, and the son died before the patent of his peerage§ was executed. 1735.

* Aristotelis Rhetoricorum, lib. 2. c. 15. and Pindar Nem. 6. 14. The two Bacons, and the two Cecils, are also remarkable instances in English history.

† While I write these pages, I cannot forget that one of George Grenville's sons, who has played at bowls with Lord Chatham, yet lives—presenting, even in his eighty-ninth year the perfect type of that race of English gentlemen, who thought superior station brought with it the obligation of superior knowledge and superior goodness. His great age has neither clouded his clear and vigorous intellect, nor chilled the warm affections of his heart, and he sinks calmly and slowly beneath the horizon, gladdening all on whom his parting glances are cast.

‡ Said of Lord Bathurst.—Mr. Burke's speech on American Taxation.

§ He was created Lord Morden.

1735. This year passed away, leaving England as it had found her, at peace. Walpole's skilful policy preserved both this country and Holland from taking an active part in the war, for which the succession to the Crown of Poland was the pretext. It divided the Continental powers at this time, and was afterwards terminated by the third Treaty of Vienna. Lord Harrington entirely failed in his endeavour to break by a cabinet intrigue the neutrality of England. Another peril of war, from a different quarter, was also avoided, arising out of a quarrel between Spain and Portugal; we were bound by treaty to assist the latter, and at one time hostilities seemed inevitable. But they were also averted by a timely display of vigour on the part of Walpole.

1736. The next year saw the preliminaries of the Treaty of Vienna signed, and the return of peace to Europe. Parliament met in January, and the King's speech mentioning the prospect of peace, and his intention of reducing the numbers of our forces by sea and land. Lord Chesterfield had already suggested in a periodical paper, called Fog's Journal, that a wax army moved by clockwork, would be as harmless, and less expensive to the country. It was well answered by the defenders of Walpole's policy, that he prevented war, by being prepared for it. The opposition made no comment on the congratulatory address, which was triumphantly carried. During the rest of the session, the Gin and Mortmain acts were passed; a Bill for repealing the Test Act, brought forward by the opposition, was thrown out; as was a Bill to relieve Quakers

from the payment of Tithes, though supported by Walpole. No part was taken by Lyttelton in any of these debates. 1736.

On the 27th of April, the Prince of Wales married Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha. He had no reason to regret a marriage which had been almost forced upon him by his father; the lady was handsome, accomplished, and agreeable; and she won the affections of her husband immediately after their nuptials.

The marriage gave great and general satisfaction to the country. The City of London was early in tendering its congratulations; and on the 29th of April,* a motion was made in the House of Commons, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty upon the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to express the satisfaction and great joy of his faithful Commons on this happy occasion, which they look upon with unspeakable comfort, as the means, under the Divine Providence, of giving an additional strength to the Protestant interest, and of securing to all future ages the laws and liberties of this nation, in the full manner we now happily and thankfully enjoy them under the protection of his Majesty's just and mild government over his people." The motion for an Address so ministerial in its nature, was made by Pulteney, the leader of the opposition; and the principal speakers upon the occasion, at least those whose future celebrity has caused their speeches to be recorded, were Pitt and Lyttelton; both of whom

* Parl. Hist. v. ix. p. 1223.

1736. spoke for the first time. The effect produced by them at the time was certainly considerable; and even now, though neither of the speeches can be said to possess much merit, though the future "torrens dicendi copia" of Pitt scarcely shewed itself in a rivulet, and though we laugh at the absurd commendations of Tindal, they deserve the praise of being well expressed, and not ill adapted to the occasion on which they were delivered. Both speakers dwelt principally on the filial duty of the Prince to his father, on his goodness in acceding to the wishes of the people by requesting to be married; and on the hereditary associations of the defence of the Protestant faith connected with the name and family of the bride; the merit of the King in granting the request occupied a less prominent position. Lyttelton in awarding his measure of praise to the King, took care to observe that his merit was one in which "none of his servants could have a share —the most assuming minister could lay no claim to it; it was his own act." Part of his speech shewed that he had not forgotten the "Pro Marcello" of Cicero, and in allusion to the ancestors of the Princess, he not inelegantly expressed his "ardent wish that the same virtues may revive again with equal lustre and happier fortune in her posterity." This motion, and a similar one in the House of Lords, passed without opposition. The session was terminated on the 26th of May. The King went to Hanover. The Porteous riots closed the political events of the year.

The session, which opened on the 1st of February, 1737, fully atoned by the fierceness of its debates for

the tranquillity of the last. The debates upon the tumults at Edinburgh damaged Walpole, for in both Houses distinguished members of the Government spoke and voted against his measure. Sir John Bernard's proposal for the reduction of the interest on the national debt to 3 per cent. was discreditably stifled by Walpole. It will be seen in another part of these memoirs that the reduction was effected in 1749, by the united influence of Mr. Pelham, then minister, and Sir J. Bernard. 1737.

This year had been marked in its commencement by an event which considerably affected the fortunes of Lyttelton. The estrangement between the King and Prince had greatly increased, and the latter had now unfurled his standard, and gathered the leaders of the opposition avowedly and without disguise around him. The violent conduct of the Prince in 1734, when he made his three demands to the King, was mentioned in the last chapter. Not long afterwards, something between a hint and a threat was conveyed to the King, that the Prince might be induced to apply to Parliament for means more adequate to the support of his station, than those which his father seemed disposed to allow him. The bare suggestion at that time incensed George the Second to the greatest degree. The Queen vainly endeavoured to consider the proposition as a bad jest. The idea was the child of Bolingbroke, and from the first moment of its birth was eagerly adopted by the Prince, and carefully fostered by the Jacobite section of the Opposition. Lyttelton, as appears from the following letter, con-

1737. sidered it as a scheme of that party to bring the Heir of the House of Brunswick into the same odium with the country, which attached to the reigning Monarch. This letter, like the former one, bears an endorsement evidently of subsequent date.

"Copy of my letter to the Prince of Wales, written upon an opinion which then prevailed, that on the occasion of his marriage an addition to his income might be asked of the Parliament, to which he seemed to give ear.

"October 12, 1735.

"SIR,—Though I am convinced that whenever a question arises between your honour and your interest, your Royal Highness will not be long in doubt which of the two you should prefer; yet, as I also know that the interests of your friends, or those who call themselves by that name, weigh more with you than your own; and, as I am persuaded, that on the occasion of your marriage some of those gentlemen will not fail to press your Royal Highness to take the easiest method of enabling you to provide more plentifully for them; I most humbly beg leave, out of zeal for your real service, to lay before you in writing some thoughts on that subject, which your Royal Highness may thus consider more at leisure, than you could in the warmth and hurry of discourse.

"Permit me to begin by reminding your Royal Highness of a great truth, which I have often heard you own, that in your present situation, more especially, there is no difference between your honour and

your interest. It is above all things your interest to gain the affection of the public: without that no establishment can make you happy, no addition of wealth can make you great; with that, you would be infinitely more considerable were you reduced to live only upon your Cornish revenue, than with a hundred thousand pounds per annum, or twice that sum, for which you should pay so dear a price as the loss of any part of that invaluable treasure. And I believe your Royal Highness will be hardly brought to think that any addition can be asked to the ample provision already made for the Royal Family by so great a civil list, part of which was intended to support your Royal Highness, without creating a universal discontent, and rendering the family more unpopular than ever. But, perhaps, you may be told that the odium of such a measure will fall on the court, not on you, if you are only passive in it, and quietly take what they get for you from the Parliament and the people. Alas! Sir, can you hope that the enemies of the family, the Jacobite party, will not find the means of involving your Royal Highness in the common dislike of this proceeding? will they not represent the whole affair as a proof of a better understanding between you and the court, than you have hitherto desired should be thought to subsist? And may not this calumny, groundless as it is, find too easy a belief among many of the people, who are at too great a distance from your Royal Highness to be rightly informed of your intentions, or to separate you from the authors of such an odious extortion? Your 1737.

1737. Royal Highness well remembers with what reluctance and general dissatisfaction the famous hundred and fifteen thousand pounds were granted to the Crown not long ago; and yet that was a less sum than this would be, supposing the King to live but seven years more, and the public to pay your Royal Highness annually but twenty thousand pounds, the rest of your income being allowed to you out of the King's Civil List.

"If the demand should be greater, the clamour against it will rise in the same proportion; but even the smallest addition to what is already given for the maintenance and support of the honour and dignity of the Royal Family will be grudged by the people, more than a much greater sum for any other use, from the knowledge they have that the Civil List revenues are daily increasing, and that much of what they produce is every year hoarded up, while they groan under the load of so many heavy taxes, which if a war comes upon us, (as there is reason to fear) must be necessarily augmented. Even admitting, that your Royal Highness, by continuing wholly passive, and leaving the Court to manage this affair, may keep your own reputation entirely unblemished, and receive the profit without incurring the resentment, the loss would still very far exceed the gain. You would lose, Sir, an inestimable opportunity of endearing yourself for ever to the nation, by shewing that public spirit which distinguishes you from every Prince in Europe; what can those who truly love you desire more of fortune, than an occasion, which, if

used, as I confidently hope you will use it, must set 1737.
you at once at the head of the Opposition, without the least appearance of your conduct being influenced by any other interest than the interest of the public, and yet leave you free and unengaged in the measures of any of the opposers, further than this single point on which you declare yourself, a point so judiciously chosen that it can be no way offensive to the King your father, being purely an act of generous self-denial and magnanimity in you.

"Give me leave on this subject to remind your Royal Highness of what you said at Mr. Pope's, where you was heard with such emotions of joy and gratitude by all who were present. *You said, you would gladly reduce yourself to live upon no more than three hundred pounds a year, if you could but hope to lessen the National Debt,* the state of which you had set forth to us with so much knowledge, and so deep a sense of the mischiefs attending upon it. Will you now, Sir, *unsay* all this again, and yourself contribute to lay a heavier load on the nation? will you suffer your name to be used by those ministers whose conduct you arraigned, and who will even dare to call themselves *your servants*, while they are oppressing that people whom you love, and increasing those burthens which you deplore? God forbid this should happen. It never can happen while your Royal Highness preserves that generous spirit which, I trust, will be as lasting as it is necessary to your glory, and to the happiness of the kingdom. For the sake *of these*, I have often seen you resist both promises and

1737. threats; for the sake of *these* I shall see you resist yet more.

"Indeed, I am so sure of your steady perseverance in every great and noble sentiment, that what I now say, is rather to confirm the dictates of your heart, and set before you the advantages of your acting in this business conformably to them, than to dissuade you from a conduct as repugnant to your inclinations as it is to your interests rightly understood. I only wish that your virtues may in this, and other instances, be brought to a public trial, which is all they want to obtain a public recompense in the love and veneration of mankind."

But Lyttelton's influence could not long divert his master from the prosecution of this darling scheme. The project slumbered till the 7th of February, 1737, when the Prince poured into the ears of the terrified Bubb Doddington, his intention of putting it into immediate operation. If the Appendix to that thorough paced courtier's memoirs is to be believed, no importunity was spared by Frederic to shake the allegiance of the future Lord Melcombe to the Government of which he was a member. Bubb, however, resisted the attack. By the 13th or 14th Walpole became apprized of the blow impending over him; and by the 16th it was generally promulgated. The embarrassment of the Minister was excessive: for the matter stood thus:—In George the First's reign the Civil List did not exceed £700,000. a year, and out of this the then Prince of Wales was allowed £100,000.

a year, clear of all deductions.* George the Second had granted to him by Parliament several funds to compose a Civil List of £800,000. a year, which it was said produced £900,000.; and the Prince's friends maintained, not without show of reason, that the augmentation of income to the Crown was made with a view to provide £100,000. for the Heir. The Protest of several Peers on the debate contains these reasons clearly and forcibly propounded. Prince Frederic's allowance had been augmented from £36,000. to £50,000. which, with the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounted to £60,000. It was said on the other hand, that George the Second had a family of younger children to provide for out of the Civil List, which was not the case with George the First. 1737.

Walpole's first endeavour was to persuade the King to offer to make the £50,000. a permanent allowance to the Prince, and to settle a jointure on the Princess. He saw that the absence of these provisions, gave great advantage to the opposition. The King reluctantly consented. The Minister's next step was to summon a Cabinet meeting on the 19th, when he informed his colleagues, that the King had empowered him to answer the motion of the Prince's friends in the House of Commons with these proposals. Lord Hardwicke, who had just been made Lord Chancellor,† remonstrated on the impropriety of not previously informing the Prince of his Majesty's intention. The suggestion, in spite of Walpole's dissent, was

* Parl. Hist. ix. 449. Peers' Protest.

† On the death of Lord Talbot.

1737. adopted by the Council. The King was persuaded to send a message, by some of the Cabinet Ministers, to his son. On the 21st, the very day on which Lord Hardwicke was waiting in the ante-chamber at the levée, to receive the Great Seal in due form, Walpole rushed out of the King's chamber, with the draught yet wet, of the message which the Lords Chancellor, President, Steward, and Chamberlain, were to deliver to the Prince; in vain did Lord Hardwicke exclaim, both against such precipitation, and against beginning his Chancellorship with so ungracious an act; all he could obtain was the softening of certain harsh expressions, and the attendance of the whole Cabinet, instead of the four Lords. According to the accounts in Chandler, adopted by Coxe, the Prince received them courteously, uttered dutiful expressions towards his father, but declined to withdraw the motion, saying, "Indeed, my Lords, it is in other hands, I am sorry for it."

Walpole's distress was not lightened by the ill health of the King, whose death at this period was generally believed to be close at hand.

On the 22nd, Pulteney, in a long historical speech, moved an Address to the King to settle £100,000. on the Prince, and the same jointure on the Princess as had been settled on the Queen when she was Princess of Wales. Walpole made a very dexterous reply, but his majority was only 30 against the motion; the numbers being—Noes, 234, Yeas, 204. Among the speakers for the motion were Pitt and Lyttelton. Sir William Wyndham had promised the Prince the support of his

party, but forty-five Tories, whose presence would have defeated the Government, stayed away, considering the motion an unconstitutional interference with the prerogative. It is possible, therefore, that Lyttelton might have seen that one of his reasons for dissuading the Prince from this measure was unfounded; but still it seems to me difficult to justify his speech, and vote in favour of it. His defection would have been a great injury to his friends, and as he carefully preserved the letter, he probably persuaded himself that it was an occasion on which his own opinion was properly sacrificed to that of his party. 1737.

On the 23rd, Carteret made a similar motion in the House of Lords. The division was, Not-contents 79, Proxies 24—103. Contents 28, Proxies 12—40. Majority, 63. A Protest was signed by twelve Peers, amongst whom was Chesterfield. During the debate allusion was made to the influence of the Queen, and the Duke of Cumberland, over the King. His dislike to his eldest son was now invincible, and had the breach not been irreparable, the next act of the Prince would have rendered it so.

On the 31st of July, while the Royal Family were at Hampton Court, the Princess was seized with the pangs of labour; her husband instantly, and without communication with any one, put her into a carriage, and hurried her to St. James's, where she was that night delivered of a daughter. Lyttelton, in a letter to his father, dated 11th August,* says, "The pleasure we felt at the birth of the young Princess has been

* Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii. p. 310.

1737. clouded since by a message from the King, expressing the highest resentment against his Royal Highness for carrying the Princess to lie-in at St. James's, though it was done at her earnest desire, and when the danger she was in of wanting all necessary help where she was, (there being neither midwife, nurses, nor any thing there) gave the Prince no time for deliberation." It is barely possible that this version may be true. I have no doubt that the writer believed that it was so; but the general opinion has been that it was an act of miserable spite towards his parents; and yet Lord Hardwicke, in recording an interview which he had with the Prince on the 4th of August, seems to acquit him of any intentional misconduct. The Prince wrote penitential letters, made submissive apologies, and according to Horace Walpole literally knelt in the dirt to his mother. The wrath of the King was kindled to its utmost pitch. Walpole rather fanned the flame, and it was determined that the Prince, as soon as his wife was recovered, should be banished from St. James's. The Chancellor taxed his utmost ingenuity, eloquence, and tact to repair the breach, predicting with great sagacity, its fatal consequences to the Government, but in vain. He preserved a memoir of his conference with Walpole on the subject, which Coxe has printed, and it is a most curious and interesting record. The minister, though he told his colleagues "the Chancellor talked like an angel," was deaf to his voice, alleging, that the Prince was wholly guided by the counsels of those whom the King had dismissed,

especially Lords Carteret and Chesterfield; in fact, as his admirer and biographer admits, "He considered the struggle as much between himself and the opposition, as between the King and Prince." 1737.

On the 18th of August, Lyttelton writes again to his father,* "The situation the Prince is in does, I dare say, give you great concern as well as me. No submission on his side has been wanting to obtain a pardon for the fault laid to his charge, and avoid a rupture, of which that would be the cause; but those submissions have not been able to prevent one, and a door is shut to all further applications, by his Majesty having forbid him to reply. Another subsequent order has occasioned some of his servants laying down their offices; and last Tuesday morning, Mr. Pelham, contrary to the tattle of the Court, and, I believe, to the expectation of the Prince, resigned the seals, which his Royal Highness, unsolicited by me, and without my expecting it, immediately gave to me.

"I need not tell you, that while my being in his service would have brought any difficulty upon his conduct or mine, no consideration should have induced me to accept of this or any employment in his family; but these doubts no longer subsisting, I could not decline with any respect to him, or credit to myself, the honour of serving him in the way that he desired."

The "subsequent order" was one forbidding all persons who paid their court to the Prince to be admitted into the King's presence at any of the royal palaces.

* Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii. p. 312.

1737. The child was baptized on the 29th. On the 10th of September, the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton, and the Earl of Pembroke delivered a written message to the Prince, which contained a severe recapitulation of his offences, and an order for his removal as soon as possible with his family from St. James's. The Chancellor soon saw the full accomplishment of his predictions. The Prince retreated to Norfolk House in St. James's Square, and devoted himself to the overthrow of Walpole; his house was the centre of all that was hostile to the Government—he held Opposition levees—fed Opposition poets—paid for Opposition elections—laid himself out for popularity, and courted assiduously and successfully, the favour of the people. The winter months he seems generally to have spent at Bath, or in its vicinity. Here the edict of the King was not supposed to be in full force, and the Prince received the homage of many, who thus worshipped in secret the rising, without openly offending the setting sun. What Baiæ had been to Rome, Bath was at this time to the English aristocracy, and what all the Badens of Germany are now—for Spa and Aix-la-Chapelle were then the only foreign watering places which could at all, and they but feebly, compete with it. The magnificence of its buildings, the beauty of the surrounding country, the virtues of its springs, the salubrity of its air, are attractions which still remain; but it has ceased—thanks to steamboats, and the "Brunnens" of Nassau, and the general fever of locomotion—to be the favourite resort which it was in these

days, when it was made classical ground by the visits of Pope, Garrick, Chesterfield, Carteret, Pulteney, Lyttelton, and of many "Lights of the church, and pillars of the law;"* when even the unbending Chatham submitted to the stern regimen of the eccentric Dr. Cheney, and when Beau Nash, the Prince of coxcombs, who swayed the sceptre of its public assemblies, and gave public feasts at the expense of the corporation, was immortalized by the sarcasm of Chesterfield. Bath became from this period, till the overthrow of Walpole, 1737.

* The most amusing account of Bath is to be found in Humphrey Clinker—witness this extract from a letter—

"To Sir Watkin Philips, Bart., of Jesus College, Oxon.

"DEAR KNIGHT,—I think those people are unreasonable who complain that Bath is a contracted circle in which the same dull scenes perpetually revolve without variation. I am, on the contrary amazed to find so small a place so crowded with entertainment and variety. London itself can hardly exhibit one species of diversion to which we have not something analogous at Bath, over and above those singular advantages that are peculiar to the place. Here, for example, a man has daily opportunities of seeing the most remarkable characters of the community. He sees them in their natural attitudes and true colours, descended from their pedestals, and divested of their formal draperies, undisguised by art and affectation. Here we have ministers of state, judges, generals, bishops, protectors, philosophers, wits, poets, players, chemists, fiddlers, and buffoons. . . . . .

"Another entertainment peculiar to Bath arises from the general mixture of all degrees assembled in our public rooms, without distinction of rank or fortune.

"I was extremely diverted last ball night to see the master of the ceremonies, leading with great solemnity to the upper end of the room, an antiquated Abigail, dressed in her lady's cast clothes; whom he, I suppose, mistook for some countess just arrived at the Bath. The ball was opened by a Scotch Lord, with a Mulatto

1737. the place where the Opposition met for concerting during the vacation their plan of operations for the ensuing session.

From Clifden, Lyttelton wrote to his father, on the 22nd of October,* "I came here yesterday to thank his Royal Highness for having augmented my salary £240. a year, by putting it upon the same foot with Mr. Molyneux under the King, when he was Prince."

Towards the close of this year it became generally known that the health of the Queen was rapidly decaying; a circumstance of no small moment to the Opposition, who anticipated the ruin of Walpole as the immediate consequence of the death of his never-failing protector. The following letter will shew that the demeanour which it would be politic for the Prince to adopt at this conjuncture, was a matter of anxious consideration to his party; it will also shew the distrust which they had begun to entertain of their leader Pulteney—a distrust which his future conduct fully justified. This letter is the first of the series of

heiress from St. Christopher's: and the gay Colonel Tinsel danced all the evening with the daughter of an eminent tinman from the borough of Southwark. Yesterday morning, at the Pump-room, I saw a broken-winded Wapping landlady squeeze through a circle of peers, to salute her brandy-merchant, who stood by the window, propped upon crutches; and a paralytic attorney of Shoe Lane, in shuffling up to the bar, kicked the shins of the Chancellor of England, while his lordship, in a cut bob, drank a glass of water at the Pump." See too Anstey's Bath Guide, which was in fact, though published afterwards, the original sketch of this picture.

* Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii. p. 314.

Lyttelton's political correspondence; its writer was one who engrossed a large share of the admiration of his contemporaries, and one whose pretensions to wit, eloquence, and ability, were certainly of no mean order, but his character was the reverse of that ascribed by Sallust to Cato, "videri quam esse bonus malebat." Not a few traces of the polished heartlessness, the studied insincerity, and the affected philosophy of his life, will be found in these letters. 1737.

"Bath, Nov. 12th, 1737.

"Dear Sir—This is in answer to your separate letter to me, before I have talked with Pulteney upon this important subject. His opinion and my *seeming* one, will be contained in another letter. As I suppose the Queen will be dead or out of danger, before you receive this, any advice to his Royal Highness will come full late, but in all events, it is my opinion that he cannot take too many and too respectful measures towards the Queen if alive, and towards the King, if she is dead; but then that respect should be absolutely personal, and care should be taken that the ministers should not have the least share of it, particularly if in the course of these transactions, the two *evidences* should be sent to, or of themselves presume to approach the Prince, he ought to shew them personal resentment; and if they bring any message from the King or Queen which he cannot refuse receiving, he should ask for it in writing, and give his answer in writing; alleging publicly for his reason, that he cannot venture any thing with people who have grossly both betrayed and misrepresented private conversation.

1737. "In case the Queen dies, I think Walpole should be looked upon as gone too, whether he be really so or no, which will be the most likely way to weaken him; for if he be supposed to inherit the Queen's power over the King, it will in some degree give it him; and if the Opposition are wise, instead of treating with him, they should attack him most vigorously and personally, as a person who has lost his chief support, which is indeed true, for though he may have more power with the King than any other body, yet he will never have that kind of power which he had by her means; and he will not even dare to mention many things to the King, which he could without difficulty have brought about by her means. Pray present my most humble duty to his Royal Highness, and tell him that, upon the principle of personal duty and respect to the King and Queen, if alive, he cannot go too far; as on the other hand, with relation to the ministers, after what has passed, he cannot carry his dignity too high; his own good judgment, and the particular circumstance will point out to him the methods of doing both, better than I can suggest at this distance. The waters have done me all the good they possibly could in six days, a good earnest of their doing me all the good I expect in six weeks. If they restore me my health, I shall value it the more for the part which I am sure you take in it; and in the hope of using most of it in your company, I am,

"Most faithfully yours,

"CHESTERFIELD."

It seems that in those days the Post Office was not a very safe channel for the transmission of political letters. Lord Chesterfield begins his next letter:— 1737.

"Bath, Nov. 15th, 1737.

"Dear Sir,—Having a safe conveyance for this letter, and being glad of any opportunity of conversing with you, I trouble you now with thoughts, which upon further deliberation have occurred to me, upon what I now hope to be the present situation of affairs, I mean the death of the Queen. It is most certain that Sir Robert must be in the utmost distress, and can never hope to govern the King as the Queen governed him. This truth is so obvious to every body, that many people in place will act very differently with respect to Sir Robert from what they used to do, while they knew that he governed her, who absolutely governed the King. The Chancellor, the Duke of Argyle, nay even the wretched President, will all pretend to have something to say, which whether at first it will have any effect upon the King or not, I don't know; but it must and will upon Sir Robert, whose corrupt and shameless followers will be looking out sharp, raising their demands, and making his management of the House of Commons exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable; nay, Sir Robert himself will be looking out, as well as they, and will be very unwilling to have his security depend upon the sudden and variable passions of his Majesty. In these circumstances nothing will more hasten his retreat, if he is inclined to retire, nor his ruin, if he is resolved to stand it out, than the part which the

1737. Prince may, ought, and therefore I am persuaded will act. If his Royal Highness resents as a Prince ought, an affront, which (if a private man) he must have resented with his sword, or have been dishonoured, and if he makes that resentment public, the party will be very unequal between the next heir to the Crown and a minister, whose favour, whose fortune, and possibly whose life depends upon the precarious protection of a passionate and changeable Prince, who into the bargain never loved him. Should the Prince's affair come again into Parliament, as I hope it will, Sir Robert and he will be looked upon as the two contending parties, between whom there will be no competition, as things now stand, not to mention that the £50,000. a year saved to the Civil List, strengthens our cause and weakens theirs, upon the foot of their own admission last year. This is the advantageous part which the Prince may act for himself, as well as the popular and glorious part to the public; and this is the part which if he follows his own inclinations and good sense I am sure he will act; but if he listens to Sir Robert's emissaries, which are his whole family, excepting yourself and Townshend, they may for ought I know, represent the magnanimity of forgiving injuries, and quote the bright example of his father for it, or may possibly preach up the true Christian doctrine of taking the lie, or a blow, (for I see no difference) without resenting it. In short, the Prince at the head of the Opposition, and both encouraging and forcing the Opposition to act with vigour, has every thing in his hands; if he acts otherwise, I need not

say what will be the consequence of it, I will only borrow the Bishop of St. Asaph's expression,—*our enemies will tell us with pleasure.* 1737.

"So much for politics, which though I have filled two pages with, no man in the kingdom is more resigned about than I am; I wish the best, and will contribute what little I can to it; but if the worst happens, I have as much philosophy to bear it, and as many amusements to comfort me under it, as most people I know. As the utmost of my ambition is to serve my country and my friends, but not myself, I shall sacrifice neither to my ambition, and consequently lose the good opinion of neither, a great article, though a rare one in public life; but surely a comfortable one in private. Add health to this, (and I recover it incredibly) which of course gives me the amusements of reading, writing, and society; and though I might be greater and richer, I am sure I cannot be happier. I omit the usual peroration of compliments to yourself at the end of my letter, and only tell you, with the plainness and simplicity inseparable from truth, that it is impossible to be more affectionately,

"Your faithful humble servant,

"CHESTERFIELD."

"Pray lay me at his Royal Highness's feet, but without shewing this letter, which is in too free a style."

That nothing might be wanting to render this letter thoroughly characteristic of its writer, the envelope

1737. in which it was enclosed, contained on a separate sheet of paper, the following *second* postscript.

"I add this to my other letter, to tell you, that notwithstanding the postscript, you may shew it the Prince or not, as you think proper; if you would have him see it, make a seeming difficulty at first, and make him force you at last.

"It would be endless to give you an account of the various sallies and extravagancies of Pulteney, which change oftener than the wind; his main attention is to pick up a few guineas at whisk; he despises me too much to talk to me about business, unless when some new-born freak breaks out of him involuntarily. But the only judgment I can form of him is, that he will get as much power and as much money as soon as he can, and upon any terms.

"We have a prospect of the Claude Lorraine kind before us, while Sir Robert's has all the horrors of Salvator Rosa. If the Prince would play the Rising Sun, he would gild it finely, if not, he will be under a cloud, which he will never be able hereafter to shine through. Instil this into the *Woman*."

The "woman" was clearly the Princess.

The Lord President, was Sir Spencer Compton, second son of Lord Northampton, he had been Speaker of the House of Commons. George the Second on his accession made him Prime Minister in the place of Walpole; but a few days sufficed to shew his

utter incapacity for the office, and at the end of them he was made Earl of Wilmington, and President of the Council, and Walpole was restored to the Premiership. He had been one of the Cabinet Council who had most strenuously opposed every modification of the terms of the King's message to the Prince, and who afterwards treacherously took part with the Opposition against Walpole. 1737.

John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, born in 1678, from birth, station, high courage, and showy abilities, exercised great political influence during the reign of the two first Georges; he had been Groom of the Stole to George the Second during the life of his father; and when dismissed through the jealousy of Walpole and Townshend, had thrown himself at first into fierce opposition, but being softened in 1719 by the appointment of Lord Steward of the Household, had from that period supported Walpole; about this time, however, his allegiance had begun to waver—he took an active part against the Government in the measure about the Porteous riots, and not long afterwards joined the motley opposition that hunted down the minister.

On the 20th of November, the event so anxiously desired by Chesterfield, the death of Queen Caroline, occurred. Chesterfield and Pope speedily produced unfeeling and disgusting lampoons, reproaching her with having died unreconciled to her son. But the truth seems to be contained in Mr. Ford's letter to Dean Swift, that she heartily forgave, though she

1737. refused to see the Prince, and so expressed herself to the Archbishop of Canterbury. She was a woman of many virtues; naturally of quick understanding, accomplished, learned, amiable, benevolent, the best friend of her husband, whose attachment to her exceeded that which it would have seemed possible for a person of such gross habits to have felt—it was the homage of what mind he had to her superior genius. Some ground her conduct might have afforded for the charge of pedantry; but the correspondent of Clarke and Leibnitz, the patroness of Bishops Sherlock and Butler,* the deliverer of Savage, the benefactress of Milton's grand-daughter, the friend of the oppressed Roman Catholics, will be remembered with honour, when the scurrilous lampoons of party are forgotten, or recollected with disgust.†

From the time of her husband's accession till her death,‡ she had exercised a paramount influence over public affairs; the steady friend of Walpole, she bequeathed the care of the King to him with her latest breath. But though Chesterfield and his party anticipated too hastily the downfall of Walpole, they

* Bolingbroke scoffs at her promotion of the author of the Analogy, who had more philosophy in his little finger than the scoffer had in his whole body.—Essay on Human Knowledge, p. 443, quarto edition.

† "Formed to gain hearts that Brunswick's cause denied,
And charm a people to her father's side."
Tickell's Kensington Gardens.

‡ 1727 to 1737.

were right in supposing that his best prop was gone. 1737.
The next letters are as follows :—

"Bath, November 28th, 1737.

"Sir,—I have received yours of the 23rd safe and in due time, which I shall answer by the first safe opportunity.

"Pray what do those Peers who are neither paid for voting nor mourning intend to do, with regard to this silly Order of Council for putting coaches and servants in mourning? It seems to me, indecent to comply with it, after one has observed the Order of Council of 1728, in cases where one should otherwise have shewn the highest regard. Lord Winchelsea, for instance, in obedience to that order, did not put his livery nor coaches in mourning for his wife nor his father, and ought he then to do it upon this occasion? To me, this new Order of Council seems to be a declaration that no public marks of regard, tenderness, and affection shall be shewn in this kingdom, but for the sacred persons of the Royal Family. I would in this, as in every thing else, avoid singularity, but if any number of Peers will have spirit enough not to comply, I will be one of them; in all events, I'll stay till I get to town, before I take any step in this matter. Above half my stay here is now, thank God, over, and the rest seems to go down hill. I propose being in London to-morrow three weeks, where, by the help of these waters and the cold bath, which I have constantly used, I hope to be as well as

1737. ever I can expect to be. I fled here for a total bankruptcy of constitution, and a man that has once been a bankrupt, especially an honest one, willingly compounds for a competency afterwards, and that I was an honest one is well known to some, who have seen my earnest desire to pay. Pray, when you see Lady Archibald, assure her of my respects, and tell her that I would have troubled her with a letter myself, to have acknowledged her goodness to me, if I could have expressed those acknowledgments to my own satisfaction, but not being able to do that, I only desire she would be persuaded that my sentiments with regard to her, are what they ought to be.

"Cura, ut Valeas, was a piece of advice, which the Romans commonly concluded their letters with; I am sure it was never more sincerely given by them, than it is now applied to me, but I fear it is the only good advice which you are likely to neglect, I am sure it is the only one you want.

"Yours most faithfully,

"CHESTERFIELD."

"Bath, December 12th, 1737.

"SIR,—I now acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the one of the 30th November by Mr. Plummer, and the other by the post of the 6th instant. I am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you take of informing me of what passes in town, which otherwise I should know nothing of, but in those false lights that folly or partiality throws upon every thing by

that time it gets here. I protest to you, it is mere curiosity that either prompts me to inquire, or makes me glad to hear of what passes in a conjuncture which is thought so critical, and not any part that I take in the events, any more than wishing for the best. For having a supreme contempt for fools, and an extreme aversion to knaves, I have not the least desire of being an actor upon the public stage, where both will always have the most considerable parts. Fight dog, fight bear, I am very willing to be a spectator in the gallery, but should be sorry to be one of the beasts in the *arena*. I am sorry to tell you, that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you so soon by a week as I proposed, for the waters now agreeing with Lady Chesterfield, which they did not do at first, she desires to stay a week longer, I shall therefore not be in town till the 27th, at about five of the clock, and if you have nothing to do that evening, I need not tell you how glad I shall be, if you will bestow it upon me. I am the sorrier for this delay, because of Lord Cobham's being in town, whom I always am glad, and impatient to see, or else his being in town makes my being there the less necessary. 1737.

"As to the mourning, I shall observe the King's order of 1728, and not my Lord President's of 1737. It might be very proper in consequence of arrêt de part le Roy in France, to overturn all the rights of blood, friendship, and regard, for any but the sacred persons of the royal family, to whom alone to be sure they are due, but here, in my opinion, it is *yet* a meanness to do it, and I will be one of the last to

1737. come into it. I am not sorry it did occur to my Lord President, to propose the Deification of her late Majesty, and that the Bishops should be ordered to perform the ceremony of her apotheosis in the true pagan manner, if it had, I make no doubt but it would have been readily ordered and religiously complied with; I am not the least afraid of having my chariot or liveries insulted for being out of mourning, besides at this time of year, the black would show the *dirt* more than the blue.

"I am most excessively weary of this place, while the doing of nothings all day, hinders me from really doing anything. Here is, indeed, a great number of beings, but few rational ones. Pulteney is here, but does not know it; Hammond devoted entirely to the women; and for the rest, I don't care what they do. I look upon it as a very bad symptom for me, that I so much dislike a place I was formerly so fond of, and have so little to do, where I used to be so busy. The entire recovery of my health gives me spirits enough to bear it a fortnight longer, but the same spirits too make me impatient to be in London, which, after all, is in England, le seul sejour d'un honnête homme.

"I am most faithfully and affectionately yours,

"CHESTERFIELD."

Soon after his dismissal from the office of High Steward, for his vote against the Excise bill in 1732, Lord Chesterfield married the lady mentioned in this letter. Her maiden name was Melosina de Schulenburgh, she sprang from a German family of distinc-

tion, and was niece to the Duchess of Kendall, the mistress of George the First, by whom in 1722 she had been created Countess of Walsingham and Baroness Aldborough. Hammond, as has been said, was equerry to the Prince of Wales. Dr. Johnson mentions him in his Lives of the Poets, as being in his time "well remembered as a man esteemed and caressed by the elegant and the great." In 1741, he was elected for Truro in Cornwall by the influence of the Prince, and died the next year at Stowe. Lord Chesterfield wrote a preface to some Elegies written by Hammond,* and published after his death, which, with a Prologue, constituted his poetical works, of no great merit, and now almost forgotten. 1737.

It was in this year that the Leonidas of Glover appeared, it was inscribed to Lord Cobham, and patronized, in a manner scarcely intelligible to the present reader, by that nobleman, by his party, and indeed by the whole Opposition, who professed an attachment to liberty as ardent as their hatred of Walpole. Lyttelton wrote an article upon it in Common Sense,† in which he represents himself as a person who had long been praying for the appearance of an original epic poem "in the spirit of the ancients, without taking their

* Lyttelton sent to Miss Lucy Fortescue, whom he afterwards married, Hammond's Elegies, with these verses:—

"All that of Love can be express'd,
In these soft numbers see;
But Lucy would you know the rest,
It must be read in me."

† See his printed works, vol. i.

1737. thoughts," emanating from "a genius who would scorn to borrow anything." The writer proceeds, " in this disposition of mind I was surprised with a new poem called Leonidas. I took it up with the strongest prepossessions that could be formed by any man against it. In the first place, I had never heard the author's name; next, they told me, he lived in the city, and was a merchant; then he was a young man of five and twenty; and, lastly, it consisted of nine* books, which was enough to startle any very lazy fellow, as I have before confessed myself to be. * * * * The first thing that surprised me was, to find that I could understand the language it was written in, which for a writer of blank verse is a very unusual condescension to his readers; but this author has found out, that strength of thought and majesty of expression may be reconciled to purity of diction and grammatical exactness, nay, to an ease and simplicity of style;" and then follows a profane comparison of Glover to Milton. Lyttelton† also wrote some indifferent verses in praise of Leonidas. The poem soon passed through three editions. Fielding and Pitt were scarcely behind Lyttelton in extolling its merits. "Who is this Mr. Glover," (writes Swift from Ireland to Pope) "who writ Leonidas, which is reprinting here, and hath

* Glover afterwards enlarged it to twelve books, and wrote a sequel called the Athenaid, now rarely, if ever read.

† See his works, vol. i. It may be well to observe, that almost all the printed dates to his poems are strangely inaccurate. The verses on Leonidas are dated 1734, more than two years before the poem was written.

great vogue?" Pope's answer is not known, but Dr. Warton truly observes, that it would have been curious to have discovered his opinion upon a poem, written in a style and manner so different from his own. 1737.

If Lyttelton's praise was exaggerated and not discriminating, the opinion of Mr. Campbell is entitled to respectful attention.* "The re-action (he observes) of popular opinion against a work that has been once over-rated, is apt to depress it beneath its just estimation." And he adds, "it is due to Leonidas to say, that its narrative, descriptions and imagery, have a general and chaste congruity with the Grecism of its subject—it is far indeed from being a vivid or arresting picture of antiquity, but it has an air of classical taste and propriety in its design, and it sometimes places the manners and religion of Greece in a pleasing and impressive light. The undeniable fault of the entire poem is, that it wants impetuosity of progress, and that its characters are without warm and interesting individuality." But he instances the ascent of Dithyrambas from the cave of Æta—the abode of Oileus—and the speech of Melissa, as passages of great poetical merit. The fact is, that Glover's reputation as a poet rests almost entirely on the ballad of "Hosier's Ghost," which before Mr. Campbell's "Mariners of England," was, perhaps, the most national and beautiful poem of the kind in our language.

* Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets, "Richard Glover." See also a very just criticism by Southey on Leonidas. Life of Cowper, vol. ii. p. 176.

1737. Glover was speedily admitted into the favour of the Prince, and much caressed by the Opposition chiefs. He spoke with great effect at public meetings in the city, upon the then all absorbing subject of the Spanish aggressions, and exercised great influence over the mercantile body; he was deputed by them to plead their cause, in 1743, at the bar of the House of Commons, and acquitted himself with great ability. Perhaps, it was a natural consequence of this success, that its object should ultimately entertain an absurdly exaggerated estimate of his own importance. I mention these circumstances, because the posthumous memoirs of Glover is the only work, except the writings of Walpole, in which an attempt is made to traduce Lord Lyttelton's private character—but this part of the subject belongs to another chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1738—1741.

[Hagley MSS ; Parl. Hist. vols. x. and xi.; Chalmers', Johnson's, and Campbell's Lives of Moore, Mallet, Thomson; Pope's Letters; Swift's Works, vol. xix. W. Scott's ed.]

THE new year found Walpole still at the helm, in spite of the Queen's death, and the predictions of his foes. George the Second brought over his mistress, Sophia de Walmoden, from Hanover to England, and created her Countess of Yarmouth, but her political influence, afterwards so considerable, was not exerted at first. The King opened the Session on the 24th January, in a very short speech, part of which was, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope you are met together in a disposition to lay aside all heats and animosities which may unnecessarily protract this session. I am determined that the affairs of the public shall suffer no delay or interruption from me upon any account whatever." "The Lords and Gentlemen" of the Opposition, however, had met in no such mood; they cavilled at the Address of Thanks for the Speech, and forthwith bent all their energies to effect two objects, which, to the reader of this day, seem scarcely consistent, viz. the reduction of the army, 1738.

1738. and the declaration of war with Spain. On the 3rd of February, it was moved in the Committee of Supply, that 17,704 effective men should be provided for the year. Shippen, the well-known Jacobite, whom Walpole declared incorruptible, proposed to substitute 12,000 for 17,704.

The chief speakers from the Whig section of the Opposition were Pulteney, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Lord Polwarth, (heir to Lord Marchmont, one of the first Whig families in Scotland), Pitt and Lyttelton. Polwarth concluded an animated speech by remarking, that the Prince of Wales had no guards to attend him, no sentry before his house in St. James's Square, though he lived there in as great safety as the King in St. James's Palace. Jekyll said, he had always thought, that the only excuse for a standing army in time of peace was, "the growing power and aspiring genius of France," but that now this plea was gone, as Providence had raised up as a check to France, "the Empress of Muscovy, whose empire, till within these few years, had but a very small share in the balance of Europe." Pitt, who had been recently dismissed by Walpole from his Cornetcy of horse, and made Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, spoke with great fluency and sarcasm. One remark he made deserves notice. Sir John Saunderson had expressed his wonder, that placemen should wish for a reduction of the army. Pitt said, "I must look upon myself, Sir, as a placeman, as well as the honourable gentleman who spoke last: I am in the service of one of the branches of the royal family,

and think it my honour to be so; but I should not think it, if I were not as free to give my opinion upon every question that happens in this House, as I was before I had any such place; and, I believe, from the behaviour of gentlemen upon this very occasion, it will appear that all those who are in the same service with me are in the same state of freedom; because, I believe, they will upon the question now before us appear to be of different opinions." Lyttelton at an earlier period of the debate replied to Walpole, who had defended the proposed increase on the ground of the danger of invasion from abroad, and of disaffection and insurrection at home. Lyttelton answered *seriatim* the arguments of the Minister. The gist of his speech being to shew that Walpole's reasons as far as they concerned the necessity of keeping up additional troops for the suppression of disaffection at home, proved too much—as, if they were valid, no free people could exist without a standing army; that, as to procuring respect for ourselves abroad, "the weight and influence of this nation in foreign negotiations of all kinds, and in all countries must depend upon the wisdom of our councils, and the amity and confidence that subsists between our King and his people." One passage of this speech is not without interest:—"Every one knows, Sir, how our parliamentary armies have increased since the year 1697, which was the first time such a thing was introduced by consent of Parliament. It was then asked but for one year, but the nation has never since been able to get rid of it, and it has vastly increased 1738.

1738. since that time. I doubt much if it is yet come to its full growth, for I do not know that twenty years hence, or under some future administration I may see a standing army of 30,000 thought as necessary, and agreed to by Parliament as unanimously as an army of 18,000 is now." Lyttelton was replied to by Fox, who began his speech, by observing, "the small experience I have in debates of this nature, makes me a very unequal match for the gentleman who spoke last." It seems to me that Lyttelton's speech ranks next to those of Pulteney and Polwarth on the opposition side in this debate. The Minister numbered 249 votes, the Opposition only 164 on the division.

The next attack was on the subject of our commercial relations with Spain; these had been regulated by old Treaties of 1669 and 1670, and by the more recent Treaty, already adverted to, of Seville in 1729; the truth of this much agitated matter was, that on the one hand, the English merchants were in the constant habit of violating these Treaties, either directly or indirectly, by approaching under various pretences the coast of the Spanish colonies in America, which was specially prohibited by the Treaties; on the other hand, the Spanish authorities and their guarda-costas sometimes slumbered over these infringements of their rights, and sometimes avenged them with circumstances of violence and cruelty. The merchants complained by petition, and through the voice of the eloquent Murray, (who was then beginning his brilliant career), at the bar of the House of Commons. A vehement outcry

was raised throughout the country, vengeance on Spain was the universal demand. "The fable of Captain Jenkins's ear," (as Burke has justly called it) increased the fever to an incredible degree;* though it is now generally believed, that the ear which this man carried in his pocket had not been cut off by the captain of a guarda-costa, but had been lost in the pillory. "We have no need of allies," (exclaimed Pulteney) "the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers." The onset of the Opposition took various forms:—a motion for papers—for the examination of witnesses—a bill for securing our trade to America!—all these attacks were led by Pulteney, supported by Wyndham, Bernard, and by the improving eloquence of Pitt. But on these motions Lyttelton does not seem to have spoken. Walpole defended himself by the plea, that a convention should be tried first, and if a satisfactory one could not be procured, that he would then consent to war; he was supported by a considerable majority in the Commons. In the Lords, they carried some strong resolutions and address. Indeed, there the members of the Government joined in the cry. "Bravo!" Colonel Yorke, bravo," exclaimed Walpole, from the steps of the throne, when he heard his Chancellor, declaiming against the atrocities of the Spanish authorities. 1738.

On the 13th of April, the House of Commons resolved, that it was a high breach of Privilege to publish in any newspaper their debates. The resolution passed without a single dissentient voice, and appears to have excited very little public animadver-

* Thoughts on a Regicide Peace, p. 75.

1738. sion. Mr. Coxe, strange to say, takes no notice of this debate. The consequence of the resolution was that the Gentleman's Magazine published the "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput." It is well known that many Members sent their speeches, or the substance of them to this magazine; and there seems to be no doubt that Lyttelton, who always wrote, when he could, his speeches was among the number. The London Magazine gave "a Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club," with Roman appellations; and each of these miscellanies afterwards explained these fictitious titles in advertisements affixed to the respective volumes. On the 20th of May the King closed the Session, and observed in his speech:—"Agreeably to what hath appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both Houses of Parliament, I have given orders to repeat, in the strongest and most pressing manner, my instances at the Court of Spain for obtaining satisfaction for the many injuries and losses sustained by my trading subjects in America, as well as an effectual security of their rights for the future."

The prominent part which Lyttelton had now begun to play on the political stage, and the reputation which he had acquired, drew upon him about this time the inveterate abuse of all the periodical journals in the pay of the Government. The Gazetteer above all lavished vituperations upon him both in doggrel verse, and in dull prose. On March the fourth, Lord Chesterfield wrote a clever paper in defence of his friend, in Common Sense.—"By what I can understand (writes Lord Chesterfield) of their papers,

they seem to have a great dislike to a certain young gentleman, whom they have sometimes almost called by his own name, and of late by a hard Latin name. I confess it is very natural they should dislike him, nor am I in the least surprised that he should be the object of their satire, when I consider the useful subject of their panegyrics; but then I must intimate to them, that they proceed very injudiciously, and do him a service which they little intended. Would they hurt him they should commend him, for they are very sure that nobody will take their words for anything; but when such wretched advocates and profligate panegyrists of corruption, oppression, fraud, and all political immorality direct their satire at one man, it is marking him out to the public as a person eminently distinguished by all the opposites of those vices." The Gazetteer had called him Cæcilius, the sham prosecutor of Verres. "Was the character of Cæcilius really applicable to this young gentleman, were there any hopes that he would ever be brought to screen the most notorious corruption, I dare say he would meet with the approbation instead of the censure of this virtuous society. And I am apt to think that it is his unlikeness to Cæcilius, and his resemblance to Tully, which has drawn their indignation upon him. A late very ingenious writer has most judiciously observed in his incomparable and short essay towards a Character, &c., that pictures ought to be like the persons they are drawn for, nay, so like as to be known by their acquaintance: but these wretched rogues are conscious they are such bad painters, that under the signs they daub they always write the name. It is sometimes a 1728.

1738. certain young gentleman who is tall and lean, at other times it is one who was cofferer about seventeen years ago, and if it was not for these helps, I, who am their only reader, should be at a great loss to know whom they mean." Similar allusions to the personal appearance of Lyttelton are to be found in Horace Walpole's letters ;—and in 1741, there was printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row, price threepence, a political caricature, called, The Motion, representing a chariot drawn by six spirited horses, in and about which were the chiefs of the Opposition, Lords Chesterfield, Carteret, Duke of Argyle, Mr. Sandys, and Lyttelton being among the most conspicuous; underneath it were some humorous lines written, among which were—

> "Who's dat who ride astride de poney,
> So long, so lank, so lean, and bony ?
> Oh! he be de great orator, Little-toney :"

and so Moore, in verses to be noticed at a later period, describes him as "Selim, not so strong as tall;" and Smollett, whose coarseness was envenomed by an imagined injury, meant to represent him by Gosling Scragg, in Peregrine Pickle.

The condition of those who sought to live by literature in England, was scarcely perhaps more pitiable in the days of Otway, than at this period.* The powerful and the opulent had liberally befriended and promoted literary genius during the reign of William, Anne, of the First, and part of the reign of the Second George : but various causes, among

* See Mr. Macaulay's Essay on Mr. Croker's edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i.

others the character of Walpole, already alluded to, 1738.
had conspired to bring about an epoch in which this patronage was withdrawn, and that which at present supplies its place, the demand of the public, had not arisen. Any one who reads the lives of Savage, Boys, Churchill, Johnson, Collins, and compares them with those of Parnell, Gay, Congreve, and Addison, will assent to the truth of this observation. Lyttelton's friend Pope was indeed an exception, he made a small fortune by the sale of his works; and so was Dr. Middleton, for whose Life of Cicero very large subscriptions had been collected. Richardson cannot be called an exception, for his command over the comforts of life proceeded from the profits of his shop, rather than of his works.

The first use which Lyttelton made of the influence incident to his new appointment of Secretary to the Prince, was characteristic of his generous and humane temper, and of his sincere love of letters. The poet Thomson had been reduced, by the recent death of his patron and benefactor, Lord Chancellor Talbot, to great poverty. He had travelled in Italy with the son of the Chancellor, and on his return dedicated a long poem in blank verse, to the Prince of Wales, on "Liberty, or Ancient and Modern History compared." Dr. Johnson is very angry with Lyttelton for having, as he alleges, shortened this poem after the death of the author. If Lyttelton did so, no doubt it was in obedience to wishes expressed by Thomson, during his life. Such it will be seen was the case with the Seasons.

Lyttelton sent for Thomson, inquired into the state

1738. of his affairs, and was answered by him, "that they were in a more poetical state than formerly;" no time was lost in procuring for this ornament of our literature a pension of £100. a year: "a circumstance" (observes one of his biographers) "which does equal honour to the patron and the poet, ought not here to be omitted—that my Lord Lyttelton's recommendation came altogether unsolicited, and long before Mr. Thomson was personally known to him." When Lyttelton subsequently took office under Mr. Pelham's administration, he procured for Thomson the place of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, from which he derived about £300. a year. In fact, Lyttelton's friendship never deserted its object, either in this or in any other case, as there will be occasion to notice in other parts of these memoirs.

Thomson was not ungrateful. In a poem, which has been justly ranked among the standard literature of our country, he assigned a niche to his benefactor. The stanzas in "The Castle of Indolence,"* are faithfully descriptive of Lyttelton's character. The lines are these:—†

"Another guest there was—of sense refined,
Who felt each worth for every worth he had;
Serene yet warm; humane, yet firm his mind,
As little touch'd as any man's with bad:
Him through their inmost walks the Muses lad,
To him the sacred love of nature lent,
And sometimes would he make our valley glad;
When as we found he would not here be pent,
To him the better sort this friendly message sent.

* Published in 1748.

† Castle of Indolence, c. i. s. 65, 66.

"Come, dwell with us! true son of virtue, come! 1738.
But, if alas! we cannot thee persuade,
To live content beneath our peaceful dome,
Nor ever more to quit our quiet glade;
Yet when at last thy toils, but ill apaid,
Shall dead thy fire, and damp its heavenly spark,
Thou wilt be glad to seek the rural shade,
There to indulge the muse, and nature mark;
We then a lodge for thee will rear in Hagley Park."

The description of Thomson himself, which follows that of Quin, "the Æsopus of the age," is generally believed to have been written by Lyttelton.

"A bard here dwelt, more fat than bard beseems,
Who void of envy quite, and lust of gain,
On virtue still and nature's pleasing themes
Pour'd forth his unpremeditated strain,
The world provoking with a calm disdain,
Here laugh'd he careless in his easy seat—
Here quaff'd encircled with the joyous train,
Oft moralising sage; his ditty sweet
He loathed much to write ne cared to repeat."

Lyttelton's patronage was next bestowed on a far less worthy object, Mallet—for whom* he procured the place of Under-Secretary to the Prince. William and Margaret is a beautiful ballad, but a production of ten-fold merit would not make us forget that Mallet prostituted his pen to slander the dead, to promote infidelity, and to whet the savage passions of the mob against the unhappy Byng. Dr. Johnson, relating Lyttelton's kindness to Thom-

* In 1742.

1738. son and Mallet, adds, "Moore courted his (Lyttelton's) favour by an apologetical poem, called, 'The Trial of Selim,' for which he was paid with kind words, which as is common raised great hopes that at last were disappointed." This sentence contains two misstatements, one direct, one implied. It implies that Moore's acquaintance with Lyttelton, was contemporaneous with that of Thomson, whereas he appears to have known him first in 1748. It states that Lyttelton never assisted him, whereas at the proper place in these Memoirs, the contrary will be easily and clearly shewn.

Towards the close of the year 1737, and the beginning of 1738, Pope passed a considerable portion of his time in town, and appears to have taken a greater interest in the politics of the day than at any former period. The popularity of his Satires and Epistles probably induced him to publish the two very severe satirical Dialogues, which appeared separately under the title of "One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-eight," from the year in which they were written. Both of these Dialogues contain praises of Lyttelton; in the first are the lines—

> "If any ask you, 'who's the man so near
> His Prince, that writes in verse, and has his ear?'
> Why, answer, Lyttelton, and I'll engage
> The worthy youth shall ne'er be in a rage.
> But were his verses vile, his whisper base,
> You'd quickly find him in Lord Hervey's case."

Here, too, are the memorable verses describing Walpole in private life, and the malignant notice of

Queen Caroline, already alluded to. In the second Dialogue he exclaims— 1738.

> "Spirit of Arnall! aid me while I lie,
> Cobham's a coward; Polwarth is a slave;
> And Lyttelton's a dark designing knave."

About the same time that these Dialogues were published, a poem, called "Manners," was written by Paul Whitehead, in consequence of which he was summoned to the bar of the House of Lords; he disappeared, but his publisher, Dodsley, was apprehended and detained for a short time in custody. This was considered as an infringement of the liberty of the press, and the street in which stood the house in which he was detained, was thronged with the carriages of noblemen and gentlemen, who came to offer their services; amongst them were those of Lords Chesterfield, Marchmont, Cobham, Bathurst, Essex, and of Messrs. Pulteney and Lyttelton. Dr. Warton says, this was intended "as a hint to Pope," (whose publisher Dodsley was), "and that he understood it as such; and did not publish a third Dialogue, which he certainly had designed to do." Paul Whitehead, who had Pope's love of calumny without his talents, said truly at the time:—

> "Safe may Pope lash the statesmen in each line,
> They dread his satire who dare punish mine."

Some time* after the publication of these Dialogues, Fox reproached Lyttelton in the House of Commons

* 1740.

1738. with the friendship of a lampooner, who scattered his ink without fear or decency, and against whom he hoped the resentment of the legislature would quickly be discharged.* Lyttelton vindicated with great spirit his intimacy with Pope; but Dr. Johnson's remark is true, that "Pope never afterwards attempted to join the 'patriot' with the poet, nor drew his pen upon statesmen."

After the session of 1738, Lyttelton went down to Hagley, where he invited Pope to join him, and received for answer the following letter.

"DEAR SIR,—I hope this will find you in all those pleasures which a good mind takes in its duties and affections, which in such an one go together. The satisfaction of a father, who loves you not more tenderly than you love him, and of such brothers as you make glad, though their elder, and such sisters, whom you count as riches, not taxes upon your estate. I wish you all joy of one another. I am truly

* Henry and Stephen Fox were both in Parliament at this time. Stephen was raised to the peerage as Lord Ilchester and Strangways in 1741, made an Earl 1746; he made a celebrated speech in defence of Walpole in 1741. His second brother, Henry Fox, referred to in the text, and afterwards in these memoirs, was created Lord Holland in 1763. They were both the children of Sir Stephen Fox, mentioned by Grammont; he was born in 1627, and placed by Charles I. among the Gentlemen in waiting on his son. Sir S. Fox married twice: his eldest son, by his first wife, dying without issue, he married again at the age of seventy-six, and had the two sons mentioned above, and two daughters. He died at the age of eighty-nine in 1716.

sorry to want the joy I proposed, and had placed in 1738.
my heart, of seeing this in person. You do me justice I doubt not, and know 'tis a concern to me not to be able to reach you before you are obliged to leave that agreeable scene. What puts it past any hope I had, is that yesterday my guest here was seized with a sort of fever, the concomitant of a bilious distemper, which has formerly attacked him, and generally holds some weeks. He is unable to leave this place, and that will retard his business in town a week or two longer than I imagined when we parted. I can have no prospect of seeing you sooner than at Stowe, if then: but I desire to know by a line, six or seven days before you go thither.

"My Lord Burlington has not had a pine-apple to spare till my Lady's going to Yorkshire, which I sent to your lodging the night before you left London. You did not tell me where to direct to the carrier, who is to bring them to Hagley, when I can get two or three together to send to Sir Thomas; will it do to send them boxed up to the Admiralty? or to your lodgings? I have bid the gardener inquire at both places, and also what days the carrier goes out, which you forgot to leave me a memoranda on paper, (in which case he should have sent them directly to you). Send me any instructions to Twickenham, and I will do all I can. Lord Cornbury yesterday set out for Spa, in a ticklish state of health, and extreme low spirits. If all honest men die, then will be great joy at ——, and if all ingenious men lose their mettle, the Gazetteer will be inestimable. I have had but

1738. very bad health since you left me, but 'tis no matter, 'tis all in the way to immortality. However, I advise you to live for the sake of this pretty world, and the prettiest things in it. Adieu.

"I am Sir Thomas's most obliged servant, for getting such a son as you, and your most faithful, and ever truly most affectionate friend,

"A. POPE.

"Twickenham, August 15th."

1739. On the 14th of January, 1739, a Convention with Spain was concluded. By it the British merchants were to receive £95,000. as an indemnity for their losses; the adjustment of the future rights of trade between the two countries was committed to plenipotentiaries, who were also to settle the limits of Carolina and Florida. The most intricate points were reserved for future negotiations, and no mention whatever was made about the Right of Search, which the Spaniards exercised over our ships. Nor sooner were the articles of this famous convention made public, than the wrath of the whole country blazed to a furious height. "No Search, my Lords (said Lord Carteret, in the debate on the Address of Thanks, in answer to the King's Speech), is the word with every man in the kingdom; it ought to have begun among those about the throne: but wherever it began, it is now echoed and re-echoed from every corner of the British dominions." In the House of Commons Lyttelton replied to Walpole. Soon afterwards Mr. Sandys brought forward several motions for laying before the House all the papers relating to the Con-

vention. But the Ministers had large majorities. 1739.
On March 6, being the day appointed by the House of Commons for taking the Convention with Spain into consideration, the members went so early to the House, that one hundred had taken their seats before eight in the morning. In this debate Pitt uttered a magnificent philippic, and acquired an ascendancy in the House which he never lost; then too appeared, for the first time, it should seem, his great superiority in all the qualifications of an orator, in language, energy, manner, and in voice, "Vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis," over his friend Lyttelton. The latter, however, spoke with considerable ability. It had been urged most unwisely by Horace Walpole, that to make war with Spain would be to forward the cause of the Pretender. "The people of England (said Lyttelton with great spirit) complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade: they think this peace has left them in a worse condition than before, and in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this is the price they must pay to keep the King and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from true—the very reverse of it is true; nothing can weaken the family, nothing can shake the establishment but such measures as these, and such language as this."

The Prince of Wales (who gave his first vote in the House of Lords on this occasion, and divided with the Opposition) was in the gallery of the House of

1739. Commons during the whole of the debate. Ministers had a majority of 28—260 to 232. On bringing up the report Pulteney spoke, and Wyndham with more than his wonted fire; they divided again, for Ministers 244, against 214; then Sir W. Wyndham made the memorable speech, in which, after calling the majority a faction, and declaring his intention of seceding from Parliament, he prayed Heaven to protect his country, "whilst the existence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution." Walpole replied with great spirit, and reminded Wyndham that he and his party were pardoned traitors, and that they had promised to secede once before, but afterwards altered their minds. In this instance, however, they kept their word; but the measure was of service to Walpole, and injured their own party. It will be remembered by all readers of Mr. Burke that a similar and equally unsuccessful attempt was afterwards made, at the time of the American war.

There are some curious remarks on the effect of this secession, in the next letter of Lord Chesterfield to Lyttelton.

There was another debate in the Commons on the number of the Land-forces, in which Lyttelton took an active part. On the 14th of May a bill passed for providing annuities for the King's younger children—"My Lords (said Lord Chesterfield), let us consider that while we are thus providing for certain branches of the Royal Family, who certainly merit more than we can bestow, there are other branches of it nearer to

the throne who are not only unprovided for, but *unprayed* for; it would have been decent, at least, that some care should have been taken of them." These remarks alluded to a blunder in the form of prayer for the Royal Family, as issued by the Privy Council, of which Lord Wilmington avowed himself the writer in the course of the debate. The secession of the Jacobites, enabled the King to make good his engagements to pay £70,000. a-year to the King of Denmark, in return for his promise to furnish 6000 men for the service of England, in reality, to propitiate Denmark for the seizure of the petty fortress of Steinhorst; one of the concessions of Walpole to the Hanoverian predilections of his master which did not escape the satire of the Opposition. In the Common Sense of January 27th of this year, a paper begins:— "Sir, I have lately read with the greatest satisfaction the account printed in our public papers of the signal victory obtained by his Majesty's Hanoverian troops over the Danes, notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers: the Danes being at least thirty, the Hanoverians not above five hundred men. The Danes having, moreover, the important province of Steinhorst to protect, and the councils of Counsellor Wedderhoof to direct them." This was from the pen of Lord Chesterfield, who, about the same time, remarked* in conversation, that the best scheme for getting rid of the Pretender, would be to request his Majesty to assign Hanover to him, as the English would never again choose a king from that place. 1739.

* In the House of Lords before it was sitting.

1739. Lyttelton seems from his private letters to have spent the rest of the year with the Prince, at Lord Bathurst's, near Cirencester, and at Bath. These letters tell their own tale.—The first is from Lord Chesterfield.

"Bath, March 24th, 1739.

"My dear Lyttelton,—You give me such constant and uninterrupted marks of your friendship, that I won't single out your impatient inquiry after my health, as a particular instance to thank you for, I thank you for the whole—I thank you for loving me as much as you do; though I can with truth say, it is but a just return to the sentiments I have for you. I am already in these six days, as much better as I could possibly expect, and more so than I could possibly have expected, if I had not so often experienced the surprising effect these waters have upon me, I am persuaded that when I have drank 'em three weeks longer, (which I propose doing) I shall be as well as ever I shall be, that is, I shall be vampt up, and repaired for some time, for, like Sir Robert, I subsist only by shifts and expedients, and I no more expect to see my constitution recovered, than I do that of the publick. I can't say that I divert myself here, but I can't say that I am tired neither; if here is not company I like, (as most certainly there is not) in return there are no *facheux*, and here is no one body enough acquainted with me, to have a right to be troublesome. I walk and write by turns: I play at billiards two hours in the morning for exercise, and at whist

two hours at night for dissipation; which with a per- 1739.
fect tranquillity of mind, and sensibly returning health makes the time pass away at least unburthensome. Your advice of coquetry I cannot possibly follow, having neither inclinations nor objects for it. My study, or rather my amusement, (for reading shall never be any thing else to me) is the Roman History: the only history which in my mind one is never tired of. After the last five hundred years, there is nothing little, the fate of kingdoms depends upon every event; whereas the History of Greece is like what I imagine that of Hanover would be, for excepting the personal characters of some great men, every thing is little, their wars, and the causes of their wars are ridiculous, and a burlesque upon great events. I have finished Suetonius, whom I had read a great while ago and forgot, and whom I think a most impertinent credulous biographer, dwelling much upon things of no consequence, and either omitting entirely, or touching very slightly the most material ones. I am now in the Italian translation of Dion Cassius, which I like. I have had the pleasure too of reading great part of your friend Cheyne's Magnum Opus: he has found out the whole secret of metaphysics, and is kind enough to communicate it to the public, under the title indeed of Conjectures, but he assured me as a friend, that he did that only out of modesty, for, that by the living God, he could mathematically demonstrate the truth of every conjecture, as he pretty fairly hints by the motto, which is, Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. He snarls louder, grins fiercer,

1739. and is more sublimely mad than when you saw him.

"The last Common Sense upon the Decemviri is a most excellent one. The Secession should be writ up as much as possible, for it is not, I find, enough understood by the generality. I am glad it does Cobham so much good, were it only in that, I am sure the minority could not have done the public so much good by staying; but the measure is of intrinsic weight, and will have its effect in time.

"I am glad the Lady is satisfied as to the truth of that extraordinary affair: though what was told her, gives but a melancholy prospect. Make my compliments there, and to Lord Cobham, Hamond, and Mr. Pitt.

"I am, most truly yours,

"CHESTERFIELD."

In this year Lyttelton requested Pope to use his influence with Swift to give the son of his nurse an appointment in the choir of St. Patrick's. Pope wrote to Swift:*—

"Twickenham, Oct. 12th, 1739.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I could gladly tell you every week the many things that pass in my heart, and revive the memory of all your friendship for me; but I am not so willing to put you to the trouble of shewing it (though I know you have it as warm as ever) upon little or trivial occasions. Yet this once I am unable

* Swift's Works, Vol. xix. p. 169.—W. Scott, Ed.

to refuse the request of a very particular, and very deserving friend, one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many now dead, banished, or unfortunate,—I mean Mr. Lyttelton, one of the worthiest of the rising generation. His nurse has a son, whom I beg you to promote to the next vacancy in your choir; I loved my own nurse, and so does Lyttelton: he loves and is loved through the whole chain of relations, dependents, and acquaintances; he is one who would apply to any person to please me, or to serve mine. I owe it to him to apply to you for this young man, whose name is William Lamb, and he is the bearer of this letter. I presume he is qualified for that which he desires, and I doubt not if it be consistent with justice, you will gratify me in him." 1739.

In the following year Pope requested Lyttelton's aid for one of Swift's friends, "Lyttelton (Pope wrote to Swift) was more prompt to catch than I to give fire, and flew to the Prince that instant, who was pleased to please you." Swift in a letter of thanks to Lyttelton,* tells him that all Ireland looked for a golden age on the Prince's accession to the throne. The Prince had lately been made Chancellor of Dublin.†

* It is among the Hagley MS. but has been printed in Sir Walter Scott's edition, Vol. xix. p. 208.

† May 17, 173.

1739. This letter to Pope contains a ludicrous sketch of Dr. Cheyney :—

"Dec. 4th, 1739.

"Dear Sir,—You judged very right that I should suffer a great deal of uneasiness from your letter coming to me in another hand, and the reason given for it by Lord Cornbury, but Lord Burlington very soon relieved me, by telling me he had received the following post a very long and cheerful one in your own. I was just sitting down to return you thanks, when your second letter came, and made me happy, by giving me a further assurance of your health, and of that friendship, which though I never doubt, I cannot receive a new mark of without delight. I am so vastly recovered by these waters, that I can now enjoy the kindness of my friends without fearing they should suffer by their concern for me. I can hardly think of being ever ill again, after drinking down health another month; and must desire you for the future to consider me as being, next to the Royal Family, the most incapable of sickness, pain, or any bodily infirmity of all the men you ever knew, excepting only the immortal Doctor Cheyney, who desires his compliments to you, and bids me tell you that he shall live at least two centuries, by being a real and practical philosopher, while such gluttonous pretenders to philosophy as you, Dr. Swift, and my Lord Bolingbroke, die of eating and drinking at four-score. The Doctor is the greatest singularity, and the most delightful I ever met with. I am not his patient, but

am to be his disciple, and to see a manuscript of his 1739.
which comprehends all that is necessary, salutary, or useful, either for the body or the soul! Lord Burlington has left Bath a great deal sooner than I had hoped, or he intended, for fear of my Lady's catching the small-pox, which is very much here, and a bad sort. I refer you to him for all the news this place affords, which he will give you much more agreeably than I can, and must beg you to make my compliments to Lady Suffolk, Mr. Murray, and Mrs. Blount, the last of whom I am particularly obliged to, and would always have her see with your eyes, that she may not only be very partial to me, but perceive, notwithstanding all her modesty, that there is none of her sex upon whose friendship I set a greater, or perhaps equal, value. George Grenville is in a fair way of recovery, the waters agree with him, and he mends in all respects. Cheyney says he is a giant, a son of Anak, made like Gilbert, the late Lord Bishop of Sarum, and may therefore if he pleases live for ever; his present sickness being nothing but a fillup, which Providence gave him for his good to make him temperate, and put him under the care of Doctor Cheyney. When we tell the Doctor that he always has been temperate, a water-drinker, and eater of white meats, he roars like a bull, and says we are all liars: for had he been so he could not have had an inflammation, which he is ready to prove by all the rules of philosophy, mathematics, and religion.

"Lord Orkney may just keep life enough to be in pain a year or two longer: I am sorry for him with

1739. all my soul, for he is a man of great merit to the public, and who has been little rewarded in proportion to the services he has done.

"Adieu, my dear Mr. Pope, take care of yourself that we may have some eminent men left among us, and to make a great part of the happiness of your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

"G. LYTTELTON."

Pope's answer was as follows:—

"Bath, Dec. 12th, 1739.

"DEAR SIR,—I write to you so soon, because I know it will please you to hear I am not ill, nor ill at ease; either my Lord Cornbury mistook my letter, or you him. I think that ever since I was a poet, nay, ever since I have ceased to be one, I have not experienced so much quiet as at this place. Though I let the world alone, from my very entrance into it I found as much envy and opposition, as if my ambition had designed me to overturn it; and since I chanced to succeed in my own low walk, as much solicitation and vile flattery, as if I had places and preferments to bestow; I never deserved or desired either. If I deserve anything, it is from a constancy to my first philosophical principles, a general benevolence, and fixed friendships, whenever I have had the luck to know any honest or meritorious men. I am yours by every tie; few have, or ought to have so great a share of me, if I say two or three more, I should correct myself, and say rather one or two. Were it not for a hankering ('tis a good expressive English word), after

these, I could live with honest Mr. Allen all my life. 1739.
Though I enjoy deep quiet, I can't say I have much pleasure, or even any object that obliges me to smile, except Dr. Cheney, who is yet so very a child in true simplicity of heart, that I love him as he loves Don Quixote, for the most moral and reasoning madman in the world. For I maintain, and I know it, that one may smile at those one loves, nay esteems, and with no more malice or contempt, than one bears to an amiable schoolboy. He is in Scripture language, an *Israelite in whom there is no guile*, or in Shakespear's as *foolish a good kind of Christian* creature as one shall meet with."

(Here follow some erased lines.)

"I am told your brother is come to Bath, and I will seek him out diligently, because I am also told that he is related to you.

"Adieu, I wish you all earth's blessings; all you enjoy, or can wish. You own welfare, and your country's, Lord Chesterfield's health, Lord Polwarth's success, and every good that can befall you in yourself or in any other other.

"Dear Sir, yours,

"A. Pope."

Lyttelton replies:—

"Bath, December 22nd, 1739.

"Dear Sir,—My cold is gone, and I am now so much recovered, that I grow very impatient to get away from Bath. You need not be told that the desire of seeing you is one great cause of that impatience; but to shew you how much I am master of

1739 my passions, I will be quiet here for a week or ten days longer, and then come to you in most outrageous spirits, and overturn you like Bounce, when you let her loose after a regimen of physic and confinement. I am very glad that his Royal Highness has received two such honourable presents at a time, as a whelp of *her's*, and the freedom of the City.

" Poor Lord Orkney is gone away from hence, so weak and ill that I scarce think he can reach London. I made your compliments to him, which he received with all the pleasure which one in his condition feels from the praise of a wise and virtuous man; with more, I dare say, than he would have received as kind a message from a minister of state.

'Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ducuntur.'

" I am sorry Mrs. Blunt has any complaint; and that Lady Suffolk can't get rid of hers; but your continuing well and in good spirits is good news, that it makes amends for all the rest; it even comforts me for the loss of that sweet fœtus, which had it lived might have been a Princess Royal. Mr. Grenville who is very much recovered, and Mr. Hammond, who is the joy and dread of Bath, join in compliments to you, with your most affectionate

" G. Lyttelton."

About this period there appeared in print " a letter to a Member of Parliament from a friend in the country,"* of which Lyttelton was the author. The friend in the country observed to his member that he

* Lyttelton's Works, vol. i.

had voted for him, neither as Whig or Tory, but as a gentleman in the interest of his country—that after four years' silence he had a right to remind him of what he expected from a representative. "Sir (he writes), we are a trading nation, and whatever affects our trade is our nearest concern, and ought to be our principal one. Of all the branches of our commerce, that to our own Colonies is the most valuable upon many accounts. * * * * But of late years our merchants, passing to and from our Colonies, have been stopt, examined, plundered and abused by the Spaniards, our ships confiscated, and our seamen enslaved, so that the navigation thither is become so dangerous, that if an effectual stop be not soon put to these practices, this most beneficial commerce will be lost. * * * * Did this country ever pretend, when her naval power was at the height, to stop ships *out at sea*, &c. * * * and would the little Republic of Genoa endure our doing it? * * * For some years things have gone on from bad to worse—England complaining and remonstrating; Spain chicaning and insulting—satisfaction sometimes refused, sometimes promised, never given—our negotiations and our losses always continuing, and *increasing almost in the same proportion.* At last our merchants, weary of these useless methods, applied a *third time* to Parliament, and petitioned there for redress. * * * I believe it will be difficult to find a period in history when this nation was so universally and so eagerly bent upon a war as at that time. * * * In the height and warmth of these expectations, while all 1739.

1739. Europe was intent on the motion and operation of our fleets, we heard of a convention being signed. * * * * The cause of all these injuries I take to have been the contempt this nation is fallen into. * * * Our enemies have certainly acted as if they thought we were the *meanest of nations*, or that the *meanest of ministers* conducted our affairs. * * * * * Reputation* is to a people just what credit is to a merchant. The first depends on an opinion of strength, as the latter does on an opinion of opulence. But that opinion of opulence is a real advantage; that opinion of strength is a real security."

Then followed a general attack on the policy of the Government. The letter ended with a prayer that "an alteration of measures may be the aim, the effect, and *the reward* of the Opposition," and that *the Royal Family*, and all parties who wish well to their country may unite. Appended to the letter were certain articles of the Treaty of 1667, between France, Spain, and England, and the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1738.

The political events of this year had a memorable termination. When the plenipotentiaries met to adjust the details of the Spanish Convention, it was found that the declamations of the Opposition had roused

* "A clear unblemished character comprehends not only the inte-
"grity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an
"injury, and whether it belongs to an individual, or to a community,
"it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety.
"Private credit is wealth—public honour is security. The feather
"that adorns the noble bird, supports his flight—strip him of his
"plumage, and you fix him to the earth."—Junius, L. 42.

the spirit of the Spanish as well as the British nation, and that the former mistook the dislike evinced by Walpole to take vigorous measures, for a fear of not being supported by the people, and moreover counted largely on the obstructions which it was thought his enemies would throw in his path, should he venture on war. After much delay and chicane our Ambassador, Mr. Keene, made three different demands:—1st. The immediate payment of the stipulated sums of indemnity to our merchants. 2nd. The distinct acknowledgment of our claims in North America. 3rd. Above all, the express renunciation of the Right of Search. No satisfactory answer was given; and War was declared by Walpole, in an evil hour for his reputation, on the 19th of October. The people were transported with joy. The Prince of Wales drank success to the war at Temple Bar. The King was delighted, imagining himself a heaven born commander. Nothing was talked of, but humbling the pride of Spain, as in the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell. The Minister, in the midst of all this enthusiasm, self-convicted, conscious of having sanctioned a measure for the sake of retaining power and place, of the which his good sense utterly disapproved. Walpole—who was, if ever man was, "pacis alumnus"* heard the City bells pealing, and bitterly exclaimed, "Aye, they may ring their bells now, but they will wring their hands ere long." He was a true prophet. Many years afterwards, the greatest statesman England has yet produced, thus expressed himself as to 1739.

* "Ego itaque pacis ut ita dicam, alumnus qui—sine pace civili certè non fuissem, periculosè dico."—Cicero in M. Anton. Ph. vii.

1739. the war, its cause, its promoters, and the Minister who yielded to their clamour.

"There has not been in this country (wrote Mr. Burke)* any foreign peace or war, in its origin the fruit of popular desire, except the war that was made with Spain in 1739. Sir Robert Walpole was forced into the war by the people, who were inflamed to this measure by the most leading politicians, by the first orators, and the greatest poets of the time. For that war Pope sung his dying notes. For that war Johnson, in more energetic strains, employed the voice of his early genius. For that war Glover distinguished himself in the way in which his muse was most natural and happy. The crowd readily followed the politicians in the cry for a war, which threatened little bloodshed, and which promised victories more solid than glory; a war with Spain was a war of plunder."

After describing the character of Walpole, and declaring that he had examined "the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times;" he continues "they perfectly satisfied me of the extreme injustice of that war, and of the falsehood of the colours which to his vision, and guided by a mistaken policy, he suffered to be daubed over that measure." Then he adds these very remarkable words:—"Some years after, it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour, none of them, no not one, did in the least defend that measure or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting

* First letter on a Regicide Peace.

upon any proceeding in history, in which they were totally unconcerned."* We learn from the biographer of Mr. Burke, that Lord Lyttelton was one of 1739.

* The "voice" of Johnson's "early genius," was his poem of just celebrity, an imitation of the second Satire of Juvenal, called London, published in May, 1738, by a curious coincidence on the same morning as Pope's Satire in imitation of Horace, already mentioned as entitled 1738. Johnson was then comparatively unknown. His verses shew that he partook of the general ferment of the country, and abound in invectives against corrupt ministers, and Spanish cruelties.

"The cheated nation's happy favourites see,
Mark whom the great caress, who frown on me;
Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
No boundless waste, or undiscovered shore,
No secret island in the boundless main,
No peaceful desert, yet unclaimed by Spain.
Quick, let us rise, the happy seats explore,
And bear Oppression's insolence no more.

He was one of those who lived to recant his errors on this subject. Many years afterwards, when he wrote the Life of West, his language was, "At this time a long course of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole had filled the nation with clamour for liberty, of which no man felt the want, and with care for liberty which was not in danger." The "dying strains of Pope," (who died in 1744) are probably the Satires already alluded to, in which, among others, were the lines—

"And own the Spaniards did a waggish thing,
Who cropped our ears, and sent them to the king."

And the severe and fine satire (of earlier date) to George the Second, in imitation of Horace's "ad Augustum."

The "natural and happy way" of Glover's muse was his "Hosier's Ghost;" a ballad which will live as long as our language.

1739. those from whom he obtained his knowledge of the politics of this time.*

Parliament was called together on the 15th of November, to hear the declaration of War in the King's speech. The expression "heats and animosities fomented throughout the country," called forth many severe remarks from the Opposition. Lord Chesterfield said, "The only division, if it can be called so, that has of late appeared among us, has been between the people of one side, and a few of our ministers of the other. I say, my Lords, a few of our ministers, for I will not do so much injustice to the administration as to say, that all who have a share in the administration are of that party which has so long obstinately withstood the general voice of the country." Hardwicke, Newcastle, and Argyle, were then meditating their escape from the falling house of Walpole. In the House of Commons the seceders returned, and Pulteney defended their return, on the ground that they had effected their object—the war with Spain. On the 11th of November, Pulteney brought forward his bill for the encouragement of Seamen, which deprived the public of all share in the prize money. Walpole, at first, warmly opposed, and afterwards sullenly acquiesced in a measure so popular with the navy.

On the 27th of November, Mr. Sandys (famous for the number of his motions) moved an address to the King, as to the most frugal manner of raising a body of Marines, which Lyttelton supported. Walpole spoke with great ability, but did not oppose the

* Prior, vol. i. p. 101.

motion. He pursued the same course with respect to 1739.
the next attack of Opposition, an address to the King not to make peace with Spain, till the right of British ships to navigate in the American seas was acknowledged by the Spaniards, moved on the 21st of November, in an elaborate philippic by Sir W. Wyndham, which Walpole said "wanted nothing of an impeachment but the necessary forms." But Wyndham's next attack on the 29th of November, in the shape of an address for papers relating to the war with Spain, Walpole resisted, and Ayes 98, Noes 171, was the result of the division. In this debate, Lyttelton took an active part.

On the 29th of Jauuary, 1740, Mr. Sandys moved 17
for leave to bring in a bill for the better securing the freedom of Parliaments by limiting the number of officers to sit in the House of Commons; one of the "Place Bills," with which an Opposition has at all times delighted to torment a Government. Young Selwyn opposed him, and was answered by Lyttelton in a very able speech; he knew but one thing more preposterous than such a general place bill, as would exclude all persons in office from a seat in the House, and that was to leave the numbers of them without any limitation at all; the fear of starving should not cause us to die of surfeit; the number of placemen in the House should be so limited as to compel the Minister to regard the assembly as an awful tribunal, before which he was constantly to account for his conduct, he must respect their judgments, dread their

1740. censures, and feel their superintendency; a spectator in the gallery must not imagine himself at the levee of a minister, instead of a Parliament; better that Spain should invade the freedom of the American seas, than the Crown of England violate the independence of Parliament. Spanish and French were less formidable than Spanish and French maxims of government; let us take warning by the fate of the Cortes of the one, and the Parliament of the other. Pulteney and Wyndham spoke; and Walpole, departing from his usual custom of giving a silent vote on motions of this kind, opposed it with great vigour of argument; his utmost efforts, however, procured only a majority of 16; 222 against 206. The approach of a general election terrified many of the usual supporters of the Government into giving a hostile vote on this question.

On 31st January Pulteney moved for a call of the House on the 21st February, which, after debate, was agreed to. A similar motion had been suggested earlier in the session. In this debate also Lyttelton spoke in support of his leader.

In the next debate on the Navy estimates, Ministers divided 142 to 85. On the 5th of February Sir Charles Wager brought in a bill for Registering seamen, which he and Sir John Norris had planned. Walpole had paid particular attention to it, and thought it essentially necessary for the speedy equipment of the fleet; the Opposition influenced the public mind with horror of what was called a French edict

for enslaving seamen, and the measure was dropped by the Minister. 1740.

On the 28th of February the House of Lords became very angry that the King's Message for a supply had been sent to the Commons only—and this also served to point an attack against Walpole. Lord Halifax said, the Lords might be as much out of some people's thoughts as a Convocation, but hardly, he believed, out of a Minister's. Lord Carteret said, if such things were overlooked, their House would come to be an empty room, with a great coal fire, a few bishops and two judges, and the Lords walking into the Court of Requests to know what message had been sent to the Commons separately. Chesterfield said their House had been called an hospital for retiring and a sanctuary for guilty Ministers; that only the insolence of power struck at forms; that they were never struck at till the substance was destroyed:—the previous question was carried.

On the 21st of February he brought forward his motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the authors and advisers of the Convention with Spain, by the production of papers, instructions, &c. The debate lasted for several hours; the only speeches preserved are those of Pulteney, Walpole, and Lyttelton. Pulteney said, a guilty Minister should be torn from behind the throne where he took refuge. Lyttelton remarked, that if Charles the First, instead of telling the Commons, when they were preparing to attack Buckingham, "that he would not allow any of his servants to be questioned in Parliament," had softened his style, confessed their right to question his servants,

1740. but denied them the means of doing so, the proceeding would have been equally fatal to the rights of the House of Commons.

On March the 19th, Walpole made the Peers reject a Pension Bill which he had suffered to pass the Commons. There was a fierce debate, in which Chesterfield distinguished himself:—contents 40, non-contents 52. While Parliament was yet sitting, on the 13th of March, the news arrived that Admiral Vernon had taken the town of Porto Bello from the Spaniards. Vernon was the darling of the Opposition, and indeed, at this time, the idol of the nation ;* the action was immortalized by Glover's ballad, and bonfires were everywhere lighted in the City. The Lords sent an address to the Commons for their concurrence, in which they congratulated his Majesty on the triumph of Vernon in taking Porto Bello, with *only* six† ships of war: it will be remembered that the "injured" Hosier, whose

* At the election of 1741 he was returned for three places, Rochester, Ipswich, and Penryn. See Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 24, p. 426.

† "I by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright ;
Nothing then its wealth defended,
But my orders not to fight.

O! that in the rolling ocean,
I had cast them with disdain,
And obeyed my heart's warm motion,
To have quell'd the pride of Spain.

For resistance I could fear none,
But with twenty ships had done,
What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
Hast achieved with six alone."

Admiral Hosier's Ghost.

ships had been the prey of worms, and his men the victims of disease, had commanded twenty sail, and that Vernon had pledged himself in the House of Commons to achieve the conquest of Porto Bello with six. The address was opposed by some of the ministerial party, but was carried in a thin House, by a division of 36 against 31; and Vernon, a hot-headed vain man was informed that Walpole's friends had striven to detract from the renown of his victory. April 15th, Lord Bathurst moved a vote of censure on Ministers for not sending land forces to aid Admiral Vernon, he was warmly supported by Argyle: the motion was negatived; contents 40, non-contents 62. Speaker Onslow made an eloquent and constitutional address on presenting the many bills of the session to the King. George the Second prorogued the Parliament, and went to his dearly-beloved Hanover. 1740.

Soon after the session Wyndham, the eloquent Wyndham, whom Pope described as

> "Just to freedom, and the throne,
> The master of our passions, and his own,"

and whose health was rapidly decaying, crossed the channel to visit Bolingbroke in his French retreat, accompanied by two friends, one of whom was the Earl of Marchmont,* already mentioned as Lord Pol-

* "Lo! the Ægerian Grot,
Where nobly pensive St. John sate and thought,
Where *British* sighs from dying Wyndham stole,
And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul.
Let such, such only, tread this sacred Floor,
Who dare to love their country, and be poor."
Pope's Verses on his Grotto at Twickenham.

1740. warth, a very distinguished person, who added to great natural abilities considerable acquirements, and an extensive acquaintance with ancient and modern writers, great powers of application to business, and no mean talent for oratory. Sir R. Walpole, says his biographer, "used frequently to rally his sons, who were praising the speeches of Pulteney, Pitt, Lyttelton and others, by saying, you may cry up their speeches if you please, but when I have answered Sir John Bernard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate." This nobleman had a twin brother—Alexander Hume Campbell, who resembled him in body and mind. Lord Polwarth had become Earl of Marchmont, and thereby lost his seat in the House of Commons, much to Walpole's satisfaction about this period. Soon after their visit Bolingbroke wrote to Lyttelton the first of his letters which have been preserved among the Hagley manuscripts.

"Argeville, May 6th, 1740.

"Dear Sir,—Nothing could add so much to the joy I felt in seeing three of my friends arrive at this solitude, as the mark they brought me of your affectionate remembrance, except the seeing you make a fourth, and arrive with them: this would have been the first emotion of my heart, for self-love gives the first emotion, and it is by reflection alone that I cease to regret the absence, by the reflection that you are constantly serving a country I love better than myself in another place. I hope that change of air, exercise, and a little dissipation of mind may have some good effect on Sir Wm. Wyndham, his health appears to

me extremely broken, and yet our friends who came with him tell me he is far better than when they set out. Marchmont wants neither health nor spirit, but he feels as a good man ought to feel, the misfortune of being gagged and bound when the state of Britain requires that every man who loves her should exert his whole strength in her cause; this state is indeed unparalleled, for you are sacrificed not only to the interest and humour of one man, but even to his ignorance and incapacity. Princes and Ministers have often maintained power, and some degree of reputation by rising, as it were, now and then, and upon extraordinary occasions, above their ordinary level; but Walpole's administration is one continued scene of corruption, trick, and banter, which no glimpse, no appearance of great talents has ever once illustrated. Your desponding about the coalition of parties afflicts me, but surprises me not. I looked on it many years ago, as a first principle, without which no effectual national good could be brought about, in opposition to faction; as the means and the only means of restoring a wise and honest administration, of repairing the breaches made in our constitution, of taking from some the spirit, and from others the pretence of Jacobitism, and of establishing the present reigning family on a broader and more solid foundation than they have stood on hitherto. I see things still in the same light, but I see likewise, and have long seen, not only the incessant endeavours of the Court to traverse this wise and honest scheme, and the dull obstinacy of the Tories that is proof even against long 1740.

1740. and uniform experience, but what is worse, the avowal of a principle directly contrary to this of a coalition, and national union, by men who engaged to promote it, and whose consideration has arisen from it, they seem to have no view but that of preparing one faction to succeed another. The loss you sustained by the incapacity of Lord Marchmont to sit in Parliament is a great one: to good parts, and a warm zeal for the publick, he joyned extreme industry, and indeed without this neither parts nor zeal will have their full effect. I am hopeful he will not retire absolutely from the world. What suits my age, and my circumstances, suits not his: he may be of some use still, I can be of no more. You say you hope from writing. To what purpose should I write? When I was among you, and a party in some sort to what was doing, I wrote sometimes to those to whom I could not speak, but in my present situation, which will be probably that of my whole life, what call have I to write? what means of doing it opportunely, and with effect! there are subjects indeed that do not immediately relate to the present time, and on which a man may write at any time, and at any place: this Tully did when he was driven from the Senate; and the Bar, and Xenophon when he lived retired, and at a little hunting house in Thracia: but a man must have the talents of Tully and of Xenophon to make it worth while for him to do it—and for others to desire he should. The utmost I can venture upon in all the leisure of my solitude, is to throw upon paper sometimes for the amusement of my friends, and without

any affectation of writing for the publick, such anec- 1740.
dotes of past transactions, as I have had the means of knowing; and such opinions and reasonings as appear evidently true to me, whenever I meditate on subjects more general and more important; this I may do without assuming the air of an historian, or a philosopher. I may amuse my friends, tho' I dare not presume to inform or instruct mankind.

"Adieu, dear Sir, you desire me to remember you in my idle hours: I can assure you with great truth that you are most in my thoughts when they turn on subjects of most importance. I like you as an amiable companion, and a fine writer, but I love you as a man of virtue, as one who is not only an ornament to his country, but who actually assists her cause, and may be in time her saviour. These are the sentiments of my heart, of the heart, dear Sir, of your most faithful and most humble servant,

"Bolingbroke."

Lyttelton seems to have had a great regard for Lord Marchmont: and, as appears from the following letter, was very anxious for his presence and co-operation at the meetings of the Opposition—the accounts of which it was not easy, from the insecurity of the post, to send to him in Scotland.

"Sept. 24th, 1740.

"Sir,—I am fully sensible of the value of your friendship, and therefore you may be sure I would omit nothing that could shew the most earnest desire

1740. of cultivating it. But such is the fortune of our time, that private communication is interrupted, in order to prevent the best effect of private virtue, the publick good. However, my brother's going to-morrow, gives me an opportunity of assuring you, that I should with the utmost pleasure and the most real satisfaction act with you, could I act at all; but I am convinced, after the strictest examination and the coolest reflection I am capable of, that in my unhappy situation I can be of no use. I do not despond, but I do not flatter myself, I know myself, and I see why others think better of me, than I find reason to do. I am persuaded, therefore, that it is best to submit immediately, where resistance is vain. I am not so fond of my own opinion, as not to hear what can be said against it: but give me leave to say, I have heard nothing to convince me. I should be glad to contribute a mite towards the cause in which we are all engaged, and would travel three hundred miles to give it, but I am not possessed even of a mite. And can I help to supply the loss of a talent? This is my real opinion, which you shall always command, as a testimony of the real respect, esteem, and affection with which I am,

"Sir, your most faithful, and
"Most humble Servant,
"MARCHMONT."

"Redbraes Castle."

Soon after the prorogation of Parliament, the division in the Cabinet increased, and the continuance of

Walpole and Newcastle in office seemed incompatible. 1740.
The breach was closed for the moment by the intervention of Horace Walpole, Pelham, and the Chancellor. But the Minister's calm and open character became soured and peevish: "The war is yours—I wish you joy of it," he said to the fretful, place-loving, treacherous Newcastle; the Duke denied it, and they parted in disgust.

Meanwhile the affairs of the continent were becoming daily more perplexed. The French Minister, Fleury, attempted to intimidate Walpole, by declaring that any conquest in Spanish America should be the signal for a general European war. The attempt failed—the menace was lost on the British cabinet, and the expeditions to the West Indies were continued. France then leagued herself with Spain by a family compact, and laboured to excite Austria, the Porte, and the Dutch against us. Walpole subsidised Denmark and Sweden, and awakened the jealousy of the cabinet of St. Petersburgh against the boundless ambition of the House of Bourbon.

Just at this time various unexpected ingredients were thrown into the cauldron of European discords. The King of Prussia died, and was succeeded by his son, afterwards Frederic the Great, eager to employ the large army and treasure of his father, and to add lustre and dominion to the title of King, which his grandfather had procured for the house of Brandenburgh. Walpole conceived a plan for allaying the old enmities between the houses of Brunswick and Brandenburgh, and uniting them both against the house of Bourbon;

1740. while it was being matured, Anne, Empress of Russia died, to be succeeded, in the true Russian fashion, after the usual brief interval of a wretched minor, by Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great. About the same period, Charles the Second, Emperor of Austria, died; his daughter, the renowned Maria Theresa, wife of Francis Grand Duke of Tuscany, succeeded to the throne by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction. The King of Prussia immediately claimed, by some antiquated title, a part of Silesia, and marched an army into that duchy, and the Elector of Bavaria, who had always refused to guarantee the succession of the house of Austria in the female line, Saxony, Spain, Sardinia, France, openly or secretly abetted Frederic. Maria Theresa threw herself upon the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, and claimed from Great Britain the succours stipulated by the Treaty, which guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. The war of the Austrian succession thus became grafted on the stock of the Spanish maritime war with England; no slight addition to the perplexities of Walpole at this period. At the same time a scarcity of corn produced an insurrection in many parts of England.

The Opposition had lost Sir W. Wyndham, whose death weakened, and all but dissolved the union between the disaffected Tories and the discontented Whigs, and was esteemed by all, especially Bolingbroke, as "a perilous limb lopped off their enterprise," but they prepared at Bath, as usual, their plans for the ensuing campaign; these plans are most clearly and carefully set forth in the following letter from Chesterfield to Lyttelton.

"Bath, Novem. 5th, 1740. 1740.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,—Pulteney, who sets out for London at the same time, and in the same company with this letter, has been here about a week. The first two or three days he only hinted to me significantly, that Sir Robert and the other Ministers were very ill together, and that he would find it very hard for him to go on; that the Chancellor in particular was very angry at him, and would be a heavy clog upon him. I only laugh'd at this, and told him I was quite weary of hearing the same story for seven years together; to which he only nodded, and said I should see. But three days ago he opened more fully to Nugent and myself. He said it was very difficult to determine what we ought to do this session; that, for his part, he could not, but would be govern'd by what the majority of the Opposition should think proper. That there were but two partys to chuse out of: the first was, to give no opposition to the Address, nor to the supplies that should be asked, but afterwards to express our dislike of last year's conduct, and to move for the instructions given to Haddock, Norris, and the other admirals. This method, he own'd, was a moderate, not to say an insignificant one, and would by no means satisfy the nation, or keep up their spirits for the next elections. The other party was, to oppose the Address directly, the first day, in both houses; to say we had complimented long enough, and that it was now time to represent and remonstrate; that we had granted last session whatever was asked for the carrying on of the war, in

1740. confidence that it would have been properly applied, but that as nothing had been done in consequence of it, we could not lay any more burthen upon the nation, but by inquiring into and censuring the conduct of last year, we should have reason to believe that proper measures would be taken the next. This he said was the spirited and vigorous part, and what the nation would like; but, at the same time, he thought it a very dangerous one, and God forbid that he should advise it; he thought it might shake the King's throne,—for what would other nations think if the supplies necessary for carrying on the war were refused? and what would become of this nation if the people should come to the next elections in a ferment? The Pretender must inevitably come in, and this family be drove out! Both Nugent and I made the answers you may easily imagine to these objected dangers; to which he only replied, that he would not advise, but that he would do whatever the Opposition directed. My opinion upon this conversation is, that the first method, gentle and insignificant enough indeed, is that which he and Carteret, for reasons pretty obvious, have a mind should prevail; but that he mentioned the other provisionally, that in case the Opposition should insist upon it, and push it in spight of their teeth, he and Carteret might have it to say, that they had suggested it, and that it was not a measure forced upon 'em; for those terrible dangers, which it is impossible either he or anybody else can think real, could (in my mind) be urged with no other view, than to frighten people out of the notion. I am

apt to think, too, that the Duke of Argyle, (whom he told me he had seen in town) had proposed this or some other vigorous measure, which they feared might prevail, whether they would or not; and that therefore they thought it best to mention it themselves; but at the same time to suggest all possible difficulties and discouragements, in hopes to defeat it indirectly. Show this to Cobham, and to nobody else; he may make what use he thinks proper of it. As he will be in town some days before me, (for I shall not be there till y^e^ 16th,) pray tell him that he may make what use he pleases of my name, and answer for me at any meeting or consultation there may be before I come; particularly to the Duke of Argyle, to whom he may say, that he is empower'd by me to assure his Grace, that I am ready to take any part he shall assign me in the House of Lords; and that I will move, second, third, or thirteenth, whatever he pleases, convinced as I am, that we both mean the same thing, the Publick. This Cobham will do in the manner he shall think proper, and he may depend upon not being disavow'd. A meeting of both Peers and Commoners should, I think, by all means be pressed, in case Pulteney should have a mind to avoid it, which I think not improbable; and yet if he will not, I own I do not see, since poor Wyndham's death, who can call it, of the Commoners I mean. The Duke of Argyle should be inflam'd and flattered as much as possible, and be shewn (what is really true) that he may be, absolutely, if he pleases, at the head of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and that Carteret must either go along with 1740.

1740. him, or leave him attended by Winchelsea only. I fear I have tired you; I am sure I have tired myself, unfit as I am at this time either to write or think. So, adieu, till I have the pleasure of seeing you.

"CHESTERFIELD."

The King returned from Hanover, and opened the Session on the 18th of November. In the House of Lords Argyle played the bold game recommended by Chesterfield in this letter; starting off before the speech was well ended in the reading to the House, before the King was gone,—he proposed an Address, in the style of general assurances to support the King against all his enemies; observing in the course of the debate, that this would comprehend enemies even in his cabinet council, and "secure the House from being called the screen of the Administration." Lord Bathurst seconded him. Lord Carteret denounced Walpole, "as a minister who for twenty years had been demonstrating to the world, that he had neither wisdom nor conduct." Lord Chesterfield spoke in the same vein; but, in spite of their efforts, the ministerial Address was carried by a majority of 66 to 38.

In the Commons, (according to the correspondence quoted by Coxe,) Pitt and Lyttelton were very warm, which occasioned Sir Robert to be so. Pulteney spoke, but was too ill to stay and vote. Doddington, with his borough members, voted against Ministers. Then came motions in both Houses as to the instructions sent to Admirals Vernon and Haddock, and bitter complaints of the inactivity of the latter: mo-

tions for an address against the augmentation of the army, and for instructions relative to the convention with Spain. These debates closed the year: they were but the skirmishes which preceded the great general action at the beginning of the ensuing year. 1740.

Meanwhile, the disunion among the Opposition, and the dislike of the Jacobites to be led by the Whigs, increased. Wyndham's death was every day more regretted. Lyttelton seems to have been most sensible of the injury accruing from his loss. He wrote to Bolingbroke on the subject, and received for answer the following letter, which is much in the strain of the Essays which, since 1726, that political Proteus had written against parties, which he chose to call factions. Everybody knows that master-piece of English writing, the letter to Sir William Wyndham, in which Bolingbroke vindicated his desertion of the Pretender.

"Nov. 15th, 1740.

"DEAR SIR,—I felt the other day, with more than ordinary concern, how much satisfaction I am exposed to lose, by the difficulty of conveying letters to me; yours of the 30th of July, with several others of dates almost as old, coming altogether so late to my hands, not by Mr. Brimsden's fault, but by the very ill proceeding of a person upon whom he depended, as I should have done. What shall I say in answer to yours? You have anticipated all I could have said, every sentiment of my heart, on the great loss we have all sustained, those who do not feel it as well as those who do; every melancholy consideration of the

1740. present national circumstances, and every future evil that my mind forbodes, are expressed by you. I feel, I think, I judge, I fear, for there is little room to hope, like you; and if I was in a situation to contend, I would conclude by saying, like you,—though to hope may be a folly, to contend is a duty. It is, indeed, a Duty, founded on principles that carry conviction to every thinking mind, and inspire the noblest sentiments to every uncorrupted heart. You observe rightly, that there are peculiar circumstances in Sir Wm. Wyndham's situation, which made him of more importance to his country in y^e^ present conjuncture, than his great and good personal qualities,—great and good as they were,—could have made him without those. He was one of y^e^ first who came off from y^e^ folly which seized so many of us soon after y^e^ late King's accession to y^e^ throne, when the whole authority of the crown, and y^e^ whole power of y^e^ legislature, were prostituted, to serve y^e^ purposes of party resentment and private ambition. He came off from this folly upon conviction, and had y^e^ courage to own his fault when he returned to his duty. He saw that the only way to repair one, and perform y^e^ other effectually, was to set himself in a steady opposition to that factious spirit, which kept so many of y^e^ Torys attached to Jacobitism, and rendered the present establishment, by the conduct of so many Whigs, rather a party than a national system of government. On such principles as these he came into the scheme of the coalition as soon as it was proposed to him in 1726, and adhered steadily to it, though the opposition

founded on it was not pursued on every occasion, as far, nor as vigorously, as it might, and should have been. The last time we were together he agreed with me, and seemed fully penetrated with y^e^ sentiment, that nothing less than maintaining y^e^ coalition, and his R. H. att y^e^ head of it, could give any chance of procuring a better administration, and of raising a national spirit in all the orders of Government, and in the whole body of the people. Unless this be done, nothing is done; the reins of government may slip out of one man's hands into those of another, but they will be in y^e^ hands of faction still; and we shall continue to see what we have seen so long,—the national interest a mere pretence, and the interest or humour of a minister the real principle of all political conduct, till Faction, successful, establishes habitual tyranny, or, unsuccessful, begets universal confusion. You will easily believe, that people on this side of y^e^ water are curious to know, in what disposition and temper y^e^ Parliament comes together, and what inspirations will descend on the two Houses from the great inspiring Dæmon; his mean sentiments, his narrow views, and in one word, his second or third rate capacity, are well enough known; it is well enough known by consequence, how ill y^e^ bark is likely to be steered when the sky lowers and threatens a storm from more quarters than one: but it is certain, that the sentiments of those who oppose him, how honestly soever directed, are not carried too high, and their views extended too wide, to keep a due proportion with y^e^ present circumstances! He has conducted a two years' war with as little capacity and as little fidelity to his country, as 1740.

1740. he did the negociations of eighteen years. But you know my opinion; it is not enough to oppose a bad minister; good schemes of conduct must be opposed to bad ones; wise measures to foolish ones. Your preparations have been immense, y^r^ declarations very strong —Would it not have been better to have done more in time, and to have said less? If I had been a pensioner of Spain in y^e^ councils of Britain, I would have advised y^e^ conduct y^t^ has been held. But true to y^e^ interest of Britain, I would have advised greater force and vigour in giving the first blow, and more consideration in the publication of designs and pretensions whilst preparations were made for a second. I could not help saying as much in writing to one to whom my heart is open. If I judge wrong you will easily excuse a friend who sees y^e^ affairs of y^e^ world at a great distance. As to my health, which you enquire after so kindly, it breaks, but not so fast as other things vastly more important in the main. I go down hill gradually enough, though I have now and then a push forward. I desire you to be persuaded, dear S^r^, that nothing can be more sincere than the profession I make of being most affectionately y^r^ friend, and with all y^e^ return y^r^ excellent character deserves, y^r^ most obedient and most humble servant,

"H. St. J. B."

In the latter part of this year, Thomson and Mallet wrote "The Masque of Alfred," which was acted before the Prince and Princess at Cliffden.* In the Masque,

* This is the "Cliveden's proud alcove" of which Pope sung, (Moral Essays, Ep. 3, 307,) and which overlooks the most beautiful scenery of the Thames. (See above, p. 86.)

Alfred is shewn in vision the future glories of Eng- 1740.
land. This dramatic poem, which contains some lines and sonnets of great beauty, is filled with incentives to a naval war with Spain and France, and allusions to the Prince. Edward * the Third, shews a King too great to be *jealous of his son.* Elizabeth,† a Queen, who subdued *insulting Spain.* William the Third,‡ a Monarch, who *scourged the pride of France;* and lastly, the *better days* of Frederic are foretold.

On the 13th of February, Sandys brought forward 1741.
his motion for the dismissal of Walpole from his

* Great himself,
Great above *jealousy*, the guilty mark
That brands all meaner minds; see, he applauds,
The *filial excellence*, and gives him hope
To blaze in his full brightness.

† She, ... with not one friendly power
But what her kind creating hand shall raise
From out the marshes of the branching Rhine.
* * * *
She too shall raise Britannia's naval power,
Shall quickly ravish from *insulting Spain*,
The world-commanding sceptre of the deep.

‡ . . . . . From this great hour
Shall *Britain* date her rights and laws restored,
And one high purpose rule her Sovereign's heart
To scourge the pride of *France*—that foe professed
To England and to Freedom.

In this Masque is the Ode,
" When Britain first at Heaven's command,
Arose from out the azure main," &c.

The last lines of the poem are,
" Vain are their threats, their armies all are vain,
They rule the balanced world who rule the main."

1741. Majesty's councils. Walpole made a most able defence, dividing his enemies "into three classes, the Boys, the riper Patriots, and the Tories."—The motion was negatived by 290 to 106; an unusual majority, due to the schism between the Tories and the Whigs. "Honest Shippen," from what cause seems uncertain, withdrew with a large number of his friends. Edward Harley reproached Walpole in memorable terms, for the different conduct he had adopted towards Lord Oxford, and ended his speech by saying, "I am now, Sir, glad of this opportunity to return good for evil, and to do that honourable gentleman and his family that justice which he denied to mine:" he then left the House with Mr. Robert Harley. In this debate Lyttelton replied to Mr. Pelham. Carteret made the same motion on the same day in the House of Lords. The schism had not extended to that House, and there the opposition presented a compact phalanx. The motion was negatived by 108 to 59: a strong protest was signed by thirty-one Peers. The Prince of Wales was present during the debate, but did not vote. The following account of this division is taken from a letter written by Mr. Carte to the Pretender:*—"The late attempt against Sir Robert Walpole in the Houses of Lords and Commons in England, seems to have been very ill managed and concerted, at least in the latter. It was set a-foot by the Duke of Argyle and a party of the old Whigs, without either concerting measures with

* Found among the Stewart Papers, and published by Lord Mahon in the Appendix to his History, dated April 17, 1741.

the Tories, or acquainting them with the matter: so that when it was moved in the Commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams, were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence; and all they could say could not keep Will. Shippen, and twenty-three others; all Prince Frederic's servants and party also, except Lyttelton, Pitt, and Grenville, Lord Cobham's nephew, left the House." These were "the boys" to whom Walpole had so scornfully alluded, but whose incessant and vigorous attacks were not the least of his difficulties. On the 27th February a sharp contest took place, on the motion to bring in a Bill for the better and speedier manning his Majesty's fleet; almost every clause was struggled against. Pitt and Lyttelton distinguished themselves in the debate; the latter spoke twice, denouncing it as equally to be detested with the Inquisition of Spain. The bill passed by 153 to 99. On the 8th of April, the King, alarmed for Hanover, and finding the majority of his cabinet inclined to vigorous measures; opened in a speech from the Throne the subject of a Vote of Credit in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, and for a subsidy to the Queen of Hungary. A debate took place in both Houses: a division in the upper, but an address was carried, assuring the King of their "zealous and cheerful concurrence," in enabling him, "to contribute in the most effectual manner to the support of the Queen of Hungary:" from this moment the collision between France and England became inevitable. 1741.

CHAPTER V.

1741.—Literary Correspondence.

Bishop Hurd's Preface to Warburton's Works —Chalmers' Lives of Warburton and Middleton.—Hagley MSS.

1741. Following the order of the Hagley MSS. I am now led to the consideration of what was passing at this time in the literary world. Towards the close of this year, Lyttelton's intimacy with Pope had made him acquainted with Warburton, (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester,) and who was then in the zenith of his power.

Extensive and varied information, the fruits of a vigorous understanding, and great industry, had raised this son of an humble attorney, at Newark-upon-Trent, in spite of many disadvantages, to a high eminence in the estimation of his contemporaries. At this time he had already published his "Alliance between Church and State;" and two volumes of his "Divine Legation of Moses." Certain positions laid down in this work, which had then excited an extraordinary sensation, brought Warburton into conflict with a writer of equal reputation with himself, and who was also his friend,—Dr. Middleton.

* Warburton wrote a defence of The Essay on Man against De Crousaz;—this introduced him to Pope.

The anxiety of the former to obtain Lyttelton's approbation and advice as to the course he should pursue, led to the following letters. Warburton, with many faults, was no flatterer, and his appeal to Lyttelton is undeniable evidence of the literary reputation then enjoyed by the subject of these memoirs. 1741.

Religion, still suffering from the grievous wounds inflicted upon her by the fanaticism and licentiousness of the last century, began about this epoch to be assailed by the more polished, but perhaps more deadly weapon of the Rationalist. Tindal's* attempt to substitute Natural for Revealed Religion had been crushed by Waterland and Pearce, but it had been so insidiously commented upon by Middleton as to induce a general belief that he was a friend in the disguise of an enemy. The miracles were now the chief objects against which sceptics directed their attacks; and there is too much reason to suspect, that on this awful subject, Middleton's opinions were not sound. In 1729, he published a "letter from Rome, shewing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism in the religion of the present Romans, derived from that of their heathen ancestors." It was written with considerable ability, learning, and elegance, but in such a spirit of general incredulity and levity that it seemed to condemn all miracles. This intention, however, Middleton expressly denied in another edition. In the year 1738, Warburton published the first volume of his Divine Legation. The object of this work was to answer the

* "Christianity as Old as the Creation" appeared in 1730.

1741. objection of the sceptic, that Moses sought no sanction for his laws from the doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments, though he frequently alluded to an equal providence. The Divine Legation admitted this position, and drew from it the inference, that Moses must have possessed other sanctions for his laws,—namely, the good and evil of the present life allotted to each man according to his deeds, by a providence which dispensed them in this world with a strict reference to human conduct. There are some very just remarks on this once celebrated work, in one of the numbers of the Quarterly Review,*—the closing observations of which are as follows :—"A little more reflection, however, we think, would have enabled its author to guard against much that galled him, and pare away some of those many episodes, which, even had they been more correct in reasoning than in several instances they are, could only serve after all to cumber his main proposition. Then, the Divine Legation might have taken a more conspicuous place amongst the evidences for the truth of revelation, and would not have lain unworthily neglected on the upper shelves of our libraries, condemned in the lump as a splendid paradox, by those who little know the happy illustrations it contains, gathered from every region under heaven, the prodigious magazine of learning it unfolds, the infinite ingenuity it displays in assimilating, more or less, the most unpromising substances to the matter on hand, the sarcasm, the invective, the joke, sacred and profane, which are there found, mingle, mingle, mingle, as they

* Quarterly Review, Article on Paley's Writings, Vol. 38. p. 309.

were poured forth from the cauldron of that most capacious and turbulent mind." 1741.

Warburton made some observations in this work * on the fondness evinced by the Israelites for Egyptian customs and manners, and on the course adopted by Moses, of forming institutions, partly in compliance with, and partly in opposition to this partiality. And while descanting on this theme, he censured the error of supposing that the manners of all nations were *traductive* from one another, and expressed his dissent from Middleton's theory, that Popish ceremonies were copied from those of Paganism. Middleton was very angry, and published another edition of his Essay, with "a postscript, in which Mr. Warburton's opinion concerning the Paganism of Rome is particularly considered." The following letters relate to this controversy. From the first of them we learn, that Lyttelton was then collecting materials for his great historical work, which will be mentioned at a later period. It should seem, also, that Lyttelton had shewn to Warburton his sketch of the Life of Cicero, which he afterwards published.

"October 22, 1741.

"Sir,—I beg leave to make my acknowledgments for the honour of yours of the 17th inst. I shall observe your commands about the MSS. with the utmost care. I need not say how happy I should have thought myself to have payed my attendance on you at Cambridge. I hope your ardour in this fine work will never abate, though your leisure for it may grow less. As to the

* Div. Leg. Book iv., sect. 6.

1741. dulness and dryness of your materials you may consider, that Livy, whom you so much admire, found neither more wit nor more eloquence in the annals he collected from. On the contrary, Suetonius, that had all the genius of Rome to compose from, made but a very indifferent piece of work of it; so that I almost fancy it is with a master-piece of history, as with the highest exalted chemical essences, which cannot be drawn off but from a great mixture of brick-dust, clay, or rubbish, thrown into the retort. But for all this I should be very sorry if, whenever you should hereafter think of that nobler work, that Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero should keep you from projecting it. But I wont tell you my thoughts of that life now, because, I fancy you will not allow it to be a proper time. I will do what at present much more becomes me, return you, good Sir, my humblest and kindest thanks for your advice concerning the difference between us on the Papal superstitions. You and Mr. Pope have absolutely determined me not to reply to his *Postscript*, though I think myself in the right; though were I in the wrong, I am not sure I have not so much of that wretched spirit of an author and a controversialist as to prevent my seeing it. However, had I, as I had some thoughts, made any reply, it should have been with all the candour you so justly direct me to. For which, that you may give me the more credit, (for I confess, I have not appeared on some occasions to be very forbearing,) I beg leave to acquaint you with what passed between Dr. Middleton and me before the appearance of the new edition of the letter from Rome.

On the publication of my second vol. I wrote him word, that my work and his Life of Tully would be an evidence as long as they lasted, that two writers might oppose one another, and differ greatly in points of speculation without any breach of friendship, which I apprehended might be a more edifying lesson than any we taught in our books.* This, at first, he appeared to like extremely well, but being inflamed afterwards by a person whose plagiarism I had exposed, he complained to a common friend of two of these passages of my book, upon which I sent him a very round letter. On this he again grew cool and friendly, wrote his postscript, and treated me with that candour and good breeding, which you, S^r^, so reasonably recommend. I did not, indeed, so well like his putting my name into the advertisement of his *letter;* but that I understand was a trick of the bookseller's; however, 1741.

* "Thus, these two ingenious men—and the same spirit breathes through the rest of their letters, so that their whole temper seems to have resolved itself into a principle of general candour; yet, within a month or two, a fresh difference of opinion taking place, (though on a subject of no more importance than the other about Cicero, respecting only the origin of Popish ceremonies,) and neither side giving way, our two candid friends cooled insensibly towards each other, and seem thenceforward to have discontinued their correspondence, for I find no letters that passed between them of a later date than those of this year, which touch upon that difference—a memorable instance of our common weakness! which shews how little stress is to be laid on those professions of candour with which our letters and conversations overflow; and how impossible it is for any lasting friendship to subsist between men of opposite principles and persuasions, however their feelings may for a time be dissembled or disguised even to themselves, by a show of good breeding." —*Warburton's Life by Hurd*, p. 32.

1741. on the publication of the book I wrote him a letter of thanks for his civility, and promised when I answered it to make a sutable* return. But you, Sir, and Mr. Pope, have determined me to be silent, and I shall now be so with great pleasure: and should have been with much greater could I have followed your directions throughout, and done what you intimate my *candour* requires, *given up the point.* But this I cannot do without failing in my duty to truth, or, what in this case is the same thing, that which I take for her. And as I esteem your direction in this affair the highest honour as well as obligation done me, I should be really wanting in my duty to you, should I neglect telling you in a word or two, what attaches me (besides my authorship, which I mentioned before) to my own opinion. I read over Dr. M.'s *postscript* as carefully as I could, and do apprehend all he there says to be entirely wide of the question, and that my reason even against Dr. M.'s opinion of the origin of these superstitions stands yet unremoved. But it would be too long to trouble you with the matter. I will beg leave rather to confine myself to your letter. You seem to think we have divided the truth between us, and only squabble like school-boys for the largest share. I apprehend the point stands thus, the superstitions of Rome make up one large entire system, and the question between Dr. M. and me is, whether the general mass or body of them be derived or borrowed from Paganism, or the original effects of a similar spirit. I hold the latter, he the former. But neither would I deny, that here and there a straggling

* Sic in orig.

superstition might be purloined from Paganism, nor 1741.
he, I suppose, that such a small matter might have its birth nearer home. Now, there are two ways of determining this matter with regard to the body of those superstitions: for ab^{t} that only is the question. First, to consider them as they make up a system directed to a certain end and purpose, ever in view for many ages together; a purpose peculiar to the ecclesiastical polity of Rome, at least, quite foreign to the policy of all heathen priesthood. Now, I argue thus, this system of superstition was continued for the sake of the policy, not the policy for the sake of the system; or, in other words, the superstitions arose from the policy, not the policy from the superstitions. This, I think, is evident, on the supposition, that they were the contrivance of the priesthood. But if this were the case, the *gradual promotion* of that policy must needs be *that* which dictated each superstition to the bigotted promoters, which have all so close a relation to one another, and mutually concur to carry on a common policy; consequently, the body of the papal superstitions were the natural effects of minds interested and bigotted, which sought in themselves *means* adequate to the *end*, and not *picked* up at hazard from dismembered Paganism. This, you see, is upon the Dr.'s own principles, that the priests were the authors of these superstitions, and I think upon these principles I could make the argument very clear, which I only here hint at. But as I do not hold that the priests were so generally the authors of these superstitions, I have another way of considering them, that is,

1741. as single individual and unrelated superstitions; and then I consider, *first*, from the *reason of the thing* what *might*; and *secondly*, *from fact*, what *did* give birth to each. To give only a single specimen under each head. The business of *Holy Water* is much insisted on by the Dr. as borrowed from the Pagans, who indeed are full of the purifications by water, and by *fire* too; for where was the wonder that men should make the two greatest purifiers amongst material things *sacred*. But it is plain, that *Holy Water* was neither borrowed from Paganism, nor arose from the general spirit of Paganism, but had a nearer and more confined original, which was this;—Holy Water is the baptismal water that has been employed in that ceremony, it was thought too good to be thrown away, and in this use the spirit of frugality as much appeared as that of superstition, it being indeed no more than that common economy of a good housewife, who, having brewed her ale, has a second running for small beer. So natural was this superstition, and so readily catched up without going out of doors for. From fact, let us consider that most noted of their superstitions—their frequent and immoderate *flagellations*. Dr. M. is sure of his point here; and indeed, there is not one so plausible an instance to be produced as this, for, I believe, there were as many distinct orders in the Pagan priesthood as in the Romish, who practised this precise superstition, and exactly in the same manner. And yet we have in Ecclesiastical History very circumstantial accounts of the rise and progress of this practice, begun and carried

on by frank enthusiasts in an unaccountable and in- 1741.
fectious fit of madness, which begun in the year 1260, and broke out again in 1349. The history of it is very curious, and that we may be sure the superstition was unknown to the church before this time, I observe it was at first esteemed a species of heresy. But in a little time their saints honoring it with their practice it grew into general credit. And now, what in reality is there to oppose on the other side the question but this, The great and surprising conformity between Popery and Paganism. But how slippery that reasoning alone is, we may see by a very notable instance. If we may credit the Missionaries in North America, there is a great resemblance between the customs and manners of the Hurons and Iroquoise, and the first barbarous Greeks at the time of the Argonautic Expedition; indeed, so great, that when you are reading the manners of the American savages, you might easily persuade yourself you was reading an old writer of the first inhabitants of Greece. Yet nobody believes that they borrowed their manners from thence. But I forget myself, there are, indeed, system writers who, at least, intended to fancy so. But I have trespassed on your patience much too long, and what is worse, I fear too in a very unintelligible scribble. For I have not thrown my thoughts on this subject upon paper further than in the short paragraph of my second volume, which now I chance to mention, I must beg leave to vindicate from an insinuation of Dr. M. in his postscript, as if I went out of my way to make that reflection. Whereas, I dare

1741. say, S^r^, you see that the general observation was of high moment against deists, who from the *common principle of religious borrowing*, brought an argument against the Divinity of the Law of Moses, and the illustrations of Romish superstitions was so apposite, that I could not well omit it. But one thing in his postscript appeared still stranger to me, his saying, p. 227, that if what I hold on this matter had any force, *it overthrew the whole credit and use of his letter from Rome to me.* I told him, I wondered he should say so, when if his own word might be taken, concerning his end of writing that letter, it was of equal use, though my opinion was the right. His concluding words are these, *If I do not flatter myself too much, I have sufficiently made good what I undertook to prove, an exact conformity, or uniformity rather, of worship between Popery and Paganism.* Now I have not said one single word against this *conformity or uniformity*, I acknowledge it to be as great as he pleases. The only question is from whence it arises. Indeed, in his title, he speaks of the religion of the present Romans *being derived from their Pagan* ancestors; but his book is of equal force, if he proves it a corrupt religion, let the corruptions arise from whence they will, and he proves it a corrupt religion if he proves a conformity to Paganism. I must once more, good Sir, beg your excuse, but I could not dispense with myself in not mentioning my reasons why I could not go so far as you and Mr. Pope seemed to think proper. I, indeed, think such an acknowledgment, merely for the rarity of it,

would do me more credit than the support of a much more considerable point, not that it is the least curious of these questions that concern mankind. I have in my mind a sketch of a vindication of my opinion, and I have a very good opportunity, for I am preparing a new edition of my 2nd Vol. If I am not deceived I can prove it clearly, at least, I believe it would include some facts and speculations that you and Mr. Pope would not be displeased at a leisure hour to look at, and perhaps, sometime or other when I can find leisure, I may draw it up for that purpose only. In the meantime, you know, Sir, what great reason I have to approve myself to Mr. Pope, so that it would be a great pleasure to me if you had an opportunity of communicating this hasty scrawl to him. 1741.

"I am, with the greatest regard and
gratitude, Sir, your most obliged,
and most obedient, and faithful servant,
"W. WARBURTON.

"October 22, 1741."

The next letter is as follows :—

"November 1, 1741.

"GOOD SIR,

"I BEG leave to return my most grateful acknowledgments for the honour of the kindest and most obliging letter that ever was. I hope that you will do me the justice to believe that to approve myself to you, to whom my poor services are altogether devoted, will ever be my first and principal concern. It is therefore with the greatest pleasure I understand

1741. you are so well satisfied with what is so much my duty, my readiness to obey your commands. And I would do it exactly to the letter of your last, but that just before the receipt of it I had put it out of my power. For, after receiving your first commands, I was so uneasy and dissatisfied with myselfe* till I had settled matters with Dr. Middleton agreeably to them, so that just before I had the honour of your last, I wrote to him to let him know I had thoughts of dropping the controversy. What had before passed between us gave me this opportunity, and made it expedient; for, on his sending me his letters from Rome I returned him a letter of thanks for his politeness and civility, but gave him to understand I intended to reply to his Postscript. In an obliging answer to this, he appeared not to be dissatisfied that it should drop. This gave me a good opportunity to prevent any fresh provocation from him. (For I will assure you, S^{r}, I have not wanted provocation for what I did, as you will understand when I have the honour of waiting on you.) So that as my impatience has put it out of my power to follow those directions in your last, which I think would have been extremely proper, I am pleased to reflect that I have already said is not greatly distant from what you thought proper I should say; in the 356th page of the 2nd volume of the D. L. are these words, *They have indeed shewn an exact and surprising likeness in a great variety of instances;* this seems to own the credit and use of Dr. M.'s book. As to *general* expressions, I think they

* Sic in orig.

are never understood in logic, to exclude *particular exceptions*, unless *exclusive* expressions are employed along with the general ones. As in the very case of Dr. M., who in the title-page of all the editions of the *Letter from Rome*, but the last, said, *the Religion of the present Romans entirely derived from that of their heathen ancestors.* But in the last the word *entirely* is omitted. But the Doctor understands all the *Arts of controversy*, witness these words in his postscript,— "But this question, according to his notion, is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind; a *superior knowledge of human nature*," p. 228. Now, not to insist either upon the *slur* or the *nonsense* of the last words, for I said nothing of a superior knowledge of human nature. Nor is a *superior* knowledge any principle at all; not to insist on this, how unjust is his assertion that I am not for having the matter *decided by fact.* Do not I allow his fact, that he has shewn *an exact and surprising likeness, &c.* But the fallacy insinuated is, that proving a *likeness*, and proving an *imitation* or *borrowing* are the same thing. But perhaps you will think that he deceived himself, and had not even an exact and precise notion of the very question he wrote upon. Indeed the different stating of his proposition in the beginning and end of his book looks very like it. In the beginning it is the *Religion of the present Romans derived from the Heathens*, in the end, *an exact conformity or uniformity of worship between Popery and Paganism.* It is evident he took them to be one and the same proposition in different terms, as appears even from the 1741.

1741. use of the particle *OR*, in his title page. But what must we think of a man's capacity for the handling such a question, which he has not got a true comprehension of. But, as I said, no man understands better the Arts of authorship. To give a very trifling instance, his title page says, "a Postscript in which Mr. "Warburton's opinion concerning the *Paganism of* "*Rome* is particularly considered." But, the *Paganism of Rome* is not my opinion but his; mine is the *Superstition of Rome*. What then you will ask was the reason of this inaccuracy? I had wrote a great deal in the Divine Leg. you know, Sir, about the *Paganism of Pagan Rome*, and an answer to that would make a figure in a title page. And in fact many have bought this book on a supposition that it was an answer to a great part of my first volume. You see, Sir, what a great deal of embarrass* your kindness to me has eased me of. Had I answered his postscript, I should have been obliged to take notice of many of these little arts, and though I should have done it with all civility, yet there is something so very piquant in these things, that our friendship, which I would not unrip, would have run great hazards. Nothing could have been more decisive for my purpose than your fine observation on the sameness between the Old British and the Popish Hierarchy. Indeed, I have the glory (though a secret one) of having you and the controversy in my favour, by an instance to which nothing can be replied. When you shall happen to write to Mr. Pope it would be an act of goodness to let him know the matter will be ended to your

* So in the original.

satisfaction, and a word or two from you would be infinitely more to his satisfaction than all I could say about it. I am preparing, at the bookseller's request, a new edition both of my first and second volume, which I hope will be a little less faulty and consequently more worthy of your notice than the former, particularly as I have retracted the opinion and foolish expression about Collins, p. 90. I shall add a note (a copy of which I have taken the liberty to enclose for your amusement) unless you give me to understand it is improper. I take the liberty, Sir, of desiring my most humble services to Dr. Ayscough and the Rev. Mr. Lyttelton. And now, Sir, I have much pardon to ask for thus breaking in upon you, but I could not help it, any more than I can being, 1741.

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most obliged most faithful
and most devoted servant,
"W. WARBURTON."

"(A note to come in at the bottom of the 387th page of the 1st volume of the D. L. 2nd edition.)

"The celebrated Author* of the learned and ingenious *History of Cicero* hath since turned this very circumstance to support the contrary opinion in behalf of his hero. "But some," says he, "have been apt to

* Book 3. Sect. 3, Warburton's position being "that the ancient philosophers did not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments."—He relied on two passages in Cicero's Epistles "omnium rerum mors sit extremum." L. 6, ep. 4, "ad exitum vitæ * * * id sine ullo sensu futurum est." Ep. 21. ibid.

1741. consider them (i. e. passages in Tully's Phil. Writings in favour of a future state) as the flourishes rather of his eloquence than the conclusion of his reason. Since in other parts of his work he seems to intimate not only a diffidence but a disbelief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and especially in his letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness. But in a melancholy hour, when the spirits are depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force, but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humoured his present chagrin find the readiest admission. The passages alleged (i. e. in the place above quoted of the D. L.) were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, and in the height of Cæsar's power, &c. V. 2, p. 562. Thus we see every thing hath two academical handles. But still there are but a right and a wrong. My candid Friend will therefore suffer me to distinguish. It is allowed that a desponding temper like that of Cicero's will in a melancholy hour be always inclined to suspect the worst. But to what is the subject of its suspicion confined? without doubt to the issue of that very affair which occasioned the distress; a melancholy hour would have just the contrary influence on his other cogitations. And this is the wise disposition of nature, that the less support the mind has persuaded itself to find in one quarter, the more it endeavours to make up in its abundance of hope from another;

so that unless Cicero was differently made from other men one may venture to say that his hopes *of future good* (had his philosophy suffered him to entertain any hopes at all) would have risen in proportion to his *fears of the present.* And is not this every day seen in fact. For what is it but this natural disposition that makes men of the world so generally fly in their misfortunes even to superstition for relief. Seneca, who we have shewn believed no future state of reward or punishment, seems to have understood that this was human, when in his works of *consolation* he applies a future state to his patients in misfortune, as a remedy whose efficacy in the favourable disposition of mind in that season he could altogether confide in." 1741.

This note slightly altered and extended is now to be found in Bishop Hurd's edition of Warburton's works.* Before quitting this subject I may observe that the Divine Legation contains a third attack upon Middleton. At the close of his argument† upon the "general view of the nature and genius of the Christian Religion," Warburton refuted a position maintained by Middleton in one of his works, that the‡ Gift of tongues was among those miraculous powers—which were *occasional* and *temporary* and not ever present to the Apostles.

The work of Lyttelton's to which allusion is made in Warburton's first letter, was one of which the

* Book iii. sect. 3.

† Book ix. chap. 4, note k, Divine Legation.

‡ Essay on the Gift of Tongues.

1741. author himself gives the following account:* "In the early part of my youth I wrote a little treatise entitled *Observations on the Life of Cicero*, which went through two editions, the first coming out in the year 1731, and the second in the year 1741. During the last of these years Dr. Middleton also published his *Life of Cicero*, in the preface to which elegant and elaborate work, he did me the honour to take some notice of mine, and expressed a wish that I should reconsider the subject, in a more extensive view of that great man's whole conduct."

The language of Middleton was as follows: "There is a little piece† also in our own language, called, *Observations on the Life of Cicero*, which, though it gives a very different account of Cicero from what I have done, yet I could not but read with pleasure, for the elegance and spirit with which it is written, by one who appears to be animated with a warm love of virtue. But to form our notions of a great man from some slight passages of his writings, or separate points of conduct, without regarding their connection with the whole, or the figure that they make in his general character, is like examining things in a microscope which were made to be surveyed in the gross; every mote rises into a mountain, and the least spot into a deformity, which vanish again into nothing when we contemplate them through their proper medium, and in their natural light. I persuade myself therefore, that a person of this writer's good sense and

* Observations on the Roman History, Lyttelton's Works, Vol. i.

† See Preface to Middleton's Life of Cicero.

principles, when he has considered Cicero's whole history, will conceive a more candid opinion of the man, who, after a life spent in a perpetual struggle against vice, faction and tyranny, fell a martyr at last to the liberty of his country." 1741.

Dr. Warton,* however, thoughtthat a more dispassionate and impartial character of Cicero was to be found in the sketch of Lyttelton than in the long and elaborate panegyric of Middleton.

After his retirement from public life, Lyttelton wrote some further *Observations on the Roman History*, which were printed after his death in the unfinished state in which he left them.†

The rest of Lyttelton's literary correspondence during this year seems to have been with Pope, from whom is the following letter:—

"Bath, November 3, 1741.

"DEAR SIR,

"I HAVE lately received a letter in which are these words—'suffer not Mr. Lyttelton to forget me.' It made me reflect I am as unwilling to be forgotten by you, though I do not deserve so well to be remembered on any account, but that of an early, a well-grounded, and (let me add) a well-judged esteem, of you. I do not ask what you are doing; I am sure it is all the good you can do. I do not ask anything but to know that you are well. I see no use to be drawn from the knowledge of any public events: I

* See Warton's Note to the word "Lyttelton," in Pope's Imitations of Horace, Book i. Ep. 1.

† Lyttelton's Works, Vol. i.

1741. see most honest men melancholy, and that's enough to make me inquire no more: when I can do anything either to assist, or not assisting to comfort them, I will. But I fear I live in vain, that is, must live only to myself. Yet I feel every day what the Puritans called *outgoings* of my soul, in the concern I take for some of you, which upon my word is a warmer sensation than any I feel in my own and for my own being. Why are you a courtier? Why is Murray a lawyer? It may be well for other people, but what is that to your own enjoyment, to mine? I would have you both pass as *happy* and as satisfied a life as I have done. You will both laugh at this, but I would have you know had I been tempted by nature and Providence, with the same talents that he and you have, I would have done as you do. But if either of you ever become tired or stupid, God send you my quiet and my resignation. I think I've nothing more to say, but to add with how full a heart,

"I am, dear Sir, ever yours,

"A. POPE.

"Pray let Mr. West* know I am alive, and while I am alive, warmly his.

"To the Hon. George Lyttelton, Esq.
Pall Mall, London."

Lyttelton answers:—

"Nov. 7, 1741.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter with that pleasure and pride I always feel in every mark of your friendship. As much a courtier as I am, I

* West's name occurs again, with some notice of him, in the course of these memoirs.

have no higher ambition than to deserve your esteem, 1741.
and that of a few honest men more, among whom I desire you to tell Mr. Allen I reckon him, though he is so little in my way that I cannot cultivate his friendship as I wish to do. I envy you the quiet and happiness you enjoy at his house, where you are escaped from the vice, the folly, and the noise of the world, almost as much as if you were dead, and in the region of pure and happy spirits. What a different scene am I forced to sit in! But I won't recal even your thoughts to it, I will only tell you that I am well, and that I have lately heard from Mr. Warburton, who desires me to acquaint you that he has dropt his dispute with Dr. Middleton as you advised him to do; though he has convinced me he could well have maintained it, if he had not loved peace and friendship better than victory, which is a temper of mind so becoming in a divine, and so rare in an author, that I think you should express your approbation of it the first time you write to him. If the person who bid you *not suffer me to forget him* was Lord Bolingbroke, I beg you would say in your answer that I gave a letter two months ago to Mr. Brindsden to be conveyed to him, which by those words to you I should apprehend he has not received: If you add that I always remember his Lordship with the highest veneration, and kindest regards, you will do me but justice. I wish he was in England upon many accounts, but for nothing more than to exhort and animate you not to bury your excellent talents in a philosophical indolence, but to employ them, as you have often done, in the service

1741 of virtue. The corruption and hardness of the present age is no excuse; for your writings will last to ages to come, and do good a thousand years hence, if they can't now; but I believe they would be of great present benefit: some sparks of publick virtue are yet alive, which such a spirit as yours might blow into a flame, among the young men especially; and even granting an impossibility of reforming the publick, your writings may be of use to private society. The moral song may steal into our hearts, and teach us to be as good sons, as good friends, as beneficent, as charitable as Mr. Pope, and sure that would be serving your country, though you can't raise her up such Ministers, or such Senators as you desire. In short, my dear friend, though I am far from supposing that if you don't write *you live in vain*, though the influence of your virtues is felt among all your friends and acquaintance, and the whole circle of society within which you live, yet as your writings will have a still more extensive and permanent influence, as they will be an honour to your country, at a time when it has hardly anything else to be proud of, and may do good to mankind in better ages and countries, if not in this; I would have you write till a decay of your parts, or at least weakness of health, shall oblige and authorize you to lay down your pen. But though in my zeal for your glory I tell you this, I shall love and esteem you just as well, whether you mind it or not: I have long since forgot the author in the companion and friend, and though I shall read whatever you write with a great deal of pleasure, and feel a sort of

pride for you in hearing it praised, I had rather you should tell me, as you do in your last letter, that you are *happy and satisfied*, than be told you had written the finest thing in the world. I was last night at West's, he and his wife are much yours. I wish I could write to you longer, I feel those same *outgoings of the soul*, which you speak of, very strong in me now, and should like to prate to you through a page or two more, but here are people breaking in upon me, so I can only assure you I am most sincerely, 1741.

" Dear Sir,

" Your very affectionate, humble servant,

" G. Lyttelton.

" London, November the 7th, 1741."

The date of his next letter to Pope is uncertain:—

" Dear Sir,—I am much concernd, it is impossible for me to come to Twitnam either to-day or to-morrow, as I should have much wishd to have had a parting look of you. I am sorry to tell you too that I have not succeeded in my negociation for Mrs. Blunt; all the lodgings at Kew that are furnishd being already engaged for the whole summer. You are desir'd to send the waterman you recommended to Lord Baltimore, who will admit him into the Prince's service upon hearing he comes from you. His Lordship is now Admiral upon the Thames, and all *Naval preferments* are to pass through his hands. My humble service to Mr. Warburton. I am very glad he finds any thing to be pleasd with in the manuscript I lent him, and shall beg his assistance in the prosecution of

1741. the work, to make it more worthy of his approbation. If when he is at Cambridge he should find any thing in the Libraries there relating to Henry the IInd or Becket, that may be of use to me, I will take the liberty to desire him to communicate it. It will be two or three years before my book is finishd, so I hope he may have leizure to think a little upon the subject of it, without taking him from his own studies and amusements. Lord Bolingbroke, you, and he have engrost Philosophy, Poetry, Antiquity, and Modern History, so that nothing remains for me, 'quâ me quoque possim tollere humo,' but to endeavour to draw something like History out of the rubbish of Monkish Annals, a disagreeable task, but yet if I can execute it well, there are materials enough to make it a work of some instruction and pleasure to my countrymen, and I hope to the Prince my master, for whose service I chiefly design it. Certain I am, that such an architect as you, or Mr. Warburton, could out of these Gothick ruins, rude as they are, raise a new edifice, that would be fitt to enshrine the greatest of our English Kings, and last to eternity.

"There is no design of putting any body as yet about Prince George. I will say more to you upon that subject at our next meeting. I am extreamly grievd that I must give up all hopes of seeing you at Hagley this year, for when you are there with me, 'Gratior it Dies et soles melius nitent.' But my poor father's ill health incapacitates him from receiving company, and me from enjoying it. I hope to God by next year, retirement and a country life will have

mended his health, and then if Lord Bathurst will honour us with a visit, and bring you and Mr. Warburton along with him, it will highly oblige 1741.

" Your most affectionate, humble servant,

" G. LYTTELTON.

" June the 13th."

CHAPTER VI.

1741-2.

[Hagley MS.—Glover's Memoirs—Burke's Appeal to the Old Whigs – Letters on a Regicide Peace—Hume's Essays—Walpole's Private Correspondence, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. xii.]

1741. On the 25th of April the Parliament was prorogued, and, its natural death being close at hand, was dissolved immediately afterwards, and writs were issued for new elections, returnable on the 25th day of June.

Lyttelton, in his 'Letter to a Member of Parliament,' already mentioned, had observed that in a short time the country gentlemen would be too dispirited to contest any election with the Court. "A kind of *congè d'elire* might be sent down into the country, and directed *to our trusty and well-beloved officers of the Customs, Excise, and Army*, in all the towns and boroughs of England, Scotland, Wales, and the Duchy of Cornwall. Suitable returns would be made; but, Sir, *this would not be a Parliament.*" The prediction, however, was not destined to be accomplished.

Walpole, beset by difficulties, entreated the King to defer his usual journey to Hanover, but in vain. The Minister's influence was everywhere on the decline; and yet he is said at this time to have fallen into a

lethargy of power, and to have flattered his indolence 1741.
that the failure of Sandys' attack upon him, the death of Wyndham, and the absence of Bolingbroke, had disunited and dispirited the Opposition. Meanwhile England reaped no laurels in the war. The inactivity of our fleet in the Mediterranean, caused by the great numerical superiority of the combined fleets of France and Spain, and the miserable and sanguinary result of Vernon's ill-planned and worse conducted attack on Carthagena,* had exasperated the people against the Minister. The purses of the old Duchess of Marlborough, of Pulteney (who was extremely rich), and of the Prince, were liberally opened. "*Don Carlos*† (writes Glover, in the Memoirs anonymously printed after his death), told me, that it cost him twelve thousand pounds in corruption, particularly among the Tories, to carry the Westminster and Chippenham elections, and other points, which compelled Lord Orford, at that time Sir Robert Walpole, to quit the House of Commons." Lord Chesterfield sent to Bubb Doddington a sketch of the wisest tactics for the Opposition to pursue in the House of Commons, as for his own House he said nothing was to be done in it, "for such a minority to struggle with such a majority, would be much like the late King of Sweden's attacking the Ottoman Army at Bender, at the head of his cooks and butler." He advised that Onslow,‡ who,

* See a very spirited account of it by Smollett, in Roderick Random, chap. xxxi, xxxii; the author was then a surgeon's mate on board the Cumberland, one of the ships engaged in the action.

† Meaning Frederic Prince of Wales.

‡ Lyttelton dedicated to him his Letter to a Member of Parliament

1741. " by a certain decency of behaviour, had made himself many personal friends in the minority," should not be opposed, but that the first battle should be on the question of proposing the Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. Lyttelton was again returned for Okehampton, having, as it appears from the following letter, ineffectually contested his father's county of Worcester.

" Spaa, Aug. the 1st, N. S 1741.

" DEAR LYTTELTON,—I can return you little from hence, but my thanks for your letter, this place furnishing nothing worth either writing or reading. But I must do it the justice to say, that it furnishes health; and I am so much the better for it, that I will not abuse it, as I justly could in all other respects. I shall leave it in about a week, to go and be baked a little by the sun of Provence and Languedoc, from whence I expect the confirmation at least, if not the increase of the health I have got here. I am only apprehensive of being obliged to stop short, and turn homewards, for the rumours of war are so strong, and the motions of France so extensive, that I can't help thinking that the Cardinal is at last either tempted by the opportunity, or importuned into a War, in which case we shall be in a fine situation, who have not been able to carry on a war even against Spain alone. Our minority in this Parliament is so considerable, that I think it can hardly be called a minority, at least I am sure it need not be so long, if well conducted; but I confess that *if* is so little probable, that Sir Robert

might answer as the Lacedemonians once did, upon some occasion which I have forgot, *If*. It will raise the price of some individuals, and he will be obliged to come up to it, and there's an end of the Opposition. I do not condole with you for the loss of your County Election, on the contrary I congratulate you upon getting rid of that plague, I hope for ever, and of being able to live for the future in quiet in your own house, whenever you have a mind to it. I hope your popular efforts upon that occasion did not impair your health, which, in my mind, is the only thing a man should not think of, if he can bring himself to it; for my own part, when I turned my back upon London, I repeated *Urbs venalis et mox peritura si emptorem invenerit*, and resolved when I was once out of England, not to think into it, if I could help it, but attend singly to my health, as the only thing I can now call my own. I have executed my resolution as to the publick part of it pretty well. As to my friends in England, I neither desired to nor would forgett 'em, on the contrary I entertained that remembrance with pleasure, and with much the more for being able to reckon you in that number. I am, most faithfully and zealously yours, 1741.

"CHESTERFIELD."

"Spa, To Mr. Lyttelton, at his house in Pall Mall, Angleterre, London, Amsterdam—franco—"

The next letter from the same quarter is interesting, from its account of Bolingbroke, the despair which seems to have possessed at this time the chiefs of the

1741. Opposition, and from the allusion to the treachery of the Post Office.

"Lyons, Sept. 11, N. S. 1741.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,—When you consider my rambling state, you will easily excuse the irregularity of my correspondence, time and opportunity not conspiring in the least with my inclinations to write to you. I am now got thus far in my pilgrimage to the shrine of health, and hope, in about a week's time, to discharge my vows to the sun of Aix and Montpelier. I ask very little more than the confirmation of what I now enjoy; for the little time that I have already been in France, has really done me more good than I could have expected. I will finish my southern rambles as soon as I can, and return to Paris, where I shall be within call, whenever my friends think fitt to call upon me. The present situation of affairs abroad is as ridiculous, and at the same time as lamentable, as that of our affairs at home, and I see no good to be done in either case; but, however, I will not decline any part that shall be assigned me; and though I give up the game in opinion, I will not give it up in fact, till my friends do so too. I shall be supposed to return full of dangerous and combustible matter, having been three days at Bolingbroke's, which it was impossible for me to avoid, if I had been inclined to it, being obliged necessarily to pass by his door. But he is so much of my mind, that the whole affair is over, that we did not lose one quarter of an hour's time, in talking of publick matters. He is plunged in metaphysics, and willingly neither speaks, nor

speaks of anything else. He says indeed it is only to expose metaphysics; but at least in order to expose 'em he goes so deep into 'em that they absorb him. I begged some share of his time for History, and pressed him to execute what he once proposed, a History of the Affairs of Europe from the Treaty of Vervins; but the difficultys he said he found in pursuing that design discouraged him; but the truth is the other studys engrossed him. I am sorry for it. As it is impossible by the Post to write with any freedom, and as I can neither speak nor write to you without it, my letters can't be too short under that restraint, and scoundrels who read 'em before you, shall only find in 'em what I am very desirous they should know, that I am most faithfully and sincerely yours, 1741.

"CHESTERFIELD."

The next letter is in a desponding strain, but it is evident that the approach of the Parliamentary conflict has rather animated the writer.

"Paris, Oct. 19, N. S. 1741.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,—I have with some unwillingness left the finest climate in the world, I mean Languedoc, to return here, that I might be within call of either you or my Lord Privy Seal. The great advantage I have received from one month in that fortunate climate, convinces me, that one winter passed would absolutely restore me all the health my decayed constitution would admit of; but important as my health is to me, and unimportant as I really think myself to everybody, I will yett rather stand the shocks

1741. of an English winter, than the suspicion of withdrawing from my friends, till they all agree in thinking that any hopes or attempts to do good are as vain and as frivolous, as I am convinced they are. Here then am I, ready at two days' warning to cross, I was going to say the British, but more properly now the French or Spanish Channel, whenever the meeting of the Parliament, or the meeting of my friends in town, requires my appearance. Lett me know the time, and I'll assist at the opening of the melancholy and ignominious scene, that must discover itself, when the Parliamentary curtain is drawn up. In the meanwhile I'll stay here as long as I can, and rather hear, than see, the now inevitable train of mischiefs, which the weakness and wickedness of our administration have brought upon us. Where is the child in the cradle? Where is the boasted assistance given to the Queen of Hungary? Where the formidable Hanoverian Legion? Have all these heroick designs subsided into the cooller measure of the Hannover neutrality? But I run too far into a subject too disagreeable to anticipate, too copious for any letter, and too important for a letter by the Post; besides I am agreeably interrupted by having your letter of the 21st Sept. O. S. this moment putt into my hands. The two others you mention in it I never received, they were I suppose stopped in England, like many others which I am sure I ought to have received, but I regret 'em the less as you mention no particular time as necessary for my return to England; I take it for granted that some days before the meeting of the Parliament will

be sufficient, and I dare say full as soon as my friends will be prevailed with to come to London; for hitherto, though I have often pressed it, I could never gett 'em to meet in town till two or three days before the Parliament: and indeed with what comfort could I return to my country before my King? It would be living so long in a Commonwealth, for I cannot look upon the Regency as *much better* than a Commonwealth. But as soon as all the conditions of that Neutrality which his Majesty has at length obtained for his German Dominions are thoroughly settled, I presume he will look towards England, and then so will I. I thank you for what you do not say at the conclusion of your letter, more than I could have done for all you could have said. I will upon the same principle follow your example, persuaded you do me the justice to think that all I could say is comprehended in the name of 1741.

"CHESTERFIELD."

The Lord Privy Seal alluded to at the beginning of this letter, was Lord Hervey, the well-known object of Pope's most malignant satire. He had been appointed Lord Privy Seal by Walpole, in April, 1740, in spite of a most vehement opposition on the part of the Duke of Newcastle. His treachery to Walpole at this period is also noticed by Horace Walpole, who writes of him to Sir H. Mann—"He lives shut up with my Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pulteney, a triumvirate who hate one another more than any one they could proscribe had they the power.*

* Letter to Sir H. Mann, January 7, 1742.

1741. The following letter from Bolingbroke is well worthy of perusal. We can almost fancy that we hear the writer delivering in these flowing periods an animated speech to Parliament, on a motion to inquire into the state of the nation, and what an effect would the sentence "a Prince who acts with a crown as if he had only an electoral cap on his head," have produced! His insight into the state of parties in England could not have been keener or more sagacious if he had been on the spot. It is clear that he foresaw the course Pulteney would take, though he thought Walpole's defeat farther off than it really was.

"Nov. the 4th, N. S. 1741.

"DEAR SIR,—I cannot enough thank you for your letter of the 24th of August, which found me in my Hermitage, and my Lord Chesterfield with me. We were alone, and the subject of your letter was that of our conversation, both before and after I received it, as you will easily imagine: for what honest man who owns Britain for his country, can turn his mind to any other att this time? I shall confine my answer to the latter part of it. The whole is melancholy; but there I find some feeble glimmerings of light, that I am willing to take for matter of congratulation. My Lord Chesterfield returns to you in much better health, and whilst he and you, and such as you name, are in vigour of body and mind, I cannot absolutely despair. The storm has burst upon you on every side, and you are on every side, and in every respect, unprepared to resist it. That you are in this miserable distress is no doubt originally the crime of Walpole,

but I learn from you what I have heard before, that this distress has been accelerated and aggravated by the folly, the ignorance, the presumption, and the servility of those who oppose him, but are neither able nor willing to pursue wiser measures, and so govern on better principles. Some who are in the ministry, and some who are impatient to be in it, have consummated by their councils what Horace* had been long preparing by his negociations. Our country has been sacrificed, and the system of power in Europe has been so subverted to serve the purposes of a few unworthy men—in short, you are actually in one of those extraordinary conjunctures wherein no one probable measure presents itself to the wisest mind—no measure I mean that may be effectual immediately. But if you read with attention the chapter of accidents, it is possible that you may discover contingencys which will suggest measures to be taken when they happen; the point of view, therefore, of every man who is desirous to see the honour of Britain retrieved, and her true interest and that of Europe pursued, should be at this moment to prepare for such contingencys, and to put himself, and those who think like him, in a condition of seizing and improving opportunities. I am not very fit to advise those who see things nearer than I do, and who would judge better of them even if we saw them at the same distance; but a little impropriety may be allowed to much zeal, and especially in writing to a man of as much candor as yourself. Thus, then, I think two principal and fatal errors 1741.

* Horace Walpole the elder.

1741. that have prevailed from the accession of the present Royal Family, that prevail still, and that will continue to support and strengthen one another, till they ruine the family, or the nation, or both, unless they are eradicated, are these,—that the foreign interests of Britain must be conducted in a certain subordination to those of Hanover, and that the domestick interests must be submitted to those of a party, even when it dwindles and degenerates, as we have seen it do, into a ministerial faction. The first of these has corrupted our politics, from the time that Bremen and Verden were acquired, in direct violation of the guaranty of the crown of Britain, and this violation was maintained and established by powerful squadrons that were sent into the Baltick, and that cost the nation more than £1,200,000.; the Second formed a Jacobite party, strong enough or rather mad enough, to rebel six and twenty years ago, and helps to keep up dissatisfaction and alienation from the Royal Family, in the minds of multitudes to this very hour, though the embers of Jacobitism are scarce alive in any corner of the nation: both one and the other have degraded the Majesty of our Kings: for let them think as they will, a Prince who acts with a crown, as if he had only an Electoral cap on his head, will have neither att home nor abroad the reverence, the authority, nor influence that are due to your superior character;* and a King who governs in the spirit of Party, and renders his sceptre the rod of one set of men, and the tool of another, will be esteemed by his subjects and by foreigners

* So in the original.

the King of half his people, that is half a King. This has been, and still is, too much the case; you feel it to be so att home, and I do assure you, that if you were abroad you would feel it to be so as strongly. His Royal Highness is, you say, sensible of the first error, and I have heard from you, from Lord Chesterfield, and our departed friend,* that he was sensible of the second; let Him avow then the contrary principles; let him act upon them as becomes his high rank with deliberation, decently, but strongly and steadily; let him unite for his own sake, nay for his father's, all those who are ready to unite on the same, and become the head of a national party in this terrible crisis: let him in the name of God rescue his country, for he ought to know no other, from disgrace and all the consequences of factious administration, and factious opposition; let Britain protect Hanover, and the whole Protestant interest in Germany; but let not Hanover, no nor Germany, direct your councils of Britain any longer. How far this sanguine scheme may be carried, how soon it may produce its effects, I presume not to determine; but this I will say with confidence, that nothing less can save you. It is doubtful you say whether your *Leaders* will employ *their* strength in this Parliament, to insist the more on national points, or to give y^m^ up att an higher price, and you are sure that they had rather come in on a narrow than a broad bottom. The weakness of your national councils has given strength, encouragement, and opportunity to others, without which you would have seen little of what you now deplore. Let not the weakness of your party councils 1741.

* Sir W. Wyndham.

1741. att home become the strength of those whom you think capable of selling y^{ur}selves and you. There are men who look on you as scaffolding to raise themselves to power, and who have long treated you as such. They have scarce met with contradiction, when they meet with it, they will be able to treat you so no longer; they will leave you; they will be followed in this desertion by many. Be it so. Had you not rather be deserted than sold? In a word you cannot hope to be saved, unless a new standard be erected, and the principles that were professed even by some of those, by all indeed, except one, ten years ago, be recalled; if this be done, contingent events may be turned into national advantage, and the foundations may be laid of such an administration as can alone extricate you out of that labyrinth of difficulty and distress wherein you now are; if it be not done, whether Walpole or his Rival governs, your distress will increase and y^{r} ruine be compleat, for I call it ruine, and I am sure your generous soul thinks it such, to sit tamely down under national infamy, poverty, and servitude. Thus have I poured forth the overflowings, full of an unaffected and disinterested concern for our unhappy country into the breast of one, who thinks and feels as I do, which is a short consolation, but some however. Whether this scheme I propose be as practicable as it is plausible, you best can judge; but if something of that kind be not soon done, if your direction of the Opposition be not soon changed and the integrity of it restored, we must absolutely despair: by pitiful negociations, by a treacherous connivance att the usurpations of Spain, and by universal mismanagement,

Walpole brought you into the necessity of a war with 1741.
Spain. How this war has been managed, and how you are likely to get out of it, the whole World sees with astonishment. His rivals, by such rash declarations as no man with common sense and common information could have advised, have plunged you and all Europe with you into new distress, such as cannot be paralelled* in modern History. Will they retrieve any better than He the mischief they have done? I think not, the principle of each side is vicious. He means to maintain his power, and they to wrest it into their own hands; and these two interests have been and will be substituted constantly by them to that of the Nation. The latter will not have so much as its turn, if this root of all your evil you suffer be not cut up he must be mad who hopes. This appears to me so evidently true, y^{t} if I should hear in that Retreat, which neither hopes or fears approach, except those I entertain for my country, that you have many gaudy days in Parliament, that excellent speeches are made, that Sir Robert is struck dumb; nay that questions are carried against him, and should hear no more, I could not hope. These events may amuse; they may alleviate but they cannot cure, unless they are brought about by a principle that will work alike against every interest that is not national. Adieu, dear S^{r}. After a short excursion into the neighbourhood of your great world, I shall return to my hermitage to-morrow, where I will endeavour to abstract myself from this melancholy scene. May you who are so worthy a part in it, act with success equal to your talents. I wish nothing

* So in the original.

1741. more ardently, and I am not stoick enough to deny that the joy I shall receive from publick good that is wrought will be enhanced by the share that a man I love and honour, has in it. Once more adieu.

"I should be sorry if it was necessary for me to sign this letter. Pray tell Mr. Pope that I writ to him very lately, and would do so again to day if I had time."

The Session opened on the first of December. The re-election of Speaker Onslow was permitted by the Opposition; but it quickly appeared that the spell of the Minister's power was broken. On the motion of thanks for the King's Speech, the Opposition insisted on the omission of all mention of the war with Spain. Walpole feebly objected, and at last yielded to the suggestion; but in answer to Pulteney's invective and assertion, that by this concession he sought to evade enquiry into his conduct, he declared himself willing to second any member who would propose the institution of such an enquiry. Pulteney accepted the challenge. A motion to fix a day for considering the state of the nation was made by him, and seconded by Walpole, and the 21st of January appointed for the purpose. The omission of the clause about the Spanish war greatly weakened the Minister, as it determined the timid, the treacherous, and the wavering, to desert on the first opportunity. Then came the election for Bossiney, carried by the minister, but by 220 to 216; then the election for the Chairman of Committees, when Chesterfield's tactics were successfully employed. Dr. Lee, a civilian of great eminence, and a debater of no mean merit, was carried by the Opposition against

the ministerial candidate, Mr. Giles Earle. "You have no idea of their huzza, (writes Horace Walpole to Sir R. Brown), unless you can conceive how people must triumph after defeats of twenty years together." Last of the ministerial defeats of this year came the majority for the Opposition candidate for the city of Westminster. The House adjourned for the Christmas holidays. Walpole resisted the entreaties of his friends that he would resign, and, as a last resource, sought to propitiate the Prince of Wales by the offer of an additional income of £50,000.* and the payment of his debts; the attempt failed, as had already another of a far more extraordinary description, in the shape of an overture to the Pretender; the only probable solution of a proceeding which, however incredible, appears to rest on irrefragable evidence is, that it was a lure to the Jacobite party to desert the coalition with the Whigs, now again compacted against him. 1741.

I must not forget to mention in this place, that the author of the anonymous memoir to which I have alluded, charges Lyttelton with having about this time sought, through young Selwyn,† to offer terms to Sir R. Walpole, by which that minister was to have a secure retreat, and by which it must be presumed (for it is not directly stated), places were to be procured for Lyttelton and his party; and this author adds, that he undertook, being wholly unauthorised to do so, to

* "His Majesty has been and is in possession of £50,000. *per ann.* which most people think was designed by Parliament for the Prince of Wales, over and above the fifty which he now enjoys."
Lyttelton's Letter to a Member of Parliament.

† See p. 137.

1741. answer for the consent of the Prince of Wales.* I do not believe this tale, for many reasons, among which are, that not the faintest trace of any such act of dishonesty is to be found in the Hagley MSS.—that Glover (who thirsted for Walpole's blood) was evidently animated by the most rancorous hatred against Lyttelton, and others of his party—and that, according to Glover's own statement, the report came, after a considerable lapse of time, from a piqued, prejudiced, weak person—the Prince of Wales himself.

The exact cause of his quarrel with Lyttelton is not known, for, at the desire of the Prince, he sent back all the documents and letters which he possessed, connected with his Royal Highness. There remains, however, a copy of a letter which he wrote to the Prince, containing a temperate, manly, and direct assertion of his innocence and fidelity.† It will also be seen, that at the time of the Prince's death,

* "In June, 1747, when Don Carlos was complaining to me of the ill-treatment he had from Mr. Lyttelton, Pitt, the Grenvilles, and others, he added, that to his certain knowledge, Mr. Lyttelton had sent a letter to Sir R. Walpole, offering terms, among others, taking upon himself to answer for Don Carlos," &c.

Mr. Macaulay says, in his Review of Thackeray's Life of Chatham, "at this conjuncture Pitt, and those persons who were most nearly connected with him, acted in a manner very little to their honour; they attempted to come to an understanding with Walpole, &c.; a story, supported by strong testimony, and which may be found in so common a book as Coxe's Life of Walpole." But it is only in the *last* edition—namely, of 1816—(Vol. 4. p. 264.) and rests avowedly upon the *sole* authority of Glover's Journal. "This anecdote," (Coxe says,) "is recorded by Glover, who received it from persons present at the meeting between Lyttelton and Selwyn."

† This will appear in a later chapter.

Lyttelton was engaged in effecting a reconcili- 1741.
ation with him. The malignant story is wholly at variance with the general tenor of his conduct. Even Horace Walpole, who, while signing himself "his admirer," in private letters to Lyttelton, was concocting in his cabinet a bitter lampoon, to render him hateful and ridiculous to posterity, accuses him only in general terms of dishonesty; and who would believe Horace Walpole's charge against any contemporary? While Lord Waldegrave, whose integrity has never been impeached, describes Lyttelton, whom he appears never to have liked, "as the honestest man of his party."

During the Christmas holydays Walpole's enemies were not idle, and his friends and creatures were actively conspiring against him. Probably at this period Lyttelton received the following notes from the Prince, which by some accident were not returned with the rest of his correspondence:—

"Park Place, Tuesday, past 3 o'clock.

"My dear Lyttelton,

"My letters from town tell me that the Parliament won't be up Thursday next; write to me by the bearer, if it is, or not, and what is said by our friends about it, and despatch him with it as soon as you can. I am very well, and so is all the company, in spirits and charmed with the place and prospect. I hope our friends are well, and that they'll be soon in power, in wicked people's place, and then not forget what we have blamed before, "Adieu,

"Frederick, P."

"For Mr. Lyttelton, Park Place."

1741. " Wednesday, 3 o'clock.

"This is only, my dear Lyttelton, to desire you to fix Lord Carteret at Pall Mall for Thursday or Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock; let me know his answer to-night if you can: the bearer shall call at 10 o'clock upon you again. I hope your leg is better, you will oblige me very much in not going out till you have leave of your surgeon, for nobody takes more share in what relates to yourself than

" Frederick, P."

1742. On the 18th of January Parliament met. On the 21st Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war should be referred to a select committee: it was rejected only by a majority of three. On the 28th of January the Chippenham election petition was carried against the Minister by a majority of one. On the 1st of February Walpole tendered his resignation to George the Second. The monarch was deeply affected, nor was his old and most faithful servant less moved. On the 2nd of February Walpole communicated these important tidings to the Prince of Wales, and perhaps there is no cause to wonder that on the same evening, when the House had come to its final decision on the Chippenham Election, the majority was found to have swollen from one to sixteen. On the 3rd of February the Lord Chancellor intimated that it was his Majesty's desire that the Houses should adjourn for a fortnight. Before they were again assembled, Walpole had formally resigned all his places and become Earl of Orford.

The character of this successful and prosperous minister, under whose peaceful sway of twenty years, Great Britain enjoyed an epoch of prosperity never surpassed in her annals, and to whom the House of Brunswick may be said to owe their permanent establishment on the throne of these kingdoms, has been drawn by two master hands; by Mr. Hume in one of his early and now scarce essays, as follows:— 1742.

"Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister of Great Britain, is a man of ability, not of genius; good-natured, not virtuous; constant, not magnanimous; moderate in the exercise of power, not equitable in the engrossing of it. His virtues, in some instances, are free from the alloy of those vices which usually accompany such virtues; he is a generous friend, without being a bitter enemy: his vices, in other instances, are not compensated by those virtues which are nearly allied to them; his want of enterprize is not attended with frugality. The private character of the man is better than the public; his virtues more than his vices; his fortune greater than his fame. With many good qualities, he has incurred the public hatred; with good capacity he has not escaped ridicule. He would have been esteemed worthy of his high station had he never possessed it; and is better qualified for the second than for the first place in any government. His ministry has been more advantageous to his family than to the public; better for his age than for posterity; and more pernicious by bad precedents than by real grievances. During his time trade has flourished, liberty declined, and learning gone to ruin. As I am

1742. a man, I love him; as I am a scholar, I hate him; as I am a Briton, I wish his fall; and were I a member of either house, I would give my vote for removing him from St. James's; but should be glad to see him return to Houghton Hall, to pass the remainder of his days in ease and pleasure."

This ingenious sketch is far inferior to the masterly character drawn by Burke, in his Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,—it is in these words :—

"Mr. Walpole (afterwards Sir Robert), was one of the managers on this occasion. He was an honourable man, and a sound Whig. He was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whigs of his time have represented him, and as ill-informed people still represent him, a prodigal and corrupt minister. They charged him in their libels and seditious conversations, at having first reduced corruption to a system. Such was their cant. But he was far from governing by corruption. He governed by party attachments. The charge of systematic corruption is less applicable to him, perhaps, than to any minister who ever served the crown for so great a length of time. He gained over very few from the Opposition. Without being a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, prudent, and safe minister. He loved peace; and he helped to communicate the same disposition to nations at least as warlike and restless as that in which he had the chief direction of affairs. Though he served a master who was fond of martial fame, he kept all the establishments very low. The land tax continued at two shillings in the pound

for the greater part of his administration. The other impositions were moderate. The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the long period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity which afterwards took such rapid strides towards perfection; and which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burthens, the cause and consequence of that warlike preparation. With many virtues, public and private, he had his faults, but his faults were superficial. A careless, coarse, and over familiar style of discourse, without sufficient regard to persons or occasions, and an almost total want of political decorum, were the errors by which he was most hurt in the publick opinion; and those through which his enemies obtained the greatest advantage over him. But justice must be done. The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to this royal family; and with it, their laws and liberties to this country." And in his Letters on a Regicide Peace he says:—"When I was very young a general faction told me I was to admire some of the writings against that Minister; a little more maturity taught me as much to despise them. I observed one fault in his general proceeding. He never manfully put forward the entire strength of his cause. He temporised, he managed; and adopting very nearly the sentiments of his adversaries, he opposed their inferences. This, for a political commander, is the choice of a weak post. His adversaries had the

1742.

1742. better of his argument as he handled it, not as the reason and justice of his cause enabled him to manage it."*

In Lord Chesterfield's character of Walpole some of the touches shew a very skilful hand.—"He had (says Lord Chesterfield) a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose—a hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed imprudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but, on the contrary, very placable to those who had injured him the most."†

Walpole's enemies quite failed in their attempt to degrade him. It was with truth that his son Horace remarked three years afterwards, that his father was "as great as when all the young Pitts and Lytteltons were pelting oratory at him for rolling out a twenty years' peace, and not envying the trophies which he passed by every day in Westminster Hall."‡

* Compare Mr. Hallam's remarks, Constitutional History, Vol. 3, pp. 352-3-4, who thinks Walpole practised direct bribery; Mr. Macaulay's very clever Sketch, Review of Thackeray's Life of Chatham; Professor Smythe's Lectures on History, vol. 2, lect. 26.

† Lord Chesterfield censures the grossness of Sir R. Walpole's private life, and charges him with making "money—the chief engine of his administration." Lord Chesterfield's 'Characters' are to be found in the 8vo. edit. of his Works; and in his Letters to his Son; and in the Annual Register of 1777, Vol. 20.

‡ Vol. 1, p. 119, H. Walpole's Private Correspondence.

CHAPTER VII.

From 1742, (Resignation of Walpole), to 1744, (Government of the Pelhams.)

The Carteret, or "the Drunken Administration."

[Hagley MSS.—Coxe's Lives of the Walpoles and Memoirs of the Pelham Administration—Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. including Mr. Yorke's Journal—Doddington's Diary—Marchmont Diary—Political Pamphlets against the *Broad Bottoms*, published 1745—Dr. King's Anecdotes.]

Walpole had ceased to be minister, but his influence and dexterity so reconstructed the Cabinet, that it still bore the impress of his domestic if not of his foreign politics.* Pulteney was deluded into the acceptance of an Earldom without office, and the new Earl of Orford walked up the House of Lords to the new Earl of Bath and said to him, "Here we are, my Lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England," an observation almost literally true in its application to the person to whom it was addressed. Perhaps there is no instance in history of so sudden a change in the public opinion of a statesman.† 1742.

* See notes to pp. 210—12.

† Pulteney's vindication is said to have been prepared by himself and entrusted to the learned Bishop Douglas for posthumous publication, but General Pulteney thought proper to burn it.

1742. Lord Wilmington of tried incapacity,* was placed as the nominal Premier at the head of the new administration, of which Carteret was in fact the leader, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Sandys "the motion maker," was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the Duke of Newcastle, his brother Mr. Pelham, and Sir W. Yonge continued in their places.

The Duke of Argyle at first accepted the Master-generalship of the Ordinance, a seat in the Cabinet, and the command of the regiment of which he had been dispossessed; but he resigned all these offices and relapsed into angry opposition on the King's positive refusal to include his jacobite friend and follower Sir John Hynde Cotton, in the new Board of Admiralty, of which Lord Winchilsea became First Lord. Lord Cobham was made Field-marshal and restored to his command of the Grenadier Guards, which he had forfeited by his vote against the Excise Bill; but his nephews, Lyttelton† and the Grenvilles, obtained no place in the new Government, neither, owing to the stubborn aversion of the King, did Chesterfield or Pitt. Doddington, too, reaped no reward for his flagrant apostacy, and Waller, who expected to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, obtained only a Lordship of the Treasury. The

* See above, p. 93.

† In the various Pamphlets of the day against "the Broad Bottoms," Carteret is called *Jack Headlong, John Bull's Steward;* Duke of Argyle, *Stately;* Winchilsea, *Dismal, Son of Dismallo;* Pitt, *Tully;* Lyttelton, *Longbil;* Duke of Newcastle, *Bubble-Boy;* Pelham, *Hall-Stiff;* Hardwicke, *Pliant Judge of the Court Leet;* Pulteney, *Squat;* Doddington, *Dapper* (?) Walpole, *Bob Bronze.*

Prince of Wales, however, was for the moment satisfied with the addition of £50,000. per annum, and with the appointment of Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton to Lordships of the Admiralty. But he soon perceived the error he had committed; the friends for whom he had secured places gave him no political power or influence whatever, and it was not long before he began to detest the Government which he had helped to form. The elements of a new opposition, discontented Whigs and Jacobites, and the 'boy patriots,' whose influence increased every year in the House of Commons, soon gathered into a dark and portentous cloud, which threatened to be as fatal to the present as it had been to the past administration. The new Government was in fact formed, as Lyttelton had* predicted to Bolingbroke, "on a narrow rather than a broad bottom." 1742.

There was still, though Walpole had succeeded in disuniting the phalanx, a powerful section of discontented Whigs, among whom Pitt, Lyttelton, the Grenvilles, Bubb Doddington, Waller, Chesterfield, Argyle, the Dukes of Bedford and Bridgewater, were prominent. The Jacobites and Tories remained as before, Sir Watkin Wynn† became the leader of the former. Lord Limerick had been intended for the post of Secretary at War, but had declined it on find-

* See Bolingbroke's last letter, p. 197.

† See two very curious pamphlets published in 1745. 1. An Expostulatory Epistle to the Welch Knight (*Taff*), on the late Revolution in Politicks, &c. 2. An Apology for the Welch Knight, and a View of the Principles, &c. of the Chiefs of the Broad Bottoms, &c.

1742. ing that his acceptance of it would be attended with the loss of his seat for the Duke of Bedford's borough of Tavistock. On the 9th of March he brought forward his motion inthe House of Commons, "that a Committee be appointed to inquire into the conduct of our affairs both at home and abroad during the last twenty years." Pulteney, absent on account of his daughter's illness from the debate, contrived nevertheless that it should be rejected by a majority of two, 244 against 242. Lyttelton took a very active part in the support of the motion, and answered Sir George Yonge. Pulteney* was so bitterly reproached for his lack of zeal in attacking his old enemy, that he was obliged to request Lord Limerick to renew his motion. The forms of the House required some alteration in the terms of the motion, and on the 23rd of March Lord Limerick moved "for appointing a Committee to inquire into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford, during the last ten years." Pitt thundered against the late minister; Lyttelton appears to have closed the debate, replying to a very able speech of Mr. Stephen Fox.† The question was carried by 252 against 245. Pitt was on the secret committee of twenty-one afterwards named, but not Lyttelton. This prosecution of Walpole, however, as might have been augured from the feeblene ss of itscommencement, utterly failed, chiefly indeed owing to the refusal of witnesses to give evi-

* "John Bull's tenants had other notions of *Squat*, till they saw him put a *feather* in his cap, and taking *Bob Bronze* by the hand, to help him down gently off the Steward's bench."—p. 21 of the Address of Thanks to the Broad Bottoms. (1745.)

† Vide ante, p. 116.

dence, and the rejection of a bill for their indemnification, caused by a memorable speech from Lord Hardwicke. 1742.

On the 15th of July the session closed. "My Lords and Gentlemen," said the speech from the throne, "the session of Parliament has been drawn out to so unusual a length, and the season of the year is so far advanced that I am persuaded you are all very desirous of a recess. I acquainted you at the beginning of the session, with my endeavours to bring about an accommodation between those princes whose union was most necessary in this critical conjuncture. The treaty lately concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia under my mediation and so highly to the honour of Great Britain, must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause. The successes which have attended the Austrian arms in Germany, the conjunction of the King of Sardinia's forces with those of the Queen in Hungary, in Italy in the present favourable disposition of the States-general, and of other great powers, are under God, chiefly owing to the generous assistance afforded by this nation to its ancient and natural allies."

In the month of June Lyttelton married Lucy, daughter of Hugh Fortescue, Esquire, of Filleigh, in the county of Devon, known to all readers of English poetry, as the subject of the Monody. "To whom sweet poets verse hath given endless date."

The following letter contains Lord Chesterfield's congratulations on the event:

1742. "Bath, June the 19th, 1742.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"THE newspapers inform me that you are married; but what shall I say to you upon that occasion? Is it necessary or is it not rather superfluous for me to tell you the wishes I form for you in this the most important period of your life, when you have so long known the sincere part I have taken in the most common occurrences of it? To wish you joy were frivolous, that is certain and present; but whenever that does decline, as from its nature it one day must, may all its sweetness turn to strength, or as Tompson* says, may it mellow into friendship, and may that serener and more lasting state so insensibly succeed your present tumultuous one, that the transition may not be perceived. This will and must happen if Mrs. Lyttelton be (what for both your sakes I heartily wish her) like yourself. * * * If she has a head to discern merit and a heart to value it, and if she brings but with her the truth, the tenderness, and all the other virtues she'll meet with, even my wishes for your mutual happiness can neither exceed nor survive it. Pray make my compliments to her, though I have not yett the honour of being known to her. While you are not only not content with your own existence, * * * * here am I, enjoying, if I may use that expression, my non-existence not without some satisfaction, for when the quicker pleasures of the senses are at an end, the quiet ones till then despised, become a comfortable resource. Drinking, riding, and

* So in original.

walking employ my whole day, without one intruding thought, and procure me sleep at night too sound for dreams. Broad bottoms, secret committees, impeachments, skreens, and all those engines of knaves and baits of fools, neither excite my curiosity nor my indignation. The death of poor Hammond was the only event that disturbed the tranquillity of my mind: he died in the beginning of a career, which if he had liv'd I think he would have finish'd with reputation and distinction. But such is the folly, knavery, and futility of the world, and such was his truth, fidelity and attachment to me, that in my opinion I have lost more by his death than he has. But this is too melancholy a subject to trouble you with at this time. So adieu, dear Lyttelton, and be convinced that nothing can exceed the sincerity and affection with which I am, 1742

"Your's

"CHESTERFIELD." *

This is the last of Lord Chesterfield's letters preserved at Hagley. His intimacy with Lyttelton appears to have been gradually discontinued after the marriage.†

When Parliament met in November, it was soon perceived that the new administration was neither popular nor united, though the opposition was equally discordant. The Jacobite Lord Gower had been made

* I may here remark that the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield is singularly clear, accurate, and beautiful. It was one of those trifling elegancies upon whose paramount necessity he descanted in his letters to his son.

† In 1771 his reputation was still considerable. See Burke's Correspond. vol. i. pp. 298, 9.

1742. Privy Seal; the appointment of William Murray to the office of Solicitor-general had added strength and lustre to the Government. It was divided into two sections. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke whom Lyttelton described as "Public Wisdom speaking," the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham, and the cypher Wilmington, were the colleagues of Walpole, by whose secret but powerful influence they were supported against the other section, composed of Carteret the real prime minister, Winchilsea, Tweeddale, Gower, and Mr. Sandys. George the Second had become fully possessed with the idea that he was destined to rival William the Third by commanding a confederate army in defence of his continental dominions; and Carteret abetted the Crown in all the measures which he had denounced in opposition. When at the opening of the session the King not only announced that he had hired 16,000 Hanoverians, but hinted that they were to be paid out of the British Treasury, the country was thrown into an indescribable ferment of disgust and indignation, and when their payment was actually proposed by the Secretary at War, Sir W. Yonge, (a man of great talent and little principle,) Pitt uttered some tremendous invectives, "that this powerful kingdom was considered only as a province to a despicable electorate," &c.; nevertheless the ministers carried their measure by 260 against 193. In the House of Lords it was most severely handled, especially by Chesterfield.* Ministers divided 90 to 35. Lords Cobham and Gower voted in the minority,

* He soon afterwards wrote a pamphlet, which produced an immense effect at the time, called the "Case of the Hanover Forces."

but their expected dismissal from their places did not take place.

In February 1743, Lord Chesterfield opened a concealed battery upon the administration, from a periodical, entitled, "Old England, or the Constitutional Journal, by Jeffrey Broadbottom, of Covent Garden, Esq.:" it excited great attention at the time, and the supposed author and printer were taken into custody. The first number, which appears to have been undoubtedly the production of Lord Chesterfield, contained, among other passages, the following: "I am now to speak of the motives for an undertaking of this kind—there are many, but some of them perhaps not quite so proper to be committed to the public. We have seen the noble fruits of a twenty years' opposition blasted by the connivance and treachery of a few, who, by all ties of gratitude and honour, ought to be so far from discouraging, that it should lend spirit and life to a new opposition. The late one laboured their point for a much longer term of years, and against many greater difficulties, than any opposition at present can be under any apprehensions of encountering. They became a majority from a minority of not above eighty-seven or eighty-eight in all; they fought against an experienced general and a national purse, and the questions they opposed were more plausible in their nature, and less dangerous in their consequences, than any that have yet fallen within the system of their blundering predecessors. At present, the friends of their country, who have already declared themselves, have advantages which their predecessors could not compass even after 1743.

1743. twenty years' hard labour." Severe strictures followed on those who had left their party, and it was observed, "when such men give way, they leave a party stronger, because its rottenness is removed." The chief offence given by this paper were some very strong hints which it contained to the House of Hanover, that it was not raised "from being the youngest elector in Germany to be one of the most powerful princes in Europe," for their own interest, but for that people who would not have considered themselves precluded "from dealing with King William, much in the same manner as they had done by King James, if he had done as much to deserve such treatment." When in October (1743) Lord Orford wrote to Mr. Pelham on the subject of strengthening his government, he said, "Surely the Cobhams are not the authors or printers of the Constitutional Journal! That is such express and confessed Jacobitism, that he must be gone as far as the late Duke of Argyle was, if they are in that scheme."

On the 24th of April, 1743, the Session was prorogued, and the King set out for Hanover, with his favourite son the Duke of Cumberland, and with Carteret. On the 2nd of July the premiership became vacant by the death of the incompetent Wilmington. It was clear that Carteret or Pelham must be his successor. The former had already become a great favourite with George the Second; partly no doubt from his brilliant natural abilities,* which, as well as

* See Swift's admirably written "Vindication of his Excellency John Lord Carteret from the charge of favouring none but Tories, High Churchmen, and Jacobites," written in 1730, when Lord Car-

his acquired endowments, were of the highest order, 1743.
but still more from the fluency and ease with which he spoke the native language of his master, in those days

teret was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. "His *Excellency* the present Lord was educated in the University of *Oxford;* from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank, indeed much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on, upon his first appearance in the world, and just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some Bishops and Clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them: from whom, although he was fortunately dragged by a lady and the Court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his University acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit: and to finish the work, all these were fortified even in his youth, with the advantages received by such employments, as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education: having been an ambassador at several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree: and principal Secretary of State, at a period when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate house: or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his Excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that *Greek* and *Latin* books might be found every day in his dressing room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by *Tory* hands; I am likewise assured that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a Session, to the great neglect of publick affairs," &c.—Swift's Works, vol. 4, p. 276, 277. (W. Scott's ed.)

1743. a most rare accomplishment, and one not possessed by any other minister; this was one great source of his influence; another, perhaps even greater, was his active and unscrupulous furtherance of all the Hanoverian predilections of the King. It required the most extravagant recklessness and indiscretion in word and deed, together with a confirmed habit of intoxication, to weigh down the talents of this extraordinary man. His rival for the vacant office was in every respect unlike him. Mr. Pelham had modelled himself on Walpole, and though of very inferior capacity, possessed some of the merits and wanted some of the failings of his model. He was strongly supported by Lord Orford, and by all (and they were many), whom the ex-minister could influence. Pulteney who had taken his seat as Earl of Bath, towards the close of the Session made a vain effort to recover the position which he had abandoned on Walpole's resignation. Lord Orford's influence, the power of Pelham in the House of Commons, available, as the King hoped, to support the unpopularity of his Hanoverian measures, turned the balance against his personal inclinations for Carteret, and on the 16th of August, Pelham received his appointment as First Lord of the Treasury; he was then 47 years of age, during twenty-four of which he had been a member of the House of Commons. His timid and cautious nature would have shrunk from the occupation of a post beset with so many difficulties, had it not been sustained and animated by the advice and exhortations of Lord Orford. Carteret, who still remained Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

treated Pelham, and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, 1743.
then Secretary of State, with the most marked contempt,* very rarely communicating to them or to the Chancellor, the measures by which, for the gratification of his master, he was plunging the country deeper and deeper into the Continental War; on the other hand Pelham had to guard against Lord Bath and his creatures, who were secretly endeavouring to undermine him, and also against the Opposition. Lord Orford wrote to him, "Whig it with all opponents that will parly, but 'ware Tory. I do not mean to a person or so, but what they can bring with them will prove a broken reed. . . . Your strength must be formed of your own friends, the old corps, and *recruits from the Cobham squadron*, who should be persuaded, now Bath is beaten, it makes room for them if they will not crowd the doors when the House is on fire that nobody can go in or out." Pelham immediately found places for his friend Henry Fox, and for Lord Middlesex, an adherent of the Prince of Wales. Sandys was made a peer, and put by in the Royal Household; Winnington was made Paymaster of the Forces. When Parliament met in November, the Opposition had been weakened by the Death of Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyle. Pitt, Lyttelton, George Grenville, Chesterfield, and Doddington, were disposed to coalesce with Pelham for the overthrow of Carteret; Waller, however, kept aloof. During the

* "Notwithstanding there were several of John Bull's most considerable and useful domestics, *Headlong* (Carteret) treated them with the utmost contempt while in office."—See p. 15 of an address of thanks to the Broad Bottoms, &c. (1745.)

1743. recess, the King and his son the Duke of Cumberland had displayed the hereditary courage of their race at the Battle of Dettingen; but the unpopularity of the Sovereign had risen to the highest pitch upon two grounds—upon the payment out of British funds of 16,000 Hanoverians to support the cause of Maria Theresa in Flanders,—and upon subsidising the King of Sardinia, who, according to the habit of the House of Savoy, had offered to desert the allies (France and Spain), and join with England, upon being guaranteed certain acquisitions of territory. These were the arrangements of the King and Carteret. It will be remembered that a truce had been concluded between Austria and Prussia, and it should be observed that the Dutch had as yet refused to cooperate with us in the war against France and Spain. Such being the state of affairs, the Pitt and Lyttelton party seem to have shaped their course of opposition, so as not to run directly and in every respect contrary to the wishes of the Monarch, and yet so as to act in unison with the national feeling against the payment of the Hanoverian forces. In Glover's Memoirs the course is clearly stated. He says, "from May, (1743), to the middle of November, I passed a great part of my time near Temple Mills; this situation gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with Mr. Waller during the summer. . . . . When I came to London I received a letter from Lord Chesterfield, desiring me to meet some friends at his house, particularly Pitt and Lyttelton, with whom I had been for many years upon a footing of the most intimate friendship, to consult about the public affairs.

The Sunday after I dined with Lyttelton, who communicated to me the substance of their resolutions at this meeting, where let me observe, that neither Lord Cobham nor Waller were present. I entirely disapproved of their plan, and the next day wrote to Lord Chesterfield to the following effect:—" My Lord. . . . . I understood yesterday by Mr. Lyttelton, that the plan of this session, now under deliberation with some of the Opposition, consists '*principally in replacing the Hanoverians with other hired forces, keeping an army in readiness on the Continent, and treating with France in that posture, but under this restriction, that no step whatever should be taken but in concert with the Dutch.*'" The writer proceeds to disapprove of the plan, though he admits its popularity. His journal tells us that he dined soon afterwards at Chesterfield's, where he met Pitt, Lyttelton, and George Grenville, who, he believes, would make the useful and able Parliament men of the House, though not of equal eloquence with Pitt. He and Waller disagree with the rest, and oppose the plan. Waller, like himself, detested Mr. Pelham, with whom the writer says he had observed during the whole summer, a disposition on the parts of Pitt, Lyttelton, Chesterfield, Marchmont, and Gower to treat; he hints that Bolingbroke was at the bottom of the scheme, as he says, " their view was to raise Pelham above Carteret, and then it was pretended there might be hopes of obtaining some good laws, and possibly of separating the Electorate of Hanover from the crown of Great Britain." 1743.

The King opened the Session on the 16th of No-

1743. vember. An attempt to put a negative on the Address of Thanks was defeated by 278 against 149. The chief authority for the proceedings in Parliament, from December 1743, to the 10th of April 1745, is the Parliamentary journal of Lord Hardwicke's eldest son, Philip Yorke.

On the 1st of December there was a debate upon the vote of Thanks. "The opposition to it (writes Mr. Yorke), was opened by Mr. Pitt, supported by Messrs. Doddington, Lyttelton, and Grenville; Winnington, Lord Cornbury, H. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a principal share in defending it. Mr. Pelham (who was considered as the Minister in the House), had vacated his seat by accepting the place of First Commissioner of the Treasury, and would not be rechosen until the 15th." Pitt denounced Carteret as an execrable vile minister, who had drank of a potion which made men forget their country. Lyttelton alluded to the announcement in the King's Speech, that a Treaty with the Queen of Hungary had been concluded, and would be laid before Parliament: he said, this precipitate and entangled approbation of a Treaty unseen, put him in mind of a famous line in the Rehearsal, "the news is welcome, whatsoe'er it be." "How, Mr. Bayes, (replies Smith very sensibly), whether good or bad?"—the House divided, Ayes, 278, Noes, 249.

On the 6th of December, a long debate arose on a motion of Mr. Waller's, "that an humble address be presented most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty forthwith to give orders that the Hanoverian

troops should not be continued in the service of Great Britain, after the 25th of this instant, December." Lord Baltimore, the Prince of Wales' friend, opposed the motion, as did Pitt's eldest brother, but Pitt himself supported it with his utmost vehemence; he said, "the King yet stood on the firm ground of his people's affections, though on the brink of a precipice; it was the duty of Parliament to snatch him from the gulph where an infamous minister had placed him, and not throw paltry flowers on the edge of it to conceal the danger—it might be a rough, but it was a friendly hand stretched out to him." The great person he hinted at, was hemmed in by German officers, and one English minister without an English heart. Lyttelton observed, that it was said, that we should stay till these troops were asked,—then it may be too late; if the plague were near us, should we take no precautions, but await its coming? and characteristically alluded to the disgust which Alexander instilled into his faithful Greeks, by wearing* the Persian robe. G. Grenville warmly supported the motion. The result was a majority of 50 against it; for it 181, against it 231. Mr. Yorke writes at the end of his notes of the debate: "From the event of this question the court reckoned themselves sure of a considerable majority upon that which was esteemed the most critical and delicate point of the Session. But it happened in this affair, as it does in most others, which have raised great 1743.

* The King wore the yellow Hanoverian sash at the battle of Dettingen. The allusion to this unpopular act is to be found in the ballads of this time.

1743. discontent and clamour without doors, that several gentlemen who usually concurred with the administration, either out of an affectation of popularity, or a real apprehension that very bad consequences would attend the taking the Hanoverian troops again into pay, fell off from their friends, and voted with the minority. It is said that the opposition have entrusted the direction of their conduct in Parliament this Session to a Committee of six for the sake of secrecy. This anti-ministerial cabinet consists of Doddington, Pitt, Sir J. Cotton, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Waller, and Lyttelton." The clamour of the opposition on this subject produced a great effect out of doors. And on the 9th of December, a similar motion was made in the House of Lords; it was negatived by 71 against 36. The Prince of Wales voted with the minority. About this time he had become fascinated with the bold measures and military genius of Carteret, and his quarrel with Lyttelton and Pitt could not be far distant. It has been stated that both these persons, and it should seem also Doddington, thought the continuance of a *British* force in Flanders, necessary for the honour and safety of the kingdom, and were disposed to join the Pelhams, if they would abandon the Hanoverians, and make head against Carteret. Lord Cobham, however, and Waller, were for driving the Pelhams to extremities, and making their own terms. In order to prevent an open schism of the opposition, a middle course was proposed and adopted; an address beseeching his Majesty not to proceed in the war without the active concurrence of the Dutch. On the 15th of December, when the anti-ministerial cabinet (to bor-

row Mr. Yorke's phrase) put their plan into execu- 1743
tion, Mr. G. Grenville moved an address, beseeching the King, "in the exhausted and impoverished state of the kingdom, not to engage further in the war without an alliance with the States-General, for supporting and carrying on thereof, upon stipulated proportions of strength and expense, as was done in the late war." Lyttelton, in seconding the motion, asserted that the Dutch would always co-operate with us upon the Continent, when their real interests were concerned, and instanced the Triple Alliance, when England and Holland prescribed laws to Louis XIV., united by a sense of their common danger, though Holland, and particularly the pensionary De Witt, had just before been intimately allied with France. "But (says Mr. Yorke) he did not state that affair with accuracy;" he appears on this, as on many other occasions, to have made the best speech on his side of the question after Pitt, who, alluding to the Dutch, observed, that "it would be happy for this country if the sober maxims, and well-weighed councils of their Government had an influence upon ours, which he insinuated were under the direction of a desperate rhodomontading minister." Murray, (Solicitor-General) greatly distinguished himself in Pelham's absence, and so severely handled the loose and impolitic wording of the address (which Mr. Yorke says came 'from the masterly pen of Mr. Waller;' but, according to Glover, was written by Chesterfield.) That, while the debate was kept up by other speakers, Pitt, Lyttelton, and Grenville went aside and amended their original

1744. motion, erasing from its preamble, "the impoverished state of the kingdom."—It was still opposed and defeated by a majority of 93;—ayes, 132; noes, 209.

On January 11, 1744, came on the debate for continuing the British troops in Flanders. Pitt, Lyttelton, and Chesterfield had canvassed their friends to vote for this measure; but at a meeting of the opposition, at the celebrated Fountain Tavern, this was over-ruled. Doddington (jealous of Pitt's influence and character) deserted them, and it was resolved to oppose the measure. G. Grenville and Doddington spoke against it; while Pitt and Lyttelton were with difficulty persuaded to support their party with silent votes. Government carried their question by 277 against 165.

The principal strength of the opposition was reserved for the important question of taking the Hanoverian troops into British pay; it was debated on the 19th of January. Pitt and Lyttelton represented it as a competition between England and Hanover, and inferred the necessity of separating the two kingdoms. Murray answered them with great force on this point. Pitt, in spite of some gross indiscretions, attacked Carteret with tremendous vehemence, calling him a "Hanover troop minister," "a flagitious task-master," "with 16,000 Hanoverians as his placemen, and no other party;" asked, "if other soldiers could not be procured from Germany, that great market of men?" said, that passing the question "would be to erect a triumphal arch from Hanover over the military honour and independence of Great Britain." The scene, according to Mr. Yorke, could be compared to

nothing but a Polish diet. The Government, however, 1744.
carried the motion by a majority of 45—271 against 226; and defeated a subsequent motion for an adjournment, by 266 against 178. Still they felt themselves sorely pressed, and knew that they were indebted for their safety on this debate to the extraordinary exertions of Lord Orford (who came up very ill from Houghton) among his personal friends. Chesterfield made a most powerful and bitter speech on the same subject in the Lords. Lord Orford assisted by his speech the majority of Government in that House—which was 86 against 41. The next peg on which the Opposition hung an attack, was the Treaty of Worms, and the Explanatory Convention with Austria, (of September, 1743) by which Finale, which belonged to Genoa, was coolly given to Sardinia, and a part of the Milanese, also, by Austria, while England engaged to subsidize, to the amount of £200,000, Sardinian troops, and keep a large fleet in the Mediterranean. Chesterfield in the Lords, and Waller and Pitt in the Commons, attacked this Treaty, but without much result; the latter inveighing against Carteret, wishing to see the convention "which that audacious Lord had signed, to furnish matter for immediate impeachment."

Meanwhile, Carteret is said to have persuaded the Prince of Wales (who was now devoted to him) to use his secret influence to defeat Mr. Pelham's provision for the supply, and his proposed taxes on sugar and foreign wines were rejected. Pelham felt the yoke, but, also, that he was not yet quite strong enough to shake it off. On March 13th, when the account of extraordinary charges of the troops in British pay for the years

1744. 1742-3, came before Parliament, Lyttelton moved that "the issuing and paying to the Duke of Aremberg the sum of £40,000, to put the Austrian troops in motion, is a dangerous misapplication of the public money, and destructive to the rights of Parliament;" during the course of his speech, he observed that it was as high an exertion of the prerogative as the levying of ship money. He was supported by Lord Strange, Doddington, G. Grenville, &c. and by Pitt, who said we had now got a prerogative administration; witness the prorogation of the Session before Lord Orford's Secret Committee had finished their report; no answer vouchsafed by the Crown to the address for the Dutch papers; paying the Hanoverians without consent of Parliament, and the misapplication now complained of. Mr. Pelham carried the previous question by 232 against 144. The attack was renewed as unsuccessfully when the report was brought up.

On the 10th of April, Lyttelton revived the motion which had been put off by the previous question, in an able and elaborate speech, but was defeated by 259 to 145. This was the last attack of the Opposition during the Session. But the conduct of Pitt and Lyttelton was in one matter of great moment, free from the factious spirit which animated many of their party. In February the King communicated to both Houses that Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Pretender, had arrived in France, that he was to be assisted by a French squadron in his invasion of England, and by disaffected persons in this country. Pitt said, on one of the debates, that if confidence was ever to be reposed in ministers it must be in a crisis like the present, and

received the thanks of Mr. Pelham. A few days afterwards, that minister moved an address of thanks to the Crown for the arrest of two Jacobites, Colonel Cecil and Lord Barrymore. Sir John Hynde Cotton, and others, violently opposed the motion, but Mr. Pitt vindicated the conduct of the Government, and the address passed without a division. A bill was introduced for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act for two months; it was vehemently opposed by G. Grenville; on the second reading Lord Barrington moved that it should be committed at the end of a week. Pitt and Lyttelton walked down the House while he was speaking, and on this occasion even Waller absented himself. France proclaimed war against England on the 20th, and England against France on the 31st of March. A dreadful storm shattered and disabled the French fleet, which was destined to escort the Pretender to our shores—it was not the first time that England had been indebted to her "salt water girdle," for her escape from the horrors of a foreign invasion. On the 3rd of April the King delivered to the Houses his reasons for declaring war with France. Pitt rather countenanced Pelham, while he denounced Carteret, and warmly advocated a bill to attaint the children of the Pretender, and of those who should support him. 1744.

The session was closed by the King in person on the 12th of May—it did not meet again till November. In the interim, important events, both at home and abroad, had taken place. Abroad, there had been fruitless attempts to procure the co-operation of the Dutch, who would not stir, though the Pelhams had

1744. prevailed over Lord Carteret so far as to cause direct overtures to be made to them. They also triumphed over their rival in inducing the King, though with the utmost reluctance, not to pass the summer in Hanover. The King of Prussia, with most flagrant treachery, renewed hostilities against the Queen of Hungary. In Italy affairs wore an unfavourable aspect, and the war generally had become unpopular in England. The diary of Lord* Marchmont throws great light on the political transactions of this period, and from this it is, I think, clear, both that Lord Bolingbroke's† influence was still very considerable, and that it was most actively exerted in compacting an alliance between the Pelhams and the Cobham party, for the overthrow of Lord Carteret, who had become, by the death of his mother, Earl Granville.‡ At home, the year was marked to Lyttelton by the death of his friend and admirer, Pope, who bequeathed to him some marble busts of Shakspeare, Milton, Spenser, and Dryden, by

* See especially pp. 15—38, 51-2-7-8, 64-5, 70-1, 85-6-7. Bolingbroke appears to have had frequent visits from Murray, then Solicitor-General, and the Lord Chancellor.

† Mr. Cooke, in his Life of Bolingbroke, puts a very premature end to Lyttelton's existence. Speaking of Bolingbroke's return to England, (1744) he says, "The time he had passed in France had erased many of the dearest names from his list of companions. Prior, Gay, *Lyttelton*, Phillips, Atterbury, all were swept away! Sir W. Wyndham, his constant friend and advocate when in misfortune, who had shared with him a common home, was gone. Pope was the last, &c. and he was now gone."—Vol. 2, chap. xvii. p. 227.

‡ Whom Schlösser, by a pardonable but dangerous mistake, sometimes calls Lord Grenville.

Sheenmaker; and, by the death of the old Duchess of Marlborough, from whom his friend Pitt received the unexpected legacy of £10,000. Towards the autumn it became evident that another crisis of Government was at hand. The feud between the Pelhams and Granville had grown to such a height, that further co-operation between them had become impossible. 1744.

"Lord Granville, (writes Mr. Yorke in his most valuable Parliamentary Journal) ever since his return out of Germany, had taken all opportunities to lessen the credit of the old ministers, and alienate their master's affection from them, with a view, either of compelling them to act in a slavish subserviency to himself, or to quit those places they could no longer keep with honour. In the management of the war, which, from the King's opinion of his skill in foreign affairs, was carried on by his advice, there appeared in too many instances neither contrivance nor wisdom in our designs, nor concert with our allies, nor dispatch nor method in our preparations, nor vigour in the execution of them. At meetings, on business, he exposed himself by the frantic sallies of an imagination heated with claret, and a behaviour sometimes overbearing and insolent, at other times complaisant, fawning, never cool and ingenuous. To the Chancellor he was particularly liberal of his professions, yet was secretly undermining him, and (if the other was not quite misinformed) had made an actual offer of the Great Seal to my Lord Chief Justice Willes. Such were the terms on which he stood with respect to his brother ministers; by the nation in general he

1744. was held in abhorrence, not only from the character he had acquired of insincerity and falseness, but from an opinion taken up that he was desirous of prolonging a war, to the conduct of which he had shewn himself very unequal; and that, instead of checking and discountenancing the King's unhappy partiality to his electoral interests, he had, from private views, raised and fomented it to such a degree, as greatly to lessen the affections of the people."

On the other hand, Granville was eager to get rid of the Pelhams. "There is anarchy in Holland (he said) and anarchy at home—the first may be removed by a Stadtholder, but to remove the latter things must be brought to an immediate decision." And they were so brought—though not in the way the speaker intended; not that he was inactive or unaware of the impending storm; he invoked the aid of the Prince of Wales, who agreed, it has been said, with his father upon only two points, fondness for Hanover, and attachment to Carteret. At this time, Bolingbroke imparted to Marchmont, that "Lyttelton had told him, that his master had received him very kindly, but talked as madly as ever on the present conjuncture being but a trifle, that would soon be remedied, and run over his fingers battalions and squadrons, till he puzzled Lyttelton and himself too; and that at bottom it was the same Hanover views as his father, though he denied it absolutely, and said it was only the necessity there was of supporting and restoring the House of Austria, to maintain the balance of Europe; that Lyttelton condemned the conduct last

year of the Opposition, and said Lord Cobham was wild, for he talked of nothing but confusion, and that things were too bad to be otherwise mended; but that Lyttelton agreed with him, nothing was so much to be feared, since we had no men capable of bringing us out of that confusion if we fell into it; and that there was no probable way of safety, but a concert with part of the ministry, though he thought it would not be so easy this year as it was the last."* 1744.

The Prince endeavoured to mediate through Harrington,† Chesterfield, Gower, and Cobham, offering as terms "that a general removal should be made of the old court, and the whole Broad Bottom, (as it was called) provided for without reserve;" but in vain:—they refused to listen while Granville was in power. Lord Orford, known to be angry with the Pelhams for their reluctant grant of his pension, was also appealed to in vain; but the veteran statesman threw the whole weight of his advice to the King in favour of the Pelhams. They opened a negotiation with the Opposition Whigs, especially with "the Cobham Squadron." A junto of nine chiefs formed the anti-ministerial cabinet at this time, Bedford, Chesterfield, Gower, Pitt, Lyttelton, Cobham, Waller, Doddington, Hynde Cotton. They could not agree upon the terms of negotiation. The question was put to the vote, when Bedford, Chesterfield, Gower, Pitt, Lyttelton, concurred to join the Pelhams without stipulation; the

* Marchmont Diary, vol. i. pp. 57-8.

† "My Lord, (he said) remember the King is sixty-one, and I am thirty-seven."—Marchmont Diary, vol. i. p. 84.

1744. rest were obliged to acquiesce; and Cobham, whose "spleen and positiveness (Mr. Yorke says) created more disturbance than any thing else," was afterwards satisfied with the explanations of the Duke of Newcastle as to Hanover, and as to his friends being unremembered in the distribution of power. It appears from Lord Marchmont's Diary of November the 18th, that the Cobham party had (to borrow the Solicitor-General's expression) "put the dagger to the throat" of the Government.*

Before this negotiation was completed, a long memorial was drawn up by the Chancellor, stating the scheme of foreign politics, which they thought essential for the safety of the country. The Duke of New-

* Doddington having expressed an anxiety that "the places should be adjusted first," Lord Chesterfield said, "measures must be first, and places along with them in sufficient number." Mr. Lyttelton agreed to this, and said, "that such a number was a measure." Lord Chesterfield further said, "that though the address might be ever so right, yet, if he continued in opposition, he would have a fling at it. There were things to be added to it, and questions to be moved; for instance, that, if it was criminal to complicate Hanover and English interests in the same negotiation. I said, it would be difficult to word such a question. He said, he believed not, for he had one in his pocket drawn two months ago, in such words. I replied, that he would find it not tenable in Parliament, and urged an argument against it, which Lyttelton admitted to be just. Then I asked Lord Chesterfield, if he imagined there would be nobody left to oppose, since Doddington seemed to expect more than he could get; to which he said, that though he was no personal friend to Doddington, yet he would be for quieting him with some place or other that nobody interfered with, and that he believed Mr. P. would be glad to soften a bustling fellow as he was."

castle presented it to the King in the name of the majority of the Cabinet and at the same time intimated that they could no longer remain in office The King, after some delay, and with much reluctance, announced to the Chancellor, on the 23rd of November, his sullen submission. Granville resigned the seals, which were restored to his predecessor, the Earl of Harrington.* The Duke of Bedford was made 1744.

* "Lord Chesterfield told me, that Lord Granville had wrote yesterday a very civil letter to Lord Harrington, acquainting him that this day he would give up the seals, and that he heard his Lordship was to have 'em; on which he gave him joy. Lord Chesterfield said, this was occasioned by what passed the beginning of the week; that on Tuesday he, Lord Chesterfield, had a message desiring the opposition to come in with Carteret, who would make room for 'em all; and that on Wednesday morning the message was sent to him, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower, in form, from the Prince by name, but really from the highest authority of all, that they might all come in, on the broadest bottom of all. To which they answered, that they were glad of this opportunity, to shew the King, the Prince, and the world, that they did not oppose for places, by refusing an offer that must gratify them in places more than could be expected by any body, but that they could not serve with Lord Granville, nor under him; that his schemes were so wild, so impracticable, and so inconsistent with the interest of England, that they could not possibly concur with him; and therefore they rejected the offer. He said, that on Tuesday evening he had met with Mr. Pelham, and sat up till two in the morning talking matters over; that Mr. Pelham had pressed him to name individuals, but he answered, he could not; that however Mr. Pelham might have a guess whereabouts the number would be. He insisted, that his new allies should all be sacrificed; that they were the most perfidious, the most insufficient, and the most contemptible of men; that they were a disgrace to him, and would be a dishonour to the opposition, if it was grafted on them. He added, that he did not mean to hurt one man of the old party, for he meant to consolidate the two toge-

1744. First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Sandwich, Second Commissioner at that Board, of which George Grenville was also made a Commissioner, succeeding to the place vacated by Dr. Lee; Lyttelton became a Lord of the Treasury; Doddington, Treasurer of the Navy; Lord Gower, Privy Seal; Sir John Phillips, a Lord of Trade; Sir John Hynde Cotton, Treasurer of the Chamber. Though of the three last mentioned persons, the first, Gower, was certainly an extreme Tory, and Phillips and Cotton notorious Jacobites. This coalition between the Whigs and Tories was neither sincere nor lasting. The Jacobite element predominated greatly in the composition of the Tory. When it was discovered that Gower was really a friend to the Hanover succession, the Tories discarded him from being their leader, and adopted a determined Jacobite, the Duke of Beaufort, in his stead—while Johnson was prevented by the discretion of his printer from publishing in his Dictionary that "renegade" and "Gower" were synonymes; hence, too, in 1751, the warm opposition to Lord Trentham's election for Westminster, and the celebrated scrutiny. Phillips resigned on the eve of the coming Rebellion, and exerted himself to procure a sentence of illegality upon associations and subscriptions for the King. Cotton, who took the salary, but not the oaths, and never voted for the Government, was turned out of his place when the rebellion was over.

ther. To this Mr. Pelham replied, that since it was insisted upon, to be sure the new men must give way," &c. &c.—Marchmont Diary, vol. i. pp. 88, 89.

Chesterfield and Pitt remained to be provided for. 1744.
The former was, in the teeth of George the Second's remonstrances, appointed Plenipotentiary to Holland, the scene of his former diplomatic success, with the Lord Lieutenancy* of Ireland awaiting him as soon as the object of his mission was completed. Pitt, because he thought immediate acceptance of office would weaken his great and increasing authority both within and without the House, or because he was aware that the King's prejudice against him was for the present insurmountable, or from a consciousness of his abilities and claims, asked for the Secretaryship at War. The Pelhams and the Chancellor (whom the Duke of Newcastle once called "another brother") did not know how to dispose of the then

* "He said, as to himself, he had chosen Ireland for a reason I would laugh at, which the Duke of Shrewsbury gave him; that it was a place wherein a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not so much as to keep him awake; that besides he wanted to have it in his power to do for little people who were attached to him, and had suffered for him; that it gave him an entry into the closet, either frequently or once in six weeks, as he found it convenient; that it was a cabinet place; and he believed, from his having rejected at once Carteret's proposal, he had established a confidence with the old ministers, and they were not so able but they would be glad of his help, so that he thought he should [have] *voix au chapitre;* that he could not now have had the seals without risking all for 'em; and that he must have come into the closet through thorns and briers, with his face all scratched; whereas he chose to strew the way with roses, and that he would not be a loser by his place, if he was to come out of it after March next come twelvemonth, nor even then above £2000. loser."—Marchmont Diary, vol. i. p. 91.

1744. Secretary Sir G. Yonge, and had besides experienced too recently the wrath of the King about Chesterfield's appointment to venture upon the proposal of Pitt, whom at this moment the King absolutely detested, but they soothed him by the promise of seizing the first opportunity of overcoming the dislike of his Sovereign, and received in return assurances of the great orator's support. It will be seen that the promise was faithfully kept.

Thus was formed "The Broad Bottom Administration;" compacted, as its name was supposed to indicate, out of a coalition of all parties.

CHAPTER VIII.

1745—1748.

The Pelham or Broad Bottom Administration, from its Beginning to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

[Hagley MSS.—Coxe's Pelham Administration, vol. i.—Marchmont Diary.—Parl. Hist. vol. xiii., including Mr. Yorke's Journal—Maty's Life of Chesterfield—Characters in Annual Register for 1777, vol. xx. by Lord Chesterfield and others—Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii.—Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, vol. ii.—Life of Lyttelton in Chalmers' Biog. Dict. and Nichols's Lit. Anec.—Letters of Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, First Series, vol. i. pp. 108, 261; vol. ii. pp. 175, 361-4.

Lyttelton's acceptance of office was followed by his instant dismissal from his Secretaryship to the Prince of Wales.* 1745.

In the ensuing year Pitt resigned his Lordship of the Bedchamber in the same household. On December 30, 1744, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the Chancellor. "We found the closet on Friday almost as bad as ever, and I have room to think the present resolution is to suffer us generously to do the business this Session, and to kick us out

* Mr. Drax was appointed in his stead.—Marchmont Diary, p. 166.

1745. afterwards. This accounts for the continuance of the behaviour to those who are in, and the reverse to those who are out; and this accounts for the more violent behaviour, if possible, of the Leicester Fields Court." This was then the residence of the Prince, as it had been of his father under not very different circumstances. In May, 1743, Carte, the Jacobite historian, had written to the Pretender to say, that among the other advantages to his cause which the Session had produced, should be reckoned "the utter contempt into which Prince Frederick is fallen at this time, so that nobody for the future will have any recourse to him or dependence upon him, but in case of discontent will naturally look out for redress from another quarter." The Prince's devotion to Hanover and Granville during the two last years, had caused him to fall yet lower in public estimation. He continued his acquaintance with Doddington, with whom, and a few others, he incessantly intrigued against the Pelhams. But he openly quarrelled with, and abused Lyttelton, who had served his interests, but not his caprices, with zeal and honesty, and whose generous and forgiving mind always led him to seek a reconciliation with those who had injured him. I find this letter among the MSS., which appears to have been written about this time:—

"Sir,

"In obedience to your commands, I return your Royall Highness those papers which you did me the honour to leave in my hands, and which I should have been happy and proud to have retained as me-

morials of your former favour to me, which I endea- 1745.
voured to merit by the most faithfull services, and which my conscience assures me I never did anything to deserve the loss of, in any one act of my life. But it has been my misfortune to have my conduct much misrepresented to your Royal Highness, and by one from whom, of all mankind, I had the least reason to expect such ill offices.* I dare assure myself that time and truth will get the better of those misrepresentations, and absolutely clear me to your Royal Highness, but, however I may suffer under your unmerited anger, I shall always continue to preserve the most gratefull sense of your past goodness to me, and the most sincere, disinterested zeal for your service, being, with the most profound respect and veneration, &c.

"G. Lyttelton."

Pelham soon felt the benefit of his new acquisitions. On January 16th, Lyttelton spoke in defence of the estimate. On the 23rd, Sir W. Yonge moved that 28,000 men should be employed in Flanders for the year, and explained why this amount exceeded by 7,000 those employed last year. Sir R. Newdigate called it an old measure from a new ministry. But (writes Mr. Yorke) Mr. Pitt's fulminating eloquence silenced the Opposition. Sir R. Newdigate professed an acquiescence, though, till he had further light, he could not give a thorough approbation to the question, which passed with a single negative from Lord Strange. Mr. Yorke's account of Pitt's appearance

* Probably Dr. Ayscough. See before pp. 29—37, (note,) and a later part of these Memoirs.

1745. on this occasion is quite dramatic: "Mr. Pitt, who had been laid up with the gout ever since the Session began, came down *with the mien and apparatus of an invalid*, on purpose to make a full declaration of his sentiments on our present circumstances." Leaning on his crutch, with a voice that filled every corner of the House, this great orator* expressed his belief, that a dawn of salvation to this country had broke forth, and he would follow it as far as it would lead him. He should be the greatest dupe in the world, if those now at the helm did not mean the honour of their master and the good of the nation.

"He shewed how much the question was changed from what it was last year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his Majesty's councils. The object had then seemed to be the multiplying war upon war, expense upon expense, and the abetting the House of Austria in romantic schemes of acquisition, such as the *membra avulsa imperii*, without regard to the interests of Great Britain. The great object now was by connecting ourselves closely with Holland, to arrive at a situation which might enable us to hold out fair and reasonable terms of peace, both to our friends and enemies, and not to prosecute the war a moment longer than we could obtain an equitable and sufficient security for our own rights, and those of our allies, pursuant to public treaties."

This is the ground of defence upon which the character both of Pitt† and Lyttelton must stand, for

* "Docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno."

† See Marchmont Diary quoted in last Chapter.

their support of measures in Government, which, if not the same, were much alike to those they had attacked in Opposition. That you are abetting your adversary's schemes, but for a different end, cannot perhaps always be considered a full and satisfactory defence, still it seems to me to deserve more weight than, in this instance, has been usually ascribed to it. 1745.

On the 26th February, Lyttelton supported Pelham in a debate on appointing a Committee to inquire into the miscarriages* of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean. Lyttelton spoke after Pelham, and argued, that as a Court-martial was then adjudicating on the matter it was not constitutional that an inquiry should be instituted in Parliament, before the judicature prescribed by law had finished their proceedings. Precedents, however, being produced for the course proposed, Pelham withdrew his opposition, and the question passed unanimously.

On the 21st of March there was a debate on the charge of the Dutch troops, and on a vote of credit. According to Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, "Lyttelton spoke very well in support of Mr. Pelham; he observed that this vote of credit was not liable to the objections which had made former votes of that kind unpopular, this was proposed in a time of war, and of urgent necessity—those in times of peace, when

* Alluding particularly to an action against the Spanish and French fleet off Hiéres, and to a quarrel between Admiral Matthews and Vice-Admiral Lestock; the former was adjudged incapable of serving again, the latter acquitted. Byng was on this court-martial.

1745. no apparent necessity could be shewn, in this the sum for which credit is given is limited, and the disposal to be accounted for, in those the administration was at liberty to involve the nation in indefinite expenses, and frequently without account. In this Mr. Pelham had pointed out the services for which it was asked, as plainly as it was fit for him to do; when those were moved, nothing explicit or positive could be drawn out or collected of the purposes and uses to which they were to be applied. He observed, likewise, that as Government was not to be carried on by measures subversive of liberty, so neither was that to be supported by methods, which would render Government impracticable, and as slavery would be the consequence of the one, so would the other be productive of a foreign yoke or domestic anarchy." The House divided—Ayes 185; noes 54. So soon became evident the truth of the Lord Chancellor's observation to the King, (during a conference, the memoranda of which he preserved, and Coxe has printed,) "if your Majesty looks round the House of Commons, you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left capable of heading or conducting an Opposition."

The great increase of strength which the Government had acquired, was fully needed to stem the disasters which, both in the conduct of the war on the Continent, and the invasion of Great Britain by the son of the Pretender, marked the year 1745.

The defeat at Fontenoy, which left Flanders at the mercy of the French, in the month of May, had made a deep impression on the public mind. In the month

of August, Charles Edward, the Pretender's son, unfurled the standard of rebellion in the Highlands of Scotland.* His rapid progress—his victory over Sir John Cope at Prestonpans, in the month of September—his proclamation as James the Third at Derby, in the month of January, struck consternation into the hearts of the English. The unpopularity of the King—the absence of the regular troops in Flanders—the prestige of victory—the popular manners of the young Prince, might, had such advantages been duly improved, have reseated the House of Stuart on the throne. The irresolution fatal to that Royal race—the disunion of the English and Scotch Jacobites—the want of organization—the failure of the often promised succour from France—the vigour, tarnished though it was by cruelty, of the Duke of Cumberland, averted this calamity from the country. The decisive victory of Culloden, in April, 1746, crushed for ever the cause of the House of Stuart. 1745.

Amidst the alarm of the Rebellion, Parliament met on the 18th of October, 1745. The King (who had returned in August from Hanover) opened the Session by an appeal to the loyalty of both Houses. In the House of Commons, Mr. Legge, a Lord of the Admiralty, who afterwards became the ally of Pitt, proposed the vote of thanks; a factious amendment, proposed by Sir John Phillips, and seconded by Sydenham, was ably answered by Lyttelton, who was sup-

* "Charles (says Gibbon) and his followers marched into the heart of the kingdom, without either being joined by their friends, or opposed by their enemies."

1745. ported by Pitt. On a subsequent measure, relating to the militia, the Government were also powerfully supported by Pitt. The consternation of the Scotch Grandees* in England, whose fortunes were bound up with those of the House of Hanover, may be seen in Lord Marchmont's Diary for this year. They seem to have considered Bolingbroke† and Pitt, as the most efficient persons to rouse the English members from their extraordinary apathy, and to make them aware that the battle for England must be fought in Scotland.‡

* Dukes of Montrose, Argyle, Buccleuch, Queensberry; Lords Stair, Rothes, Marchmont, &c. &c. Walpole seems to have resented the opposition of the Scotch members to his Excise scheme. Marchmont Diary, p. 131.

† "Lord Stair said, he wanted to talk to me about our affairs; that it was impossible, but the state of the nation must be carried to be considered; that Bolingbroke should be talked to about it, as the fittest man; and that we should make some plan, and then try the English members. I said, they seemed to me regardless of our country. He said our country must not be mentioned; it was theirs; and that ours must follow of course. He said, it must be taken up from the Revolution, upon original papers. I told him, I would wait upon him. He said, the news by the post was, that the Mackenzies, the largest clan next to the Campbells, being about three thousand men, and the Fraziers, and the Macintoshes, were in arms to join the rebels, and had besieged the President of the Session in his house. At court the Duke of Argyle came up to me, and said, there was a vast confusion. I said, there was a great crowd, &c. He said, he meant the nation; I said, a limb was torn off from it."—Marchmont Diary, vol. i. p. 140.

‡ "A list of the principal people, and those of most integrity at Edinburgh, made out, to be sent for as soon as the Committee should be named by the House of Commons."

"The Duke of Queensberry sent for me to tell me, that he talked with Pitt and my brother at the House; that Pitt had said, if we did

Pitt's influence increased daily, and both his and Lyt- 1745.
telton's name appear at all the conferences which the terrified Scotch held at this time in the metropolis. Lord Marchmont's brother, Mr. H. Campbell, seems to have begun one of those skirmishes with Pitt, the renewal of which he had afterwards such good cause to lament. On this occasion Lyttelton's mediation was invoked. "I told Mr. Lyttelton, (writes Lord Marchmont) that as Mr. Pitt and we began the world together, and I had hoped we should go through it in friendship, since we thought in the same manner on public matters, I should be sorry if the heat on Monday last, between him and my brother, was to leave any rancour in his mind. He said it left none, and was all over. I told him of the Chancellor's telling my brother, that he must move for a Bill to adjourn the Sessions, which he was to do as this day. He said laughing, that the Chancellor wanted to bring my brother's hand to the Advocate's ear; and then said, the Parliament would be adjourned when the Land and Malt were passed, that is, in a fortnight; and then this crisis would be brought to a decision."

not get the Committee now, we never should, but that it was a matter attended with niceties and difficulties, *and therefore he desired a meeting, but a small one, of Lord Barrington, Mr. Lyttelton and Pitt, with my brother, the Dukes of Montrose, Queensberry, and me.* I said, that the two gentlemen he named were influenced by Mr. Pitt, so that it was *only multiplying himself*, and that none of them could have objected niceties and difficulties to him; these must have come from himself, therefore were to be discussed with him alone, and afterwards he might talk 'em over in private with others."—Marchmont Diary, vol. i. p. 143.

1746. The Pelhams now pressed most earnestly on the King the admission of Pitt into the Government. But the King, who thought he saw a chance of escape from a Government which he detested, resisted. All the adherents of the Pelhams immediately resigned, Lord Harrington leading the van, by resigning the seals on the 10th of February, 1746. An attempt, so utterly abortive as to be ludicrous, was made by Lord Granville, Lord Bath, and Lord Tweeddale (the Secretary for Scotland) to form an Administration. Having discovered that no one would accept Lord Hardwicke's seals, and, as Horace Walpole says, "the little point," that they had a majority against them in both Houses, the attempt was abandoned. After the lapse of forty hours from the time of their resignation, the Pelhams were reinstated in their offices, but with a vast accession of strength;—they excluded their enemies Granville, Bath,* and Tweeddale. "Mr. Mallet told us, (writes

* "He was (says Lord Chesterfield in his Characters) once in the greatest point of view that I ever saw any subject in. When the Opposition, of which he was the leader in the House of Commons, prevailed at last, against Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the Crown and people, the former imploring his protection, the latter his support. In that critical moment his various jarring passions were in the highest ferment, and for a while suspended his ruling one. Sense of shame made him hesitate at turning courtier on a sudden, after having acted the patriot so long, and with so much applause; and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining that he could, by such a simulated and temporary self-denial, preserve his popularity with the people, and his power at Court. He was mistaken in both. The King hated him almost as much for what he might have done, as for what he

Lord Marchmont) that he knew from Mr. Lyttel- 1746.
ton, and Lord Bolingbroke vouched it, that the Prince had on Wednesday morning sent round Mr. Ayscough and others, to assure people, that he knew nothing of what was done, submitting only to the King; from whence, it was concluded, he must then have known what followed that day."

Pitt's independent mode of proceeding seems to have affronted Lord Cobham. He told Lord Marchmont, February 11, "Pitt's affair had been given up, he having, in many pretty words, of which he had plenty, said, he would not go into the closet against the King's will, &c." And another entry in his Diary says: "Lord Westmoreland came and desired my advice on the motion to be made to-morrow in the House of Lords; he shewed me two, one very long and perplexed, by Lord Orford, who, he said, was to move it; and the other short and drawn by himself; this, I told him, I thought much best, and so added only a few explanatory words to it. He told me with great sur-

had done; and a motley ministry was formed, who by no means desired his company. The nation looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificancy and an earldom. He made several attempts afterwards to retrieve the popularity he had lost, but in vain; his situation would not allow it; he was fixed in the House of Lords, that hospital of incurables, and his retreat to popularity was cut off." See Akenside's Address to him as Curio, a composition of no mean merit. Bishops Pearce, (see Ann. Reg. v. 20. p. 15) Newton and Douglas, were intimate with him in private life, and have left sketches of his character. In the latter years of their lives, Lord Bath and Lord Lyttelton frequented the same literary society, and seem to have lived on very friendly terms with each other.

1746. prise, that Pitt was to succeed Winnington, and that Pelham had brought it about by proposing Sir William Yonge, and Pitt to succeed him. But the King said, that fellow should never come into his closet; whereupon Pelham named him as the first man in the House of Commons to succeed to the place then. Lord Westmoreland told me, Lord Cobham talked of Pitt as a wrong-headed fellow, that he had no regard for; but added, that no weight was to be laid on that."

Pitt, who had asked for the Secretaryship at War, became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and soon afterwards Paymaster of the Forces. These circumstances were partially counterbalanced by the death of Lord Orford, for it was at the close of 1745 that Mr. Pelham lost his best and most powerful friend.

From this period, till the death of Mr. Pelham in 1755, for nearly ten years, a halcyon calm brooded over the political sea, which for the last twenty years had been almost incessantly agitated. Even this period was not without some events which ruffled the placidity of its surface. Such was the resignation of Lord Harrington in 1746, towards whom the King manifested the greatest antipathy, considering him the ringleader in the Pelham resignations. He was succeeded by Lord Chesterfield, fresh from a brilliant and successful Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Such, too, was the resuscitation of a formidable party under the banner of the Prince of Wales, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. For a long time the King detested, even more than he despised Newcastle, and heaped upon him every kind of personal insult. This circumstance, and

the continual fretful jealousy which the Duke entertained of his brother's deservedly superior influence, and of his connexion with Pitt,* Lyttelton, and the Grenvilles, threatened more than once to make shipwreck of the Government. 1746.

On the 17th of February 1747, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a Bill to remove one of the capital grievances of Scotland, and one of the sources of the late Rebellion. "An Act for taking away and abolishing the heritable jurisdictions in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and for restoring such 1747.

* "Lord Chesterfield told me, there was as yet no speech; that they had put it to the Chancellor, who had desired to know what he was to say; that he saw he could not please them all three, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham; and therefore desired hints, which as yet were not given him; that the Chancellor, though in opinion with Mr. Pelham and Lord Chesterfield, yet would not give up his power over the Duke of Newcastle for the remaining power; but, in order to govern the Duke in every thing else, he went along with him in the main point, whereby he likewise secured many preferments into his own family; that Mr. Pelham and the Duke now conversed only through Mr. Stone, being apt to fall into a passion when they conversed together; that they would surely break, if Mr. Pelham did not think it would be the ruin of them both; that Mr. Pelham's only concern was, that he might not be personally attacked in the House of Commons; and that, provided he was not made the object there, he was easy. For this end, Pitt, and the Lytteltons and Grenvilles, must have every thing they asked, and now held half the places in the King's gift; and then the old set, who hated these, came and asked, when there would be no more Lytteltons and Grenvilles to be pleased, that they might have room for something, which made him uneasy on the other hand."—Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 27, 1747.

1747. jurisdictions to the Crown, and for making more effectual provision for the administration of justice throughout that part of the United Kingdom, by the King's Courts and Judges there." Lyttelton took a very distinguished part in the support of this measure in the House of Commons. I call as a witness one who lost no plausible opportunity of maligning or ridiculing him—Horace Walpole; who writes to his friend General Conway, on April 16, 1747:—"We have had a great and fine day in the House on the second reading of the Bill for taking away the Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland. Lyttelton made the finest oration imaginable." It appears, too, that there were formidable competitors, for the writer adds—"The Solicitor-General (Lord Mansfield), the new Advocate, William Grant (afterwards Lord Advocate), and Hume Campbell, particularly the last, spoke excessively well for it, and Oswald against it. The majority was 233 against 102. Pitt was not there. The Duchess of Queensberry had ordered him to have the gout."

This is the first of the four speeches printed in his miscellaneous works. During the course of it, he remarked that next to the breaking of the Union the greatest misfortune that could befall the kingdom was the idea that it was broken; he shewed that the Bill infringed neither the letter nor the spirit of the act of Union; that the property of the Barons of Scotland in this particular was not more sacred than the right of wardship taken from the Crown during the reign of Charles the Second; that the measure deserved Lord Bacon's panegyric upon the laws of Henry the Seventh, which

" were deep, not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a present expediency, but with providence for the future." He prophesied most truly that when barbarous customs and servile tenures were rooted out, individual security would be established, and the way* be open to every improvement, " to the introduction of arts, of manufactures, of industry, of all the virtues and sweets of civil life, even in the wildest parts of that country." His peroration was this : " It is a Bill to secure and perfect the Union, to carry the justice of the King into every part of the United Kingdom, and, together with that royal justice, a more settled peace, a more regular order, a surer protection, a closer and stronger bond of allegiance ; to put an end to all those dependencies that combine men together, not as the subjects of the same King, or fellow-citizens of the same state, but as the followers of particular lords, and which create an awe and an influence alike incompatible either with liberty or government * * * * This is the object—this is the sole intent of a Bill against which such unfortunate, and let me say such unreasonable, prejudices have been conceived. I cannot better commend the policy of it than in the words of a great lawyer and a great statesman, Sir John Davies, in his excellent book upon the State of the Kingdom of Ireland, a book that has been lately 1747.

* See Schlösser's Geschichte, (vol. ii. pp. 196-8) which has the wretched political economy, without the beautiful poetry of Goldsmith. The abolition of jurisdictions, which were a certain bar to the prosperity of the country, is denounced by this author, as a measure of cruel avarice on the part of the Scotch, and of selfish insolence on the part of England.

1747. reprinted, and well deserves to be read and considered by every gentleman here upon this occasion. His words are these: 'There never can be concord or unity in any one kingdom but where there is but one king, one allegiance, and one law.'"

Who can transcribe these lines and not reflect on the living commentary upon them which Ireland now affords?

Lyttelton was now engaged in securing his return to Parliament. It will be remembered that he sat with Mr. Pitt, his brother-in-law, for Oakhampton. About this time Mr. Pelham wrote to him as follows:—

"July 11, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,*

"Had I known your motions, and when to have directed to you, your kind letter from Oakhampton should not have been so long unanswered. I heartily wish you joy of your success there; and tho' there may be some disagreeableness in the false and disingenuous reports of your engagement to the Prince and Mr. Pitt, yet as nobody was named as a candidate by Mr. Pitt, nor was the choice of you att your own solicitation, but att the good will of your freinds, and call'd for by the town, I think clearly you should have no uneasiness about you, for all men, whose opinions you would value, must be on your side. Will Pitt and I have talked it ovr, and he is as clear in this opinion as I am. The difficultys I have had have been on the other side, for, as this story has been industriously told

* In printing the MS. letters, I have throughout preserved the spelling of the originals.

I have been asked how you came to make such en- 1747.
gagements: to which I answered, you had made none but what you thought as a man of honour you ought to do with a Brother who had brought you into that town; and of course when you found he recommended nobody, he look'd upon yourself as free, and accepted the invitation of your friends att Oakhampton. I hope I did right; it answered the end I proposed by it; and it was strictly true, as far as I knew att that time. Our Elections have gone beyond expectation; and I will venture to say this Parliament has been chosen with less publick expense on one side, than any former one has been since the Revolution. Our majority is, notwithstanding that, much greater, which I can impute to nothing, as I told a very great person —but a zeal for his person and Government—a thorough detestation of Jacobitism,* and confidence in his administration. If our affairs abroad were equally successfull, all would go well; but the manifest superiority of the enemy in Flanders, the little or no probability of any diversion being made from thence, and the progress which I doubt Marshall Bellisle will make in Italy, give us melancholy reflections from that quarter. We have nothing for it in my mind but the natural disposition of the King of France for peace, and the interest of His Ministry the same way, joind to the losses his subjects have sustain'd by our vast captures at sea; which may bring that crown so far to lower their demands, that there may be safety in

* Lyttelton's name appears on the Committee of Impeachment against Lord Lovatt (1746.)

1747. accepting of them, which I must think is the only obstacle, for that there is wisdom in so doing, every year's experience must convince us. I wont go further on this melancholy subject, but wait for a more thorough conversation when you come to London. Mr. Pitt tells me you are expected in about a week's time. I presume, therefore, this letter will just catch you before you sett out; and I am desirous of taking this opportunity of assuring you that I am, with the greatest truth and affection,

"Dear Littelton, your most faithful
friend and servant,
"H. PELHAM."

His next letter contained the following, among other passages:—

"Sept. 24, 1747.

"DEAR LITTELTON,

"* * * * * * * I hope you approve of what I have said and done. I saw Pitt this day, and have had a very long conversation with him upon the state of publick affairs. We seem entirely to agree in opinion, which is a melancholy truth, because we both see our condition so bad, that nothing can be thought of but to take the lesser evil * * * * * * The French have sent a smart Memorial, by Abbé la Ville, to the States General, which they design to answer with spirit. But, alas! what will that avail now, when they have scandalously neglected, at least the defense of, all their strong towns, and infamously sufferd the greatest part of their troops to be taken prisoners, almost without resistance, or to be massacred

without any disposition to save them. This was the case att Bergen-op-Zoom, as well as several other places. We are, notwithstanding this, told what a noble stand the Republick will make, now they have got a head to their Government. They are to bring great numbers into the field next year, of which one third is not yet in being. They talk of a congress at Aix la Chapelle, at which the Ministers of all partys are to be respectively admitted. I will venture to say, if nothing is settled by the great ones before the opening of the Conferences, it is in vain to hope for any good effect from that measure. The time the Parliament is to meet is not yet fixed, but I conclude it will be the 10th or 12th of November. If we stay longer, we shan't be able to pass some money Bills before Xmas; and if we don't do that, we shall break a little before our time. We have now a full Board, and would not wish you, therefore, to hurry to London before your time. Tho' you are near, I shall always be glad to see you. My service to S^r^ Thomas, and 1747.

"Believe me ever,
"Most affectionately y^rs^,
"H. PELHAM."

The next letter from Mr. Pelham was as follows:—

"May y^e^ 31st, 1748."

"DEAR SIR,

"THO' I have had no answer from Mr. Ingram yet, I understand by Mr. Fox, that I may wish you joy of all opposition being laid aside att Bewdley. I hope you approvd of my letter; and should think

1748. myself happy, could I suppose my interfering with Mr. Ingram was of service to you or your family.

"What occassions my troubling you, particularly now, is to express the pleasure I have had in reading a little poem call'd the Tryal of Selim,* from what person it comes I dont pretend to guess, but the quarter I am sure of; it must be from an honest man, and a friend of yours. I have always thought it a misfortune for a man, tho' never so innocent, to be put upon his tryall till now. But when there is such an advocate, and such evidence, who would not wish to be *the culprit*. I dont pretend to be a judge of poetry, but there is something so genteel, so true, and also so diverting in this little piece, that it makes me wish to know its author. Can Hawkins Brown† follow a scheme, well laid, so thoroughly as this does? or has Gilbert West,‡ who you say first led your way to *truth;* brought her with her agreeable companions to be the grateful evidences of your innocence and virtue? Perhaps you think, I say too much of this, but I own to you the character of the heart appears so strongly to me throughout the whole performance, that I cannot help speaking of it as I feel. I hope soon to see you in town, and then you shall correct me, if you think proper, for my want of poetical genius. But if you find any other fault, I will have errant Bentley, and scourge you into a confession that I am in the right. Next Wednesday sennight the Treasury meets, and after one more, I hope to have leave from my brother

* See next Chapter.

† Born 1705, died 1760. See note to p. 58.

‡ See next chapter.

Kings to make a northern visit for about a fortnight; 1748.
after which I shall keep close to the Staff, till our usual adjournment in August. My brother proposes to set out for Hanover some day next week; we have no news of consequence since you left London, excepting the accession of the King of Sardinia; France seems much in earnest for finishing this great work of peace as soon as she can; I hope we are not backward, for time is of great consequence now, if we can reduce our expenses before the entrance of the next year I fear no opposition; that there will be those who are angry and rail, is always to be expected, but when we are conscious ourselves we do right, and have no false brethren amongst us, your friends, Truth and Innocence, Integrity and Honour,* will bear us through.

"I am, dear Littelton,

"Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

"H. Pelham.

About this time Lyttelton published "a Letter to the Tories," in defence of the government and himself. It produced a considerable effect, and was answered by "Three Letters to the Whigs," full of bitter personalities against Lyttelton; to which, however, he appears to have made a successful reply, and to have met with several anonymous allies, both in verse† and

* Witnesses in the "Trial of Selim,"—see next chapter.

† See a copy of verses to him in Vol. xviii. p. 520, of the Gentleman's Magazine (1748),—

"Each party sees thy moderation shine,
And Whigs and Tories in thy praise combine," &c. &c.

1748. prose, in carrying on this paper war: those who wrote in prose are still unknown, but his chief poetical defender was the author of the "Trial of Selim,"* mentioned in Mr. Pelham's letter. The third count of the indictment against Selim—

> "ran, that knowing well
> Wits only eat as pamphlets sell,
> He the said Selim, notwithstanding,
> Did fall to answ'ring, shaming, branding
> Three curious letters to the Whigs,
> Making no reader care three figs
> For any fact contained therein;
> By which uncharitable sin
> An author, modest and deserving,
> Was destined to contempt and starving;
> Against the King, his crown, and peace,
> And all the statutes in that case."

Another charge was, the decay of party squibs and anti-ministerial newspapers—

> "The sons of Clamour grew so sickly,
> They looked for dissolution quickly;
> *Old England* and the *London Evening*
> Hardly a soul was found believing in;
> And *Caleb*,† once so bold and strong,
> Was stupid now, and always wrong."

The next verses allude to the virulence of the pamphleteers against Lyttelton, and one of his prose anonymous defenders.

> "Selim, not so strong as tall,
> Beneath his grasp appear'd to fall,

* See next chapter.

† Caleb d'Anvers, name assumed by the Craftsman.

But Innocence, as people say, 1748.
Stood by, and saved him in the fray.
By her assisted, and one Truth,
A busy prating forward youth,
He rally'd all his strength anew,
And at the youth a letter* threw.
His weakest part the weapon found,
And brought him senseless to the ground."

Of the prisoner it is said,—

"One accusation, he confess'd,
Had touch'd him more than all the rest
Three patriot letters, high in fame,
By him o'erthrown and brought to shame;
And though it was a rule in vogue,
If one man called another rogue
The party injur'd might reply,
And on his foe retort the lie,
Yet what accrued from all this labour
But foul dishonour to his neighbour!
And he's a most unchristian elf
Who others damns to save himself.
Besides, as all men knew, he said
These letters only rail'd for bread;
And hunger was a known excuse
For prostitution and abuse.
A guinea, properly apply'd,
Had made the writer change his side:
He wish'd he had not cut and carv'd him,
And own'd he should have bought, not starv'd him.

Sir T. Lyttelton, encouraged probably by the success of his eldest son, now resolved to bring into Parliament his second son, William, who had been destined

* A congratulatory letter to Selim on the letters to the Whigs, 1748, 8vo.

1748. for the bar. At the close of the year 1748, he was returned for Bewdley, a borough not far distant from the domain of Hagley. In the month of June his father received the following letter from Mr. Pitt :—

"8th June, 1748.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is far from being merely in form, that I return you a thousand thanks for the favour of your letter. I may venture to assure you, that I feel from my heart the great honour you do me, in the value you are pleased to set upon my wishes for Billy. He certainly deserves every sort of regard, and it is a great pleasure to me to have occasion to talk to you of a son you love so tenderly, and who yet, at the same time, owes none of the opinion and expectations you have of him to that laudable weakness called paternal partiality. I have long seen in his mind the promise of very considerable talents for the business of the world, accompany'd with a sound judgment; and, particularly, have always marked and loved in him the strong seeds of honour and virtue in the heart. All these, Sir Thomas, are now ripening, or rather ripened for action; and it would be ten thousand pities they should be stifled for a long time at least, and perhaps entirely lost, in the inglorious and unprofitable labours of Westminster Hall. I most heartily wish you joy of an opportunity of bringing him forward into light, which is all he wants; the rest he will, I make no doubt, do for himself. Nothing can be kinder and more flattering to me, than your thinking of putting him under, as you are pleased to call it, my direction.

If I can be of any little use to him, in his beginning in our Parliamentary warfare, be assured it will be a most sensible pleasure to me; should he, on any occasion, want direction, he will always find the surest and best in his brother Lyttelton. The director and the pupil are most worthy of each other, and you, dear Sir Thomas, of the comfort of both. God send you may enjoy that comfort long, and with it, a life much freer from pain than your latter years have proved. I am, with great truth, 1748.

" Dear Sir,

" Your most faithful friend,

" And most obedient humble servant,

" W. Pitt.

" To Sir Thomas Lyttelton."

Soon afterwards Mr. Pitt wrote the following amiable and playful letter to William Lyttelton, then travelling in Germany:—

" August 21, 1748.

" My dear Billy,

" I am just returned from Tunbridge, and set down for a few days at my Lodge. The use of the waters, and the incessant trifling, unavoidable occupations of the place I have left, have hindered me from thanking you for the great pleasure your letter gave me. It is a great pleasure to me, my dear Billy, to see the too high value you are pleased to set upon my wishes for your welfare; and to find myself so agreeably remembered by one I think of often, and always

1748. with esteem and affection, as well as with no small expectations. I am going, in a few days, to follow your brother to Hagley; and with all the respect due to the oaks of Germany, I would not quit the Dryads of your father's woods, for all the charms of Westphalia. 'Io già coi campi Elisi fortunato giardin dei Semidei, la vostra ombra gentil non cangerei." You see the idea of the Germanick body, and the heroes and demigods who compose it have made me very poetical. . . . . I have received much benefit from Tunbridge, as has your brother. I desire you will present my most affectionate compliments to Mr. Legge, who I hope has received my letter. You will have heard that affairs stand well at Bewdley, so I say no more of them, than most heartily to congratulate.

"I am, with great affection,

"My dear Billy,

"Most faithfully yours,

"W. PITT."

The next letter is from Mr. Pelham to Lyttelton.

"October 4, 1748.

"DEAR LITTELTON,

"I SHOULD have answered your letter sooner, if the subject of it had required an immediate explanation, or if I had anything that could have entertained you, or been useful to yourself, or your friends. Poor Say is dead, but his office as Librarian was on no establishment. The Queen gave him one hundred

pounds a-year whilst she lived, and since her decease he has been paid as one of her servants. I don't know whether the King will think of continuing it, but probably where such a man as Mr. Bower* is recommended to him he may; I am, you know, by principle an economist, as far as relates to the Crown and publick, but I do not think this a worthy object of either, but rather choose to be on the side of rewarding suffering merit. 1748.

"When you come to London, and the King comes over, we will talk further on this subject; and I hope we may turn it so, as to serve Mr. Bower. Mallet applyd to Lord Harrington before he did to you. I sent him pretty much the same answer which you gave him, but did not discourage him from an expectation of future service, if he desired it and deservd it. I have still some awkward pains flying about me, which they tell me is the natural consequence of the disagreeable distemper† I have had; in all other respects I am as well as ever I was in my life, and if we finish abroad, time enough to make any tolerable reduction this year in our expenses, I doubt not but I shall have health and spirit enough to go through the next winter campaign. But if we loiter when there is no reason, or neglect to receive those benefits which Providence has thrown in our way, I will not answer for the conditions of many more than come to my knowledge. However, I think all will end well. The Treaty proposed by France, differs little or nothing

* See next Chapter.

† Dreadful cutaneous diseases of which he died.

1748. from the Preliminarys; they think the same of it att Hanover that we do here; and then I am pretty certain we cannot fail. I have seen nothing of Pitt for some time. He has been a rambler, and, amongst the various places he has visited, I am sure he cannot have forgot Hagley; which, though you call a farm, all your impartial friends tell me is an exceeding fine place. You say it is one hundred miles off; what is that to me who can travel a thousand miles in less than three weeks? And I can with truth say, there was no place I went to, where the happiness of the Landlord, and the agreeableness of the situation, would be more sensibly felt by me than whenever I have the pleasure of waiting on you att your own house. I hope Sir Thomas does not feel much pain from his numerous complaints. I must desire my best respects to him, and then you will yourself believe me, most faithfully and

"Affectionately y^r^ servant,

"H. PELHAM."

A new Parliament met in November 1747. Lyttelton was returned again for Oakhampton, with Thomas Pitt, who was Warden of the Stannaries to the Prince of Wales, and Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall. Pelham had a difficult task in counteracting his brother, who strove to prolong the war for the sake of ingratiating himself with the King's favourite son, the Duke of Cumberland; but Fox and Lyttelton were staunch to Pelham, and Lord Chesterfield

resigned the seals, leaving on record a strong manifesto against the continuance of the war. The Duke of Bedford succeeded him, though there was a large party in Parliament, as well as in the Government, who desired Fox, and among them was Lyttelton.* Fox, who had been always faithful to Walpole, was at this time Secretary at War, and intimate with the Duke of Cumberland. Meanwhile the appointment of the Prince of Orange by the Dutch to their revived Stadtholdership, and the conquest of the French in the Netherlands, hastened the growing tendency of Europe to a peace, which was at last consummated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Lyttelton (in the last but one of his printed letters to his father) calls it "a happy and amazing event." "In a month's time or less not only Maestricht would have been taken, but Holland invaded; and the Duke of Cumberland, to oppose that invasion, had scarce a third part of the enemy's forces." He thinks it so good a peace for England, that "had we been in the situation of France, and France in ours, I will venture to say no English minister would have dared to sign such a peace, not even those ministers who signed the peace at Utrecht." And he ends, "kiss my son for me. I now hope he will inherit Hagley instead of some French Marquis or Highland Laird, who I was afraid would have got it if the war had continued." 1748.

By the peace in question, Great Britain acquired Cape Breton, commanding the gulf of Saint Lawrence

* It appears from a letter of Fox to Lyttelton among the Hagley MSS.

1748. and Canada. Prussia kept Silesia. The origin of the war, the *vexata questio*, the right of search, claimed by the Spaniards, was not mentioned. In the unsettled state of the French and English boundaries in North America, and the example of successful spoliation set by Prussia, were left the certain seeds of another and no distant war.*

* Great and deserved offence was given by a stipulation in this treaty, that England should send two hostages to reside in France until the acquisitions of Great Britain in the East and West Indies were restored to her. The political writings of the day teem with just censure of this ignominious article.

CHAPTER IX.

DOMESTIC AND LITERARY, 1743—51.

[Hagley MSS.—Chalmers and Johnson's Lives of, and Campbell's Criticisms on, Lyttelton, Shenstone, Thomson, West, and Moore. —Sir H. Nicolas' Life of Thomson, prefixed to his edition of the Seasons.—Graves' recollections of Shenstone.—Chatham Correspondence, Vol. i.—Beauties of Hagley; the Leasowes and Envil, 2 vol. duod. by Dodsley.—Maffei Letteratura Italiana, v. 2. l. v. c. ix.—Chalmers' Life of Bower.—Life of Smollett by Anderson; Life of Fielding by Chalmers and Murphy.]

At this period Lyttelton had attained to a certain eminence in the political world. His abilities improved by assiduous culture,—his information continually increased by the most careful industry,—his power of speaking, though not of debating, had won for him considerable reputation as a statesman. The fact, whether he deserved such reputation or no, must be admitted by all who are conversant with the political events and pamphlets of the time, and who know how often he was made the theme of party censure and panegyric. A virulent party pamphlet was published in 1745, called, "An address of thanks to the Broadbottoms, for the Good Things they have done, and the Evil Things they have not done, since their elevation." In one chapter there is a "Descrip- 1743.

1743. tion of the Chiefs of the Broadbottoms, &c." and Lyttelton is thus described:—

"*Longbil* is a young man of sprightly parts and a good assurance, who in the beginning had no principle, and took up none since, contenting himself with taking casually such as may answer the several purposes of his interest and resentment. Being naturally vain and conceited, his joining the Broadbottoms in the beginning was more to be taken notice of, than any fancy he took to their party. For a man's strength and agility appear more in swimming against than with the current. Besides, *Longbil's* head and heart warp not a little towards spleen, satire, and ill-nature. He loves to govern, and wants not for presumption; wherefore he set himself up for a chief without the suffrages of the party; and ruled them, in some measure, without having their confidence, or so much as being thought worthy of it. A little work of *Longbil's* own inditing,* published not long ago, shews that he is no stranger to virtue and principle; but his late conduct as visibly shews that he is a slave to neither. Therefore, for further particulars of the character of this chief of the Broadbottoms, we refer the courteous reader to the leader's own lucubrations, and to the conduct of their party since they have taken listing money from *Hall Stiff*."†

About the same time, Moore was paying the object of this libel no ordinary compliment in his very

* See above, "Letters to an M.P., &c." p. 131.

† Mr. Pelham. See above, note to p. 27.

ingenious poem, "The Trial of Selim the Persian,"* 1744.
part of which has been already noticed, and in which,

"The indictment grievously set forth,
That Selim lost to Patriot worth,
(In company with one Will Pitt,
And many more not taken yet,)
In Forty-five the Royal Palace,
Did enter, and to shame grown callous,
Did then and there his faith forsake,
And did accept, receive, and take,
With mischievous intent and base,
Value unknown, a certain place."

Lyttelton is then tried by Faction, Envy, Clamour, "three chiefs in judgment sitting," and—

"With these four more of lesser fame,
And humbler rank attendant came,
Hypocrisy with smiling grace,
And Impudence with brazen face,
Contention bold with iron lungs,
And Slander with her hundred tongues."

Testimony is borne against him for—

"Of witnesses a fearful train
Came next the Indictment to maintain,
Detraction, Hatred, and Distrust,
And Party, of all foes the worst,
Malice, Revenge, and Unbelief,
And Disappointment worn with grief,
Dishonour foul, unawed by Shame,
And every fiend that Vice can name,

* See above, Lyttelton's Persian Letters, page 56.
† See Mr. Pelham's letter, p. 261.

1744.

All these in ample form deposed,
Each fact the triple charge disclosed,
With taunts and gibes of bitter sort,
And asking vengeance of the Court."

The evidence for the plaintiff and the judgment of the court are given in another part of this chapter.

It is very probable that Lyttelton's abilities as a Statesman and Politician were overrated then, as I must think they have been unduly depreciated since, but I have no wish or intention to deny, that the scenes in which he most shone, and for which he was best adapted were those of domestic and literary life,

When the Session was over, not as now, when the glory of Summer has passed, but generally in the month of June, few men who had been "long in populous city pent,"* betook themselves with greater delight to the country than Lyttelton, few had finer sensibilities to the beauties of nature, few had so fair a scope for their exercise. "The Shades of Hagley" will still be thought worthy of their Poet, by those who have visited a spot for which nature has done far more than the art for which it was so famed at this time. The ground of the Park is fantastically tossed about into hill and valley, crowned with noble trees and fed with clear streams, and from the heights of Clent Hill may be seen on a bright day the dark mountains of South Wales.—Malvern with the graceful outline of the Abberley range—the Clee hills of Shropshire—the Wrekin rising in lonely pride—the Edge hills which fringe Warwickshire—and the Bardon forest of

* Milton Par. Lost, B. 9, v. 446.

Leicestershire—these grand boundaries of the horizon, combined with the softer features of "the pleasant villages and farms,"* which clothe the intervening spaces, present a prospect, which, for the blended charms of picturesque beauty and agricultural fertility, has scarcely its rival in England. Bear witness Thomson, 1744.

"By swift degrees the love of Nature works,
And warms the bosom; till at last sublim'd
To rapture, and enthusiastic heat,
We feel the present Deity, and taste
The joy of God to see a happy world!
These are the sacred feelings of thy heart,
Thy heart inform'd by reason's purer ray,
O Lyttelton, the friend!—thy passions thus
And meditations vary, as at large,
Courting the Muse, thro' *Hagley Park* thou strayest
Thy *British Tempe!* There along the dale,
With woods o'erhung, and shagg'd with mossy rocks,
Whence on each hand the gushing waters play,
And down the rough cascade white-dashing fall,
Or gleam in lengthened vista thro' the trees,
You silent steal; or sit beneath the shade
Of solemn oaks, that tuft the swelling mounts
Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless hand,
And pensive listen to the various voice
Of rural peace: the herds, the flocks, the birds,
The hollow-whispering breeze, the plaint of rills,
That, purling down amidst the twisted roots
Which creep around, their dewy murmurs shake
On the sooth'd ear. From these abstracted oft
You wander thro' the philosophic world;
Where in bright train continual wonders rise,
Or to the curious or the pious eye.
And oft, conducted by historic truth,

* Milton Par. Lost, ibid.

1744.

You tread the long extent of backward time;
Planning, with warm benevolence of mind,
And honest zeal unwarped by party rage,
Britannia's weal; how from the venal gulph
To raise her virtue, and her arts revive.
Or, turning thence thy view, these graver thoughts
The Muses charm; while with sure taste refin'd,
You draw h' inspiring breath of ancient song,
Till nobly rises, emulous, thy own.
Perhaps thy lov'd Lucinda shares thy walk,
With soul to thine attun'd. Then Nature all
Wears to the lover's eye a look of love;
And all the tumult of a guilty world
Tost by ungenerous passions, sinks away.
The tender heart is animated peace;
And as it pours its copious treasures forth,
In varied converse, softening every theme,
You, frequent-pausing, turn, and from her eyes,
Where meekened sense, and amiable grace
And lively sweetness dwell, enraptur'd, drink
That nameless spirit of ethereal joy,
Unutterable happiness! Which love,
Alone, bestows, and on a *favoured few*.
Meantime you gain the height, from whose fair brow,
The bursting prospect spreads immense around:
And snatch'd o'er hill and dale, and wood and lawn,
And verdant field, and darkening heath between,
And villages embosomed soft in trees,
And spiry towns by surging columns mark'd
Of household smoke, your eye excursive roams;
Wide stretching from the *Hall*, in whose kind haunt
The *hospitable genius* lingers still,
To where the broken landskip, by degrees,
Ascending, roughens into rigid hills;
O'er which the *Cambrian* mountains, like far clouds
That skirt the blue horizon, dusky rise."*

* Seasons, Spring, l. 8.

The praise of Mrs. Lyttelton was her due. She 1744.
was the ornament and joy of her husband's life, and exerted her great influence over him for the noblest end. One of the nearest and most remarkable of his neighbours was Shenstone. A melancholy and sensitive nature working upon a feeble, though elegant and lettered, mind,* induced Shenstone to seek an early retirement† from the great world in a small paternal estate, called Harborough, in the parish of Hagley; he afterwards became possessed of the Leasowes, a farm in the same neighbourhood, the embellishment of which became the chief occupation of his life. About this time the true principles of what is sometimes called Landscape Gardening, began to be cultivated. Johnson's insensibility to rural beauty led him to the following characteristic depreciation of

* Mr. Campbell remarks that the Frenchman who dedicated a stone in his garden to the memory of Shenstone was not wrong in ascribing to him a "taste natural," for there is a freshness and distinctness in his worst images like those of a man who had enjoyed the country with his own senses, and very unlike the descriptions "of a pastoral poet from Leadenhall Street," &c. Shenstone is a pleasing writer, both in his lighter and graver vein. His genius is not forcible, but it settles into mediocrity without meanness, &c. &c.—See Campbell's Criticism.

The Schoolmistress is generally thought the best monument of his powers. He was born 1714, died 1763. Dr. Johnson says, "Had Mr. Shenstone's mind been better stored with knowledge he certainly would have been *great;* with his present store he is universally allowed to be *agreeable.*"

† Reversing the choice which he praises in his Judgment of Hercules.

1744. a different taste in Shenstone. "He began," (says this lover of London) "from this time* to point his prospects, to diversify his surface, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters, which he did with such judgment and such fancy, as made his little domain the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful, a place to be visited by travellers and copied by designers. Whether to plant in undulating curves and to place a bench at every turn, where there is an object to catch the view, to make water run where it will be heard, and to stagnate where it will be seen, to leave intervals where the eye will be pleased, and to thicken the plantation where there is something to be hidden, demands any great powers of mind I will not inquire. Perhaps a sullen and surly speculator may think such performances rather the sport than the business of human reason. But it must be at least confessed that to embellish the face of nature is an innocent amusement, and some praise must be allowed by the most supercilious observer to him who does best what such multitudes are contending to do well."

However large our debt for liberties secured, and monarchy preserved, to William the Third and the two first Monarchs of the House of Brunswick, we certainly owe nothing to them on behalf of the Fine Arts; and it is refreshing to turn from the indifferent paintings, and the architectural deformities, ecclesiastical and civil, of this period, to the better taste which began to prevail in the laying out of grounds.†

* The acquisition of Leasowes in 1745.

† Woburn, Stowe, Hagley, &c.

It is not uninteresting to observe that the true principles of this taste were by none more carefully studied than the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and the Lyttletons. Pope, whose verses had no small share in promoting these principles, has celebrated the wonders of Stowe, and the happy expression "the prophetic eye of Taste," was uttered by the elder Pitt, who before he became possessed of Burton-Pynsent exerted his genius at the Leasowes,* at Hagley, and at Wickham. A later generation has seen the combined 1744.

* Shenstone describes his visitors from Hagley in a Pastoral Ode to Sir R. Lyttleton.

† "But who the nymph that guides their way,
Could ever nymph descend to stray
From Hagley's fam'd retreat,
Else by the blooming features fair,
The faultless make, the matchless air
'Twere Cynthia's form complete.

* * * * *

Ev'n PITT, whose fervent periods roll,
Resistless thro' the kindling soul
Of Senates, Councils, Kings;
Tho' form'd for Courts, vouchsafed to move
Inglorious thro' the shepherd's grove,
And ope his bashful springs.

* * * * *

And GRENVILLE, she whose radiant eyes
Have mark'd by slow gradation rise
The princely piles of STOW;
Yet prais'd these unembellish'd woods,
And smil'd to see the babbling floods
Thro' self-worn mazes flow." &c. &c.

1744. tastes of a Grenville and a Pitt inheriting the accomplishments as well as the virtues of their race, produce the most perfect creation of modern times, the conversion of a barren heath into the beautiful groves and fairy grounds of Dropmore.

The account of Lyttelton's first interview with Shenstone is related by Mr. Graves in these words:—

"As the Lyttelton family were the most respectable of Mr. Shenstone's nearer neighbours; and were the first who contributed, by the company which they brought thither, to bring the Leasowes into vogue; I will say a word or two on that subject, and the footing on which he had the honour to live with the worthy inhabitants of Hagley, a great part of his life. "On a fine evening, about the year 1736, I think, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lyttelton, with Mr. Thomas Pitt, (Lord Chatham's elder brother) rode over, for the first time, and visited Mr. Shenstone at the Leasowes. Mr. Lyttelton, though then in parliament, and a rising young man, conversed with great freedom and familiarity, and gave Mr. Shenstone a general invitation to dine at Hagley, whenever he found it agreeable. "As the conversation turned chiefly on literary subjects, I remember a trivial assertion of Mr. Lyttelton's, which I never could account for, but by supposing it a mistake. Pope's Shakspere lying in the window, Mr. Pitt took it up, and observed, that that was the worst of all Pope's works. "Yes," replied Mr. Lyttelton (who was a friend of Pope's), "I'll grant you, it is the *worst* of Pope's works, but

the *best* edition of Shakspere that ever was published." 1744.
" Theobald's is better," said Mr. Pitt. " Theobald's," cried Mr. Lyttelton, " he is continually making unnecessary alterations. How do you think he would alter that passage in Hamlet's soliloquy, ' When every man might his quietus make with a bare *bodkin?* Why, he says it ought to be *dodkin*, which he has found out to be an old word for *dagger;* whereas the beauty of the thought depends on the insignificance of the weapon." Now, as Theobald does not mention this in his Notes, he might probably have only hazarded such a conjecture in conversation; or it might be one of those five hundred emendations, which he boasts (in Mist's Journal) to give Pope and his assistants, that had escaped them *all.* " As Mr. Shenstone had at this time done nothing at the Leasowes worth notice, Mr. Lyttelton's was probably a visit of mere curiosity, Mr. Shenstone being just returned from the university, and began to be known in the neighbourhood as a young man of parts and ingenuity. Mr. Lyttelton took his leave with politely repeating his invitation to Hagley; of which however, through mere diffidence, Mr. Shenstone, for the present, but rarely availed himself: but whenever he, some years after, visited at Hagley upon a freer footing, he was received by the family with the utmost politeness, and by Mr. Lyttelton and his lady, particularly, in the most friendly manner and with the utmost attention, as they saw under a plain and bashful appearance, his intrinsic and real merit."

Shenstone became a warm admirer of Lyttelton,

1744. inscribed a seat to him, supported him to the utmost of his power when he contested Worcestershire unsuccessfully in 1740, and addressed to him his Judgment of Hercules in these lines:—

"While blooming spring descends from genial skies,
By whose mild influence instant wonders rise;
From whose soft breath Elysian beauties flow;
The sweets of HAGLEY, or the pride of STOWE;
Will LYTTELTON the rural landskip range,
Leave noisy fame, and not regret the change?
Pleas'd will he tread the garden's early scenes,
And learn a moral from the rising greens?*
There, warm'd alike by Sol's enliv'ning pow'r,
The weed, aspiring, emulates the flow'r:
The drooping flow'r, its fairer charms display'd,
Invites, from grateful hands, their gen'rous aid:
Soon, if none check th' invasive foe's designs,
The lively lustre of these scenes declines!
'Tis thus, the spring of youth, the morn of life,
Rears in our minds the rival seeds of strife.
Then passion riots, reason then contends;
And, on the conquest, ev'ry bliss depends:

* Pope has the same word though one not agreeable or usual in poetry:—

"In that soft season when descending showers,
Call forth the *greens*, and wake the rising flowers."
Temple of Fame.

And so the Frenchman's epitaph before alluded to—

"This plain stone,
To William Shenstone,
In his writings he displayed
A mind natural
At Leasowes he laid
Arcadian *greens* rural."

Life, from the nice decision, takes its hue : 1744.
And blest those judges who decide like you !
On worth like theirs shall ev'ry bliss attend :
The world their fav'rite, and the world their friend.
There are, who blind to thought's fatiguing ray,
As fortune gives examples, urge their way :
Not virtue's foes, tho' they her paths decline,
And scarce her friends, tho' with her friends they join,
In her's, or vice's casual road advance
Thoughtless, the sinners or the saints of chance !
Yet some more nobly scorn the vulgar voice ;
With judgment fix, with zeal pursue their choice,
When ripen'd thought, when reason born to reign,
Checks the wild tumults of the youthful vein ;
While passion's lawless tides, at their command,
Glide thro' more useful tracts, and bless the land.
Happiest of these is he whose matchless mind,
By learning strengthen'd, and by taste refin'd,
In virtue's cause essay'd its earliest pow'rs ;
Chose virtue's paths, and strew'd her paths with flow'rs.
The first alarm'd, if freedom waves her wings :
The fittest to adorn each art she brings :
Lov'd by that prince whom ev'ry virtue fires :
Prais'd by that bard whom ev'ry muse inspires :
Blest in the tuneful art, the social flame ;
In all that wins, in all that merits fame !

I must notice here a mistatement of Dr. Johnson's, because it is one of those reports which his dislike of Lyttelton caused him to adopt without much inquiry into its truth :—

" Lyttelton," he says, " was Shenstone's neighbour, and his rival, whose empire, spacious and opulent, looked with disdain on the *petty state that appeared behind it.* For a while the inhabitants of Hagley affected to tell

1744. their acquaintance of the little fellow that was trying to make himself admired; but when by degrees Leasowes forced themselves into notice, they took care to defeat the curiosity which they could not suppress, by conducting their visitants perversely to inconvenient points of view, and introducing them at the wrong end of a walk to detect deception; injuries of of which Shenstone would heavily complain. Where there is emulation there will be vanity, and where there is vanity there will be folly."

Now the charge of such childish spite is proved by the intimate friend of Shenstone (Graves) to be, as far as it affects Lyttelton, wholly false, the sole foundation of the tale being, that Lyttelton was so constantly in the habit of taking his guests to see the Leasowes, that in order to avoid disturbing on every occasion the retirement of Shenstone, he sometimes led them himself to the principal point of view, without waiting for any one to conduct them regularly through all the walks.*

The arrival of the family at Hagley was a great epoch in Shenstone's life, and his regret when the time came for their departure for the winter session, may be seen in one of the prettiest of his odes, written to William Lyttelton :—

"How blithely pass'd the summer's day!
How bright was every flow'r!
While friends arriv'd, in circles gay,
To visit DAMON's bow'r!

* See Note of Mr. Isaac Reed to Johnson's Life of Shenstone, in Chalmers' edition of Johnson, and Graves' Rem. of Shenstone, pages 84-5.

1744.

But now, with silent step, I range
Along some lonely shore;
And DAMON's bow'r, alas the change!
Is gay with friends no more.

Away to crowds and cities borne
In quest of joy they steer;
Whilst I, alas! am left forlorn,
To weep the parting year!

O pensive Autumn! how I grieve
Thy sorrowing face to see!
When languid suns are taking leave
Of every drooping tree, &c. &c."

One of the most welcome visitors both at Hagley and the Leasowes was Thomson. Some account of his connexion with Lyttelton, and the stanzas in the Castle of Indolence, in which he described his patron, have been already mentioned.* The earliest editions of the Seasons were published before this author had seen Hagley, and both this poem, his 'Agamemnon,' 'Sophonisba,' and 'Liberty,' before he was personally acquainted with Lyttelton. He afterwards wrote Edward and Eleanora, Alfred, Tancred and Sigismunda, and the last, perhaps also the best of his greater works, the Castle of Indolence. Coriolanus was published after his death.

The following letter from Thomson was written before his first visit to Hagley.†

* See pages 111, 113, 156.

† The late Lord Lyttelton gave this letter as well as the verses on Amanda to Sir H. Nicolas for his edition of Thomson, (Pickering).

1744. " London, July the 14th, 1743.

" DEAR SIR,

" I HAD the Pleasure of yours some Posts ago, and have delayed answering it hitherto, that I might be able to determine when I cou'd have the Happiness of waiting upon you. Let me beg the Favour of you to make my compliments to Sir Thomas Lyttelton; I thank him for the Honour of his Invitation, and will not fail to accept of it, before you leave the Country. Hagley is the Place in England I most desire to see; I imagine it to be greatly delightful in itself, and I know it to be so to the highest degree by the Company it is animated with. Some Reasons prevent my not waiting upon you immediately, but if you will be so good as to let me know how long you design to stay in the Country, nothing shall hinder me from passing three weeks or a month with you before you leave it. As this will fall in Autumn, I shall like it the better, for I think that season of the year the most pleasing and the most poetical. The spirits are not then dissipated with the gaiety of Spring and the glaring light of Summer, but composed into a serious and tempered joy. The Year is perfect. In the meantime I will go on with correcting and printing the Seasons, and hope to carry down more than one of them with me. The Muses whom you obligingly say I will bring along with me I shall find with you; the Muses of the great simple country, not the little fine lady Muses of Richmond Hill. I have lived so long in the noise, rattle, and the distant din of the Town, that I begin to forget what true retirement is.

With you I shall enjoy it in its highest elegance and purest simplicity. The Mind will not only be soothed into Peace, but enlivened into Harmony. My compliments attend all at Hagley, and particularly Her who gives it charms for you it never had before. Believe me, to be ever with the greatest Respect, 1744.

" most affectionately yours,

" James Thomson."

In about eighteen months from this time, Thomson published another edition of his Seasons, describing Hagley in the verses cited in the early part of this chapter. In a letter to Doddridge, dated August 7th, 1745, Lyttelton writes: " If any business shou'd ever call you to this part of England, I hope you wou'd let us see you here and shew you the Park which we are proud of as Lord Cobham of Stowe, especially since the honour Mr. Tompson* has done it in the new edition of his Seasons." In 1744 Lyttelton, as has been already observed, obtained for Thomson the Surveyor-Generalship of the Leeward Islands, with £300. a year. In 1745 Thomson dedicated his Tancred and Sigismunda to the Prince of Wales, but nevertheless, it should seem that about this time Thomson, West and Mallet,† were deprived of the pension of £100. a year, which Lyttelton's influence with the Prince had procured for them, and which were taken away when he incurred the displeasure of their Patron.

* So in the Original.

† Graves tells this anecdote of Shenstone's first journey to London with a raw lad for his servant. " They slept at Maidenhead, and this

1747. From this time* to 1748, Thomson generally passed his summers at Hagley and the Leasowes, but his own residence was in Kew Lane, where he died. On the 19th of January, 1746-7, it pleased God to visit his friend Lyttelton with the heaviest calamity.—Mrs. Lyttelton died at this time in childbed—and thus was dashed to the ground—

> "All this pleasing fabric love had raised,
> Of rare felicity."†

The Monody which Lyttelton composed on her death, though less admired now than formerly, will never be unknown to lovers of English poetry; to such Lyttelton will always be, as he is now, known as 'the author of the Monody.' Johnson, speaking of 'Lucy's' death, says that Lyttelton "solaced his grief by

trusty squire having walked out to view the Thames, returned staring with astonishment, 'Lord, Sir, what do you think? I have seen the Prince of Wales and his nobles walking by the river side.' The case was, as his Royal Highness then resided at Clifton, he had walked down to the Thames, it being a fine evening; but the nobles that attended him were only Mallet and Thomson, the poets whom his Highness patronised, and with whom he condescended to converse with great freedom and familiarity."—pages 93-4.

* Shenstone writes in a letter, dated 20th Sept. 1747: "As I was returning from church on Sunday last, whom should I meet in a chaise with two horses lengthways, but that right friendly bard Mr. Thomson. I complimented him upon his arrival in the country, and asked him to accompany Mr. Lyttelton to the Leasowes, which he said he would with abundance of pleasure, and so we parted."

† Lyttelton's Monody.

writing a long poem to her memory," he had originally written 'he solaced himself.' It cannot be doubted that this sentence was meant to convey a sneer; but profoundly ignorant was its writer of the things that belong to a poet's peace, if he thought such exercise of his art inconsistent or incompatible with the most poignant grief. As well might the painter who strives to fix on his canvass, or the sculptor to grave on his marble, the expression and features he has loved, but which in this world he will never see again, be charged with indifference to the object which he thus fondly seeks to immortalize on earth. Johnson might have learnt a truer lesson of human nature, from Milton's beautiful sonnet to his 'late espoused saint' who died, like Lucy, in child-bed, and from the lines of Virgil prefixed by Lyttelton to his Monody. 1747.

"By a felicity very rare in his attempts at poetry," says Mr. Campbell, "the kids and fawns of his Monody do not entirely extinguish all appearance of that sincere feeling with which it must have been composed." Gray,* no mean critic, passed a more

* In a letter to Horace Walpole, Gray writes, "If it were all like this stanza I should be excessively pleased. Nature and sorrow and tenderness, are the true genius of such things, (monodies) and something of these I find in several parts of it (not in the orange-tree). Poetical ornaments are foreign to the purpose, for they only shew a man is not sorry; and devotion is worse for it teaches him that he ought not to be sorry, which is all the pleasure of the thing."—Works by Mitford, vol. iii. p. 49. *Pace tanti viri.* I

1747. favourable criticism upon this poem, parts of which he thought "as truly tender and elegiac as one could wish," and he was "excessively pleased with the nature, sorrow, and tenderness" of this stanza—

"In vain I look around
O'er all the well-known ground,
My Lucy's wonted footsteps to descry,
Where oft we used to walk,
Where oft in tender talk
We saw the summer sun go down the sky.
Nor by yon fountain's side,
Nor where the waters glide
Along the valley can she now be found:
In all the wide-stretch'd prospect's ample bound,
No more my mournful eye
Can aught of her espy,
But the sad sacred earth where her dear relics lie."

I may be excused for adding another sample of the merits of this poem:

"Ye shades of Hagley, where is now your boast,
Your bright inhabitant is lost:
You she preferred to all the gay resorts
Where female vanity might wish to shine,
The pomp of cities and the pride of courts;

demur a little to the first—and altogether deny the second of these observations. Religion surely does not forbid us to be sorry, but *to sorrow as without hope*. If Juvenal had been a Christian he might still have written his well-known lines on the blessed influence of tears.

Her modest beauties shunned the public eye. 1747.
To your sequestered dales
And flower-embroidered vales
From an admiring world she chose to fly;
With Nature there retir'd, and Nature's God,
The silent paths of wisdom trod,
And banished every passion from her breast
But those the gentlest and the best.
&c. &c. &c. &c.

We were the happiest pair of human kind,
The rolling year its various course performed,
And back returned again;
Another, and another smiling came
And saw our happiness unchang'd remain:
Still in her golden chain
Harmonious Concord did our wishes bind:
Our studies, pleasures, tastes, the same.
Oh! fatal, fatal stroke!
That all this pleasing fabric love had raised
Of rare felicity,
On which even wanton Vice with envy gazed,
And every scheme of bliss our hearts had formed
With soothing hope for many a future day,
In one sad moment broke!
Yet, oh! my soul thy rising murmurs stay:
Nor dare the all-wise Disposer to arraign,
Or against His supreme decree
With impious grief complain.
That all thy full-blown joys at once should fade,
Was His most righteous will,—and be that will obeyed.
&c. &c. &c. &c.

The poignancy of Lyttelton's grief may be partly guessed from the letters of his friends to him and

1747. to each other. Soon after this event, Thomson sent him the new edition of his Seasons, with some verses* expressive of his sympathy, and in 1748, he wrote to a Mr. Paterson, "all our friends are pretty much *in statu quo* except it be poor Mr. Lyttelton. He has had the severest trial a human tender heart can have; but the old physician, time,† will at last close up his wounds, though there must always remain an inward smarting."

Farther evidence of his affliction will be seen in his correspondence with Dr. Doddridge which will form the next chapter.

Shortly before the death of Lucy, Sir T. Lyttelton was suffering under a painful malady, and his son after expressing his deep concern, wrote,‡ "I know the part you take in my life and health; and I know it is my duty not to add to your other pains that of my loss, which thought has as great an effect upon me as anything can: and I believe God Almighty supports me above my own strength, for the sake of my friends who are concerned for me, and in return for the resignation with which I endeavour to submit to his will. If it please him in his infinite mercy to restore my dear wife to me, I shall most thankfully acknowledge his goodness; if not, I shall most humbly endure his chastisement which I have too much deserved."

* "Go little book, and find our friend," &c. &c.

† "χρόνος γὰρ ἐνμαρὴς θεός."—Soph. Elect. 179.

‡ Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii.

I must not omit here the letter of condolence which Lyttelton received from Lord Bolingbroke; it deserves to rank high among compositions of this kind:— 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"I could not resolve to write to you sooner, and I cannot defer doing it any longer. You sustain a loss which the best souls must feel the most. They who were the most sensible of the blessing, may be, and must be, the most sensible of the privation; and their affliction cannot fail to bear, in the midst of a just Resignation, a just proportion to their gratitude I am not presumptuous enough to think I can give you Comfort: all I mean by these lines is to assure you that I mingle my tears with yours, and that I feel whilst I am writing, all that a tender respect for the memory of the dead, and a tender friendship for the living can pour into the heart of a man who loves and honours you, and who is, Dear S^r^, your most faithful and most humble servant,

"H. ST. J. BOLINGBROKE.

"Battersea, January 24th, 1746-7."

The next letter from Bolingbroke was in answer to Lyttelton's inquiries after his health, and was as follows:—

"Battersea, August the 20th, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"Mr. Lynn tells me that you desire to be informed of the state of my health, it is reasonable, therefore

1747. that I should say something to you on a subject which I should have thought otherwise of too little importance to have troubled you about it. My pains and my lameness continue, but they are both diminished since the humour, whatever it be that causes y^{m} is removed from the reins, and fallen into the thigh and knee. I shall set out on Monday for the Bath, in a confidence the Physicians give me that those waters will destroy the cause, if it be rheumatick; and that if it be gouty, they will drive it into an extream part where it may spend itself more safely at least. If I am disappointed in this confidence, I must submit necessarily, and I will endeavour to submit chearfully. All the dispensations of Providence, whether general or particular, are imposed by infinite power, and directed by infinite wisdom. Resignation is as reasonable as necessary. If I am not disappointed, if physical evils can be removed or softened, I may hope to slide smoothly into my grave, forgetting or forgiving, and sure to be soon forgotten. The whole stock of moral evil which severity of government, inveteracy of party resentments, negligence or treachery of relations and friends could bring upon me, seems to be at last exhausted. In this temper of mind, I wait for my own dissolution, and wish I did not foresee another. Your friendship will be an honour to me when I am dead, as it is an advantage and pleasure to me whilst I live. I can say the same of only few besides you. I do not over-value myself, for I value myself att a very low rate; but the truth is, y^{t} I do not value my contemporarys att an higher, and that I shall think myself going out of

much bad company when I dye: from a generation of men, among whom every principle and habit y^t^ stands in opposition to public and private morality, prevails. Whilst I live in the same country with y^m^ and continue proscribed by y^m^, I shall keep in mind a passage in one of Cicero's letters, *semi liberi saltem simus, quod assequemur et tacendo et latendo.* I hope you was so kind as to let Mr. Pelham know that I am his servant and much obliged to him for giving bread to a man from whom Wager took it away most unjustly. Make y^e^ most of this vacation, amuse yourself, and lay in a new stock of spirits against y^e^ time that you return to publick business: you will have occasion for them all, 1747.

"I am, most faithfully, Dear S^r^,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"H. St. J. Bolingbroke."

The death which he foresaw was no doubt that of his wife, the widow of the Marquis de Villette, to whom he was much attached. She died on the 18th of March, 1750, soon to be followed by her husband, who survived her only twenty months; dying on the 15th of December, 1751, in his 74th year.

Among other friends to whom Lyttelton was bound by the double bond of sympathy in religious feelings, and literary taste, was one who exercised a most beneficial influence upon his life. This person was Gilbert West, chiefly known to readers of this day by his translations of Pindar, productions of no mean merit, though inferior to the beautiful fragments of Heber,

1747. the translation of Carey, and the unpublished but printed work of the gifted and unhappy Moore. But he also wrote "Observations on the Resurrection," and to these Lyttelton refers in his printed letter to his father: "Gilbert West would be happy in the reputation it has gained him, if my Lucy was not so ill. However he always leans to hope, &c." West's father was a Reverend Dr. West who had published an edition of Pindar; his mother was a sister of Lord Cobham, the channel no doubt of his acquaintance with Lyttelton. His love of learning indisposed him to his first profession, the army, which he quitted. Lord Townshend made him a clerk in the Privy Council, and at a much later period, Pitt procured for him the Treasurership of Chelsea Hospital. He married early and "settled himself," says Dr. Johnson,* "in a very pleasant house, at Wickham, in Kent, where he devoted himself to learning and to piety." It has been said that Pitt's genius for landscape-gardening was partly formed at Wickham. "West," says Dr. Johnson, "was very often visited by Lyttelton and Pitt, who, when they were weary of faction and debates, used at Wickham† to find

* Dr. Johnson's Letter, p. 39, shews that his knowledge of West as well as Lyttelton, was only gleaned from contemporaries.

† To Mr. West at Wickham:

"Fair nature's sweet simplicity,
With elegance refined,
Well in thy seat, my friend, I see,
But better in thy mind:

books and quiet, a decent table, and literary conversation. There is at Wickham a walk made by Pitt, and what is of far more importance, at Wickham Lyttelton received that conviction which produced his 'Dissertation on St. Paul.' These two illustrious friends had listened to the blandishments of infidelity;" and in his life of Lyttelton, he says, "Lyttelton had in the pride of juvenile confidence, with the help of corrupt conversation, entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity; but he thought the time now come when it was no longer fit to doubt or believe by chance, and applied himself seriously to the great question. His studies being honest, ended in conviction. He found that religion was true; and what he had learned he endeavoured to teach by 'Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul,' a treatise (adds his by no means partial biographer, with honest energy of expression,) to which infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer." 1747.

Lyttelton's early letters to his father shew that the natural bias of his mind was religious, his conduct appears to have been always decorous and moral, and the last stanzas of his Monody were certainly written by no unbeliever. It is, however, but too probable

> To both, from courts and all their state,
> Eager I fly, to prove
> Joys far above a courtier's fate,
> Tranquillity and love."
>
> Lyttelton's Works, Vol. iii.

* West received by Diploma the degree of Doctor of Laws from Oxford, for his "Observations on the Resurrection."

1747. that his intimacy with Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and others, had for a while shaken his faith, in an age when scepticism was certainly far more fashionable, if not far more common, than that in which we live. There is good reason to believe that the sweet influence of his pious and amiable wife completed, during her life, the good work begun by his friend. Undoubtedly grief for her death conspired with the influence of West, and with habits of deep thinking, to reinstate him in the belief of the doctrines of Christianity, which found no obstacle to their admission in hardness of heart or profligacy of life. His worthy father survived but a few years the publication of this work, which gave him great delight. "I have read," he wrote to his son, "your religious treatise with infinite pleasure and satisfaction. The style is fine and clear, the arguments close, cogent, and irresistible. May the King of kings, whose glorious cause you have so well defended, reward your pious labours, and grant that I may be found worthy through the merits of Jesus Christ, to be an eye-witness of that happiness which I don't doubt he will bountifully bestow upon you. In the meantime I shall never cease glorifying God, for having endowed you with such useful talents and giving me so good a son. Your affectionate father, THOMAS LYTTELTON."

If this commendation should appear extravagant, it will be remembered that the treatise* has been con-

* See Catalogue of Books and Tracts circulated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as arranged in classes, chap. 2. Annual Report of Society.

sidered by our Church, ever since its publication, as a standard work of divinity, and placed by her as such in the hands of those whom it is her office to educate. The treatise opens in these words:— 1747.

"To Gilbert West, Esq.

"Sir,—In a late conversation we had together upon the subject of the Christian Religion, I told you that besides all the proofs of it which may be drawn from the prophecies of the Old Testament, from the necessary connexion it has with the whole system of the Jewish religion, from the miracles of Christ, and from the evidence given of his resurrection by all the other Apostles: I thought the conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation. As you seemed to think that so compendious a proof might be of use to convince those unbelievers that will not attend to a longer series of arguments, I have thrown together the reasons upon which I support that proposition." The author then sets forth those passages in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, which related to the personal history of St. Paul and then proceeds to lay down the plan of his argument in a manner which may in some degree remind the reader of that pursued by Paley in his admirable work on the Evidences. "Now it must of necessity be, that the person attesting these things of himself, and of whom they are related in so authentick a manner, either was an impostor who said what he knew to be false, with an intent to deceive—or he was

1747. an enthusiast, who, by the force of an over-heated imagination imposed on himself—or he was deceived by the fraud of others; and all that he said must be imputed to the power of that deceit—or what he declared to have been the cause of his conversion, and to have happened in consequence of it, did all really happen, and, therefore, the Christian religion is a divine revelation." After going through each branch of his argument, and observing that God has thought proper to proportion our knowledge to our *wants*, not to our *pride*, all that concerns our duty being clear—that the doctrines of the Gospel being made known to us by a revelation, supported by proofs that our reason *ought to admit*, and not being such things as we *certainly know to be false*, must be received by it as *objects of faith*, though they are such as it could not have discovered by any natural means, and such as are difficult to be conceived or satisfactorily explained by its limited powers. This," says Lyttelton, "is true Philosophy, as well as true Christianity."

Warburton highly approved of the Treatise, and wrote to its author, as follows:—

"Sir,—I have carefully read over the book you did me the honour of sending to me; I am at a loss which to admire most, the happy choice of the particular subject, or the just manner of executing it: but between both, it is certainly the noblest and most masterly argument for the truth of Christianity that any age has produced; and I felicitate you on the uncommon service you have done to the best cause in the world. The reasons you were pleased to give

me for not putting your name, are surely perfectly right and well judged, 1747

"I am, honoured Sir,
"Your most faithfull and devoted Servant,
"W. WARBURTON.

"Bedford Row, May 12, 1747."

The publication of this work is one of the counts of the indictment against *Selim*.

"He was a second time indited
For that, by evil zeal excited,
With learning more than layman's share,
(Which parsons want and he might spare:)
In letter to one Gilbert West
He, the said Selim, did attest,
Maintain, support, and make assertion,
Of certain points from Paul's conversion,
By means whereof the said Apostle
Did many an unbeliever jostle;
Starting unfashionable fancies,
And building truths on known romances."

The council against Selim urged in aggravation to his political offences,

"That bartering thus in state affairs,
He next must deal in sacred wares;
The clergy's rights divine invade,
And smuggle in the Gospel trade;
And all this zeal to reinstate
Exploded notions out of date.
Sending old rakes to church in shoals,
Like children smirching for their souls,
And ladies gay, from smut and libels,
To learn beliefs and read their bibles;
Erecting conscience for a tutor,
To damn the present by the future,

1747. As if to evils known and real,
'Twas needful to arouse ideal;
When all of human life we know
Is care, and bitterness, and woe:
With short transitions of delight,
To set the shatter'd spirits right.
Then why such mighty pains and care,
To make us humbler than we are?
Forbidding short-lived mirth and laughter,
By fears of what may come hereafter;
Better in ignorance to dwell:
None fear but who believe a hell;
And if there should be one, no doubt
Men of themselves would find it out."

Selim defends himself for having written this work:

"That what he wrote to Gilbert West,*
Bore hard against him he confessed;
Yet there they wronged him; for the fact is
He reasoned from belief not practice;
And people might believe he thought,
Though practice might be deemed a fault.
He either dreamt it or was told
Religion was revered of old;—
That it gave breeding no offence,
And was no foe to wit or sense;
And whether this was truth or whim
He would not say; the doubt with him,
(And no great harm he hop'd) was, how
Th' enlightened world would take it now;
If they admitted it, 'twas well,
If not, he never talked of Hell:
Nor even hop'd to change men's measures,
Or frighten women from their pleasures."

* See Leland's Deistical Writers, vol. 3. p. 313, for an eulogistic reference to Lyttelton's work.

And so the judge in passing sentence :— 1747.

> "Yet more,—for you to urge your hate,
> And back the Church to aid the State :
> For you to publish such a letter,
> You! who have known Religion better :
> For you, I say, to introduce
> The fraud again, there's no excuse."

In the next year Warburton wrote to Lyttelton the following remarkable letter.

"Sir,—Tho' I had never sufficient reason to give you any trouble of this kind, yet I think that which occasioned it now is the most trifling of all. It is only to tell you that I have just run over a very dull and a very foolish pamphlet, which, to make it sell, is called remarks upon yours. The man talks of running to Scripture for a knowledge of Christ, yet knows no more of it than what he has picked up out of Clarke and Hoadly. He criticizes your remarks on the Difficulties both on Deism and Revelation, without having any conception in what those difficulties consist. He thinks the origine of evil is all cleared up by the concession of man's free will. Whereas the face of it lies here, which is indeed not so generally understood—God made man free, but he had the foreknowledge of his actions. He saw then the evil that the *abuse* of freedom would produce. But what he saw, and would not prevent, and which he might have prevented without injury to man's freedom, (according to our natural notions of things) must *be imputed to him.* That he might have prevented it without this injury,

1748. appears from hence, as it is not of the essence of a free agent to abuse his freedom, and as God foresaw which of his creatures would and which would not abuse it, had he only brought those into being who would not have abused it, evil had been prevented, and prevented without intrenching upon free will. And as we see no reason for his not doing this, his not doing it will be a mystery, and which, as it reflects on his goodness, will be a *difficulty* beyond the reach of human wit to solve. This is the difficulty I had long ago formed to my selfe in reflecting on this matter. And I have occasionally communicated it to the most able and thinking men I have met with, and such as were most desirous of renouncing all difficulties of this kind; and their solutions have been such as have convinced me that it is a thing above human comprehension. The *system of the best* is a good poetical solution of the matter and nothing more. But this pamphleteer grows more stupid and absurd as he advances, in affirming there is no difficulty at all in reconciling prescience and free will, or if there were, that Clarke has done the job. But his own solution surpasses every thing. To prove there is no difficulty in it, he shews that supposing God should communicate part of this his foreknowledge to man, that communication would not affect the freedom of man's actions.*—No, how should it, when the objection supposes they had been previously affected by God's? The influence is supposed

* "If I foreknew
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault
Which had no less proved certain unforeknown."
Milton, P. L. b. 3. 117.

to be already affected. And if the shewing that no 1748.
succeeding influence is wrote,* will remove the *preceding*, there is not only an end of this, but of all difficulties whatsoever. Not to speak of y^e^ absurdity of comparing this inherent quality in the Deity to a communication of it to his creatures, to explain its effects in y^e^ former case by those in y^e^ latter. He is full as knowing when he comes to the Difficulties of Revelation. He takes no notice of y^e^ greatest, the Hypostatic union of the two natures, divine and human, in Christ. The most stupendous of all mysteries. And this not Divines, but Scripture teaches us. Yet I have observed that it has strengthened knowing men in their disbelief of Revelation, more than anything else. But the chief purpose of this letter, and perhaps as needless as the rest, is to express my hopes that neither you or any of your friends will ever think of taking any public notice of so absurd and contemptible a writer.

"From y^e^ whole manner of it, I am inclined to think the author is one Bott, a retainer to Syke and Hoadly, and who has spent his whole Life in this kind of employment,

"I am, Sir, with great
"Truth, your very obedient
"and faithfull humble Servant.
"W. WARBURTON."

"April 3, 1748.

"To the Rt. Hon'able George Lyttelton, Esq.
"in Argyle Street, London."

* So in the original, it probably means—mentioned in Holy Writ.

1747. In the following letter to Thomson may be found evidence of the truth of Johnson's remark on the sincerity of Lyttelton's religious principles, "that what he had learned he endeavoured to teach."

"Fryday, May 21st, 1747.

"DEAR THOMSON,

"I entirely agree with you that you have the same natural right as the Nightingales* have to the Garden of Richmond, but as those iniquitous gardeners will dispute it, and might overcomes right, I doubt you will not be able to keep the key, nor can I refuse to give it up if demanded, therefore I have disposed of it to the Dutchess of Bridgwater who will be better able to maintain her possession than either you or I, at this time. She is very desirous of it, and I could not deny it her as she knows I don't use it myself. Be so good to send it back as soon as possible. I have enjoyed the spring tolerably well in Kensington Gardens, and in some little excursions I have made out of town, but propose to do it more agreeably on this day sen'night at Mrs. Stanley's in your company. Meet me at Hounslow by 12 o'clock,

* See the Seasons, Spring, 711:—"But let not chief the nightingale lament, &c." an imitation almost a translation of "Qualis populeâ mærens Philomela, sub umbrâ, &c." see too the sonnet:—

"Oh nightingale, best poet of the grove,
That plaintive strain can ne'er belong to thee,
Bless'd in the full possession of thy love,
O! lend that strain, sweet nightingale, to me," &c.

See also below, the last lines of the imitation of Tibullus.

and we will go on together in a post-chaise. I intend staying till Monday afternoon. I have sent you a small present of claret in return for your rum, of which my Father will send me back a good part, having more than he has occasion for. He has also disposed of some to Frank Clare in your name, that he may receive you more graciously when you come into Worcestershire. I wish you joy of Anson's success, an action that does him great honour, and of great benefit to his country; but the joy of it is palled to our family by the loss of poor Captain Grenville, one of the most promising young men in the Navy, and who, had he lived, would have been an honour, not to his family only, but to his country. I never saw in any man a finer mixture of spirit, temper and judgment. He fought and died with the gallantry of Sir P. Sidney. How grievously has our family felt within these few months the condition of mortality and uncertainty of our happiness. Who was happier than I? Who so fortunate as the Grenvilles at the beginning of this year? I will say no more on this subject, your mind will supply the rest. My refuge and consolation is in philosophy—Christian philosophy, which I heartily wish you may be a disciple of, as well as myself. Indeed, my dear friend, it is far above the platonick. I have sent you a pamphlet upon a subject relative to it, which we have formerly talkt of. I writt it in Kew Lane last year, and I writt it with a particular view to your satisfaction. You have therefore, a double right to it, and I wish to God it may appear to you as convincing as it does to me, 1747.

1747. and bring you to add the faith to the heart of a Christian. Adieu, I long for the pleasure of seeing you.

"Yours affectionately,

"G. LYTTELTON."

M.B.*

"Anson's success," to which Lyttelton refers, was his great action off Cape Finisterre on the 3rd of May, in which he took six French men-of-war, several frigates, and a considerable number of vessels belonging to the convoy. In this action fell Captain Thomas Grenville, the fifth† son of Mr. Richard Grenville, a young man of the greatest promise and most universally lamented. His death was caused by a severe wound in the thigh; he died uttering with his last breath, "how much better is it to die thus than to stand arraigned before a Court-martial."‡

* So in the original.

† Richard, George, and James, are mentioned, page 68. Henry was the other brother. The only sister, Hester, married, as will be seen below, Mr. Pitt.

‡ Alluding probably to the Matthews and Lestock affair, see above, page 245, and as it were foreseeing the fate of Byng.

Mr. Pitt wrote at this time to the Duke of Newcastle, "The high esteem and love I had for poor Grenville, and what I feel for his most afflicted brothers, reduces me to the hard (and I hope pardonable) condition of being a mourner in the midst of public rejoicing. Your Grace's good-natured and humane attention for the family at a time when you had not a moment's leisure, and so much else to engage your thoughts, I was sure would be felt in such a manner that I lost no time in communicating it to all the brothers."—Chatham Correspondence, Vol. i. p. 23.

Thomson was never married, but was sincerely and hopelessly attached to a Miss Young, a lady of Scotch extraction, who afterwards married Admiral Campbell. He seems to have been prevented from proposing to her by the consideration of his straitened circumstances, and a fear of involving her in the distresses of poverty: he celebrated her under the name of Amanda. The following song* is in his own handwriting among the Hagley MSS. 1747.

TO AMANDA.

"Come, dear Amanda, quit the town,
And to the rural hamlets fly;
Behold! the wintry storms are gone,
A gentle radiance glads the sky.

The birds awake, the flowers appear,
Earth spreads a verdant couch for thee;
'Tis joy and music all we hear,
'Tis love and beauty all we see.

Come, let us mark the gradual Spring,
How peeps the bud, the blossom blows;
Till Philomel begins to sing,
And perfect May to swell the rose.

E'en so thy rising charms improve,
As life's warm season grows more bright;
And opening to the sighs of love,
Thy beauties glow with full delight."

* It was given by the late Lord Lyttelton to Sir H. Nicolas for his edition of Thomson.

1747. It was doubtless Amanda also, who inspired the following translation, which has never been printed, of Tibullus. The MS. is as follows :—

IN IMITATION OF TIBULLUS,

*Huc ades, et teneræ morbos expelle puellæ, &c.**

" Come, healing God, Apollo come and aid,
Moved, by the tears of love, my tender maid ;
No more let sickness dim those radiant eyes
Which never know to cheat, or to disguise.
If e'er my verse has pleas'd thy listening ear
O now be friendly, now propitious hear ;
Bring every virtuous herb, each root and flow'r
Of cooling juice, and salutary pow'r ;
Light is the task—To touch a hand so fair,
Divine Physician, will repay thy care.
My tears are fled ; the God my suit approves,
He can't be wretched who sincerely loves,
Protecting Heav'n with more than common care
Smiles on his hopes and guards him from despair.
Raise from the pillow, raise thy languid head,
Come forth, my love, and quit thy sickly bed,

---

* AD PHŒBUM.

" Huc ades, et teneræ morbos expelle puellæ,
Huc ades, intonsa Phœbe superbe coma.
Crede mihi, propera; nec te jam, Phœbe, igebit
Formosæ medicas applicuisse manus.
Effice, ne macies pallentes occupet artus,
Neu notet informis pallida membra color.
Et quodcunque mali est, et quicquid triste timemus,
In pelagus rapidis evehat amnis aquis.
Sancte veni, tecumque feras quicunque sapores,
Quicunque et cantus corpora fessa levant.
Neu juvenem torque, metuit qui fata puellæ,
Votaque pro domina vix numeranda facit.

Come forth, my love ; for thee the balmy spring 1747.
Breathes ev'ry sweet, for thee the zephyrs bring
Their healing gales, for thee, the Graces lead
The smiling hours, and paint the flow'ry mead.
As Nature drooping long beneath the reign
Of dreary winter now revives again,
Calls all her beauties out and charms us more,
From what we suffered in their loss before,
So from thy tedious illness shalt thou rise,
More sweetly fair, and in those languid eyes
And faded cheeks, returning health shall place
A fresher bloom, and more attractive grace ;
Then shall my bounding heart forget its woe
And think it never more a pain can know,
Then shall my muse thy charms more gaily sing,
And hail thee as the nightingale the spring."

It appears from the following letter that Lyttelton had urged his friend to marry. Thomson's recollection of ' Amanda,' was probably the real though not

---

Interdum vovet : interdum, quod langueat illa,
Dicit in æternos aspera verba Deos.
Pone metum, Cerinthe : Deus non lædit amantes.
Tu modo semper ama : salva puella tibi est.
Nil opus est fletu ; lacrymis erit aptius uti,
Si quando fuerit tristior illa tibi.
At nunc tota tua est ; te solum candida secum
Cogitat, et frustra credula turba sedet.
Phœbe fave : laus magna tibi tribuetur, in uno
Corpore servato, restituisse duos.
Jam celeber, jam lætus eris, cum debita reddet
Certatim sanctis lætus uterque focis.
Tunc te felicem dicet pia turba Deorum ;
Optabunt artes et sibi quisque tuas."

1747. the assigned cause, why "the result of his consideration" was unfavourable to the scheme.

"Kew Lane, Decr. 14th, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should have answered your kind and truly friendly letter some time ago. My not having answered it hitherto, proceeded from my giving it mature and deep consideration. I have considered it, in all lights, and in all humours, by night and by day, even during these long evenings—that the result of my consideration is not such as you would wish. My judgment agrees with you, and you know I first impressed yours in her favour. She deserves a better than me, and has as many good and worthy qualities as any woman; nay to others, and I hope too men of taste, she had charming and piquant ones. But every man has a singular and uncontrollable imagination of his own. Now as I told you before, she does not pique mine. I wonder you should treat that objection so lightly, as you seem to do in your last. To strike one's fancy is the same in love that charity is in religion. Though a woman has the form, and spoke like the Angels, though all divine gifts and graces were hers, yet without striking the fancy, she does nothing. I am too much advanced in life to venture to marry, without feeling myself invigorated and made as it were young again, with a great flame of imagination. But we shall discuss this matter more fully when I have the happiness of seeing you at full leisure. What betwixt judgment and fancy, I shall run equal risque

of never entering into the holy state. In the mean- 1747.
time I wish to see you once more happy in it.* Forgive me if I say, it would be an ungrateful frowardness to refuse the bounty of Providence, because you have been deprived of former enjoyments. If you cannot again love so exquisitely as you have done, so much the better, you do not then risque being so miserable. To say that one cannot love twice, is utterly unphilosophical, and give me leave to say, contrary to my own experience. Can there not be more objects than one for the same passion? If so, why cannot the passion be renewed when I find a new object. The flame of any love was never so strong yet as to burn out the heart, so far from that, the powers of the mind rather grow by exercise. The truth is, it is not a former passion that prevents a second. It is only the hardening† of the heart from years and harsh untender business. If you could get so much master of your just grief, as to think of a second

* In an evil hour, it will be seen, Lyttelton followed this advice.

† "As those we love decay, we die in part,
String after string is severed from the heart,
Till loosened life at last—but breathing clay,
Without one pang is glad to fall away.
Unhappy he, who latest feels the blow,
Whose eyes have wept o'er every friend laid low,
Dragg'd lingering on from partial life to death,
Till dying, all he can resign—is breath."

The above beautiful lines are written in Thomson's handwriting on a small slip of paper among the Hagley MSS., they seem afterwards to have formed the conclusion of his verses on Mr. Aikman (a Scotch painter), which are printed in his works.

1747. match, I may be tempted also to try to be happy with you. I wish you joy of the Sun's now turning his all-enlivening and beautiful face towards us. May the genial spirit of the returning year animate and cheer you and yet again make you happy! Than which nothing can give greater pleasure to your's,

"J. THOMSON."

"P.S. Mr. Gray discharged his commission faithfully, and with very decent gravity, to whom I gave the same nswaer I send you. The inclosed I received from the Consul of Tunis, Mr. Gordon, whose memorial I troubled you with some time ago. It will give you farther light in the matter. Do favour poor Dinwiddie against the old serpent, who would sting him to death for having done his duty."

1748. Towards the beginning of 1748, Thomson published "The Castle of Indolence," the most finished and most beautiful* of his compositions. The portraits contained in this delightful poem of the bard himself, of

* "To the Castle of Indolence he brought, not only the full nature, but the perfect art of a poet. The materials of that exquisite poem are derived originally from Tasso, but he was more immediately indebted for them to the Fairy Queen: and in meeting with the paternal spirit of Spenser, he seems as if he was admitted more intimately to the home of inspiration. There he redeemed the jejune ambition of his style, and retained all its wealth and luxury, without the accompaniment of ostentation. Every stanza of that charming allegory, at least of the whole of the first part of it, gives out a group of images from which the mind is reluctant to part, and a flow of harmony which the ear wishes to hear repeated."—Campbell's Spec. of British Poets. Thomson.

Lyttelton, and Quin, have been already alluded to.* 1748.
Dr. Murdoch, and not Lyttelton's brother-in-law, Dr. Ayscough, seems to have sat for the picture in the sixty-ninth stanza.

In the month of August in the same year, Thomson caught a cold on the water, while making one of his frequent expeditions from Kew Lane to London in a boat; from this cold after a severe illness he had almost recovered, but unfortunately a fine evening tempted him to expose himself to the night air after the dew had fallen: a fatal relapse was the consequence, and on the 27th of August, in his 48th year, died this highly gifted poet, who was also one of the most amiable, unselfish, and warm-hearted of mankind.

Lyttelton's grief was very great, but he lost no time in exerting himself in behalf of the family of Thomson, who were very poor, and in 1749 procured 'Coriolanus,'† a posthumous tragedy of his friend, to be acted on the stage. Quin, another dear friend of

* Pages 112-3.

† "It is a fact, surprising as it may seem, that the real Shakespearian "Coriolanus," has rarely, if ever, been acted on the British stage, since the Restoration. I pretend to no authority as an inquirer into our theatrical history, but under eventual correction, I venture to state my belief that it was never acted genuinely from the year 1660, till the year 1820. During this long interval, nevertheless, "Coriolanus" was not forgotten. The enlightened public, in 1682, permitted Nahum Tate, the executioner of King David, to *correct* the plays of Shakespeare, and he laid his hangman hands on "Coriolanus." . . . . . This mode of re-writing Shakespeare, was, for the time being, called correcting him. We talk of the barbarism of the Russians, because they occasionally take out the image of their patron saint, and correct him soundly by flogging

1748. Thomson's spoke the Prologue* which Lyttelton wrote, and which is universally admitted to be one of the best productions of the kind in our language, excelled perhaps, but only, by Pope's prologue to Cato, and Johnson's Drury Lane. The effect of its delivery was

him, for a long continuance of unseasonable weather, but, really, such treatment of Shakespeare, was more sacrilegious. A farther outrage still awaited the same tragedy, when Dennis moulded a portion of it with wretched matter of his own, into a new piece which he called "the Invader of his Country." It must be owned, however, that Dennis's drama was never tolerated. Thomson's "Coriolanus," which appeared in 1748, had at least the merit of being a new and independent tragedy. The elder Sheridan in 1764, brought out at Covent Garden, a piece in which he jumbled together the "Coriolanus" of Shakespeare with that of Thomson. Then in 1789 came the Kemble edition, in which so much of Thomson's absurdity is still preserved, that the stately *Volumnia* threatens to stab herself." —Campbell's Life of Mrs. Siddons, pp. 248-9.

* Prologue spoken by Quin.

"I come not here your candour to implore,
For scenes whose author is, alas! no more:
He wants no advocate his cause to plead;
You will yourselves be patrons of the dead.
No party his benevolence confined,
No sect—alike it flow'd to all mankind.
He loved his friends, (forgive this gushing tear,
Alas! I feel I am no actor here.)
* * * *
Such was the man—the poet well you know:
Oft has he touch'd your tender hearts with woe:
Oft in this crowded house with just applause,
You heard him touch fair virtue's purest laws:
For his chaste muse employ'd her heaven-taught lyre
None but the noblest passions to inspire:
Not one immoral, one corrupted thought
One line which dying, he could wish to blot." etc.

not marred by Quin's unaffected emotion in reciting the line— 1748.

"Alas! I feel I am no actor here."

Dr. Johnson ends his life of Thomson with these words: "The highest praise which he has received ought not to be suppressed; it is said by Lord Lyttelton in the prologue to his posthumous play, that his works contained

'No line which, dying, he could wish to blot.'"

Shenstone bewailed his friend in the verses most natural to his genius,* addressed to those with whom

* In his pastoral ode to Sir R. Lyttelton, I find—

"Say Thomson here was wont to rest,
For him yon vernal seat I drest,
Ah! never to return!
In place of wit, and melting strains,
And social mirth, it now remains
To weep beside his urn."

And in his ode to William Lyttelton, part of which has been already cited:

"He! he is gone, whose moral strain
Could wit and mirth refine;
He! he is gone, whose social vein
Surpassed the pow'r of wine.

Fast by the streams he deign'd to praise,
In yon sequester'd grove,
To him a votive urn I raise;
To him and friendly love.

Yes there, my friend! forlorn and sad,
I grave your Thomson's name;
And there, his lyre; which fate forbade
To sound your growing fame.

1748. his memory was most closely associated, the different members of the Lyttelton family.

Collins also wrote an epitaph, which bore tokens of the writer's great poetical powers, upon his friend and contemporary, and which indeed was the happiest tribute of the kind paid to Thomson's memory. Thomson was buried in Richmond Church,† and for

There shall my plaintive song recount
Dark themes of hopeless woe;
And, faster than the dropping fount,
I'll teach mine eyes to flow.

There leaves, in spite of Autumn, green,
Shall shade the hallowed ground;
And Spring will there again be seen,
To call forth flowers around.

But no kind suns will bid me share,
Once more, his social hour;
Ah Spring! thou never can'st repair,
This loss to DAMON'S bow'r."

* "In yonder grave a Druid lies,
Where slowly winds the stealing wave;
The year's best sweets shall duteous rise,
To deck its poet's sylvan grave."

† "Remembrance oft shall haunt the shore,
When Thames in summer wreaths is drest,
And oft suspend the dashing oar,
To bid his gentle spirit rest.

And oft as care and health retire,
To breezy lawn or forest deep,
Thy friend shall view yon whitening spire,
And 'mid the varied landscape weep."—Collins.

some time a simple inscription of his name on a plain stone was all that marked the place of his sepulture. In 1793 Lord Buchan put up a small brass tablet in the church, "unwilling, (as the inscription declared,) that so good a man and so sweet a poet should be without a memorial." In 1762 the monument erected to him in Westminster Abbey, between Shakspeare and Rowe, was completed; the cost of its erection was defrayed from the sale of a quarto edition of his works. 1749.

Some time after his death, Lyttelton prepared for the press a new edition of his Seasons, the alterations, additions and omissions, which this edition would have contained, have never been printed; they are written in Lyttelton's handwriting, on the blank leaves of an interleaved copy of the Seasons now in the Library at Hagley, to which it was presented by the late Lord Spencer, to whom it was a gift from "Matthew Montague, who found it among the books of Mrs. Montague:" the date which it originally bears, MDCC.LII. is altered by a few strokes into MDCC.LVIII. I have not been able to find any satisfactory reason why it was never published. In one of the blank sheets before the Poem, Lyttelton has written as follows:

"Preface to the Seasons,

"In this edition, *conformably to the intention and will of the author*, which have justly been thought ~~by good judges~~ too harsh or obscure, or not strictly grammatical, have been corrected, some lines transposed,

1750. and a few others left out. The Hymn which was printed at the end of the Seasons in some of the last editions, is likewise omitted, because it appears to good judges that all the matter and thoughts in that hymn are much better expresst in the Seasons themselves."

The alterations of single words are numerous, and generally are manifest improvements:

e. g. lines 621-2-3 in 'Winter,' Thomson writes,

"While well attested and as well believed,
Heard solemn, goes the goblin story round
Till superstitious horror creeps o'er all."

Lyttelton corrects

"While well attested and as well believed,
The goblin tale goes round: till solemn fear
And superstitious horror, etc. etc."

887-8 the lines are

" . . . . . with these at eve,
They *cheerful loaded* to their tents repair."

"I wish this line altered," Lyttelton writes, "'cheerful-loaded' is not English:

"They cheerful to their shady tents repair,"

would be better."

In a few instances whole passages are altered, as in the following verses. In the printed editions of Thomson's Spring, are these lines—

"Mean time the song went round, and dance and sport,
Wisdom and friendly tale successive stole
Their hours away; while in the rosy vale
Love breathed his infant sighs from anguish free,

And full replete with bliss, save the sweet pain, 1750.
That inly thrilling but exalts it more ;" etc. etc.

The youthful Sun
Shot his best rays, and still the gracious clouds
Dropp'd fatness down ; as o'er the swelling mead
The herds and flocks containing played secure.
This when emergent from the gloomy wood,
The glaring lion saw, his horrid heart
Was meekened, and he joined his sullen joy
For musick held the whole in perfect peace.
Soft sigh'd the flute, the tender voice was heard
Warbling the varied heart, the woodlands round
Apply'd their quire and winds and waters flowed
In consonance. Such were those prime of days."

In the interleaved copy Lyttelton obliterates these lines from 249 to 254, and from 264 to 271, and reads

" As o'er the *verdant* mead
The herds and flocks *promiscuous* played secure,
On every hill beneath each spreading shade,
The swains and husbandmen rejoicing hymn'd
Their bounteous God ; then festive dance and sport
Kind deeds and friendly talk successive shewed
Their blissful hours ; while in the rosy vale
Love breathed his tender sighs, from anguish free,
And free from guilt. Such were these prime of days."

In " Summer,' where the worthies of Britain are described, just before the description of Shakspere, I find this intended insertion in Lyttelton's handwriting :

" How sweet the concert of thy various bards,
Poetick Island ! Hark they strike the lyre.
Harmonious Dryden, Waller, Denham, Rowe,
Gay, Prior, and judicious Addison ;

1750.

But see with perfect art the hand of Pope
Now tunes the strings! Onward the Graces dance
And Wisdom's sober ear approves the song,
Of all thy numerous wits, Britannia, this
The most correct! but nobler fame
To genius more sublime," etc. etc.

then follows the description of Shakspere.

If this was the edition mentioned in the following letter to Dr. Doddridge, it must have been existing in manuscript at the time, and from some unexplained accident never completed, though the letter announces it as within a few days of publication.

"Hill Street, March 22, 1750.

"DEAR SIR,

By the Northampton coach of next week, I shall send Mrs. Doddridge a new, compleat, and correct edition of Mr. Thomson's works made under my care, which I beg the favour of her to accept as a small mark of my esteem and regard. There is not a line in it which a lady of virtue and modesty may not safely read, which is more than can be said of the works of any other of the English poets, except Milton Spenser and Addison. You will find this edition much preferable to any of the former, though not entirely free from false prints. Great corrections have been made in the diction, and many redundancies have been cutt off, which hurt the spirit, and weak'ned the force of the more sublime and nervous parts; so that upon the whole I am persuaded you will think Mr. Thomson a much better poet, if you take the trouble to read

over his works in their present form, than you ever thought him before. Nor will such an amusement mispend your time, for a divine spirit of piety, virtue, and goodness breathes through them all. But if you have not leisure for it yourself, at least, I insist that Mrs. Doddridge and Miss Polly shall read them, and give me their judgment upon them. I beg my compliments to both, and am with unalterable regard, Dear Sir, 1750.

"Your most affectionate humble servt,

"G. LYTTELTON.

"My own health is very good, and all my family, I thank God, all are well, except my Father, who is much as he has been."

Many years after the death of Thomson, Lyttelton received the following letter from Voltaire. It is a very curious document, and regarding the subject rather than the date, I insert it in this place.

"a Paris, 17 May, 1750. n. st.

"You was beneficent to Mr. thomson when he liv'd, and you is so to me, in favouring me with his works. j was acquainted with the Author when j stayed in England.* j discovered in him a great genius and a great simplicity. j lik'd in him the poet and the true philosopher, j mean the lover of mankind. I think that without a good stock of such a philosofy, a poet is just above a fidler, who amuses our ears and cannot go to our soul. I am not surpriz'd yr nation has done more justice to Mr. thomson's Seasons than

* See above, p. 44.

1750. to his dramatic performances, there is one kind of poetry of which the judicious readers and the men of taste are the proper judges, there is an other that depends upon the vulgar; great or small, tragedy and comedy are of these last species, they must be suited to the turn of mind and to the ability of the multitude and proportion'd to their taste, yr nasion two hundred years since is us'd to a wild scene, to a croud of tumultuous events, to an emphatical poetry mix'd with lose and comical expressions, to murtherss, to a lively representation of bloody deeds, to a kind of horrour which seems often barbarous and childish, all faults which never sullyd the greak, the roman, or the french Stage; and give me leave to say that the taste of y^{r} politest countrymen in point of tragedy differs not much in point of tragedy from the taste of a mob at Bear-garden, 'tis true we have too much of words, if you have too much of action, and perhaps the perfection of the Art should consist in a due mixture of the french taste and english energy. Mr. Adisson who would have reach'd to that pitch of perfection had he succeeded in the amourous part of his tragedy as well as in the part of cato, warn'd often y^{r} nation against the corrupted state of the stage—and since he could not reform the genius of the country, j am affraid the contagious distemper is past curing.

" Mr. thompson's tragedies seems to me wisely intricated, and elegantly writ, they want perhaps some fire, and it may be that his heroes are neither moving nor busy enough, but taking him all in all, methinks he has the highest claim to the greatest esteem. Y^{r}

friendship, Sir, is a good vouschafer for his merit. I know what reputation you have acquired, if I am not mistaken, you have writ for y^r^ own sport many a thing that would rouse a great faime to one who had in view that vain reward call'd Glory. I have by me some verses that pass under y^r^ name, and which you are suppos'd to have writ in a journey to paris, they reflect very justly on our nation, and they run thus— 1750.

" a nation here j pity and admire,
whom noblest sentiments of Glory fire,
yet taught by custom's force and bigot fear
to serve with pride, and boast the yoke they wear;
in courts a mean, in camps a gen'rous band,
from priests and tax-jobbers content receive,
those laws their dreaded arms to Europe give,
whose people vain in war, in bondage blaze,
tho' plunder'd guai, industriouss tho' oppressed." etc.*

" These verses deserve a good translator, and they should be learn'd by every frenchman. Give me leave to send you a little performance of mine, 'tis but a pebble I do offer you for y^r^ pretious stones,

" I am, with the highest respect,

" S^r^, yr most humble, obed. servant,

" VOLTAIRE."

It will be seen in the course of these memoirs, that this was not the only letter which Lyttelton received from this man, who at the time was the wonder and idol of Europe.

* Epistle to Dr. Ayscough from Paris, (1729-30) see above pp. 37-8-9.

1750. Lyttelton cherished the memory of Thomson with the tenderest regret. His various correspondence contain constant allusions to a loss which he never ceased to consider as one of the heaviest calamities of his life.

About the year 1748, the publication, already more than once alluded to, of the "Trial of Selim the Persian, for various high crimes and misdemeanours," brought Lyttelton into acquaintance with Moore.* In this poem, the compliment to Lyttelton is ingeniously and elegantly paid, and the verses which are its vehicle, have an easy and graceful flow; indeed, the whole thing is happily executed, and is, I think, superior to the "Discovery," the Ode to Mr. Pelham, which is reckoned by some critics, the author's best performance.

The charges against Selim have been already stated—now pleading his own cause,

"The prisoner said in his defence,
That he indeed had small pretence,
To soften facts so deeply sworn,
But would for his offences mourn;
Yet more, he hoped, than bare repentance,
Might still be urged to ward the sentence.
That he had held a place some years,
He owned with penitence and tears,
But took it not from motives base,
Th'indictment there mistook the case,
And though he had betrayed his trust,
In being to his country just;
Neglecting Faction and her friends,
He did it not for wicked ends,

* See Mr. Pelham's letter, last chapter.

But that complaints and feuds might cease, 1750.
And jarring factions rest in peace."

Then follows his defence of the Treatise on St. Paul's Conversion, and of his pamphlet, and then—

"The Court, he said, knew all the rest,
And must proceed as they thought best,
Only he hop'd such resignation,
Would plead some little mitigation,
And if his character was clear
From other faults, (and friends were near,
Who would when call'd upon, attest it:)
He did in humblest form request it;
To be from punishment exempt,
And only suffer their contempt."

Then came his witnesses, or *compurgators* and the sentence—

"The prisoner's friends their claim preferr'd,
In turn demanding to be heard;
Integrity and Honour swore,
Benevolence and twenty more
That he was always of their party,
And that they knew him firm and hearty;
Religion, sober dame, attended,
And as she could, his cause befriended,
The man was modest and sincere,
No further would she interfere.
The Muses begg'd to interpose,
But Envy with loud hissings rose.
* * * *
And Faction rising with the rest.
In form the prisoner thus address'd.
* * * *
The sentence now alone remains,
Which thus by me the Court ordains:—

1750.

" That you return from whence you came,
There to be stript of all your fame
By vulgar hands: that once a week,
Old England pinch you till you squeak;
That ribald pamphlets do pursue you,
With lies and murmurs to undo you,
With every foe that Worth procures,
And only Virtue's friends be yours."

I mentioned in a former chapter,* Dr. Johnson's sneer at " the kind *words*," which he alleges to have been the only guerdon by which Moore was rewarded. I will endeavour now to shew its extreme unfairness.

Edward Moore, the grandson of a non-conformist preacher, began life as a linen-draper, but having pursued this occupation with little success, " more from necessity than inclination," (to use his own language) he endeavoured to earn his bread by literature. His poetical Fables for the Ladies, published in 1744, first brought him into notice, and on them his fame was chiefly built, though Goldsmith thought them by no means his best production: this good judge pronounced " that there were few of the moderns who had a more correct taste or a more pleasing manner of expressing their thoughts." Mr. Pelham, to whom he wrote his " Discovery," became one of his patrons, but the letter in the last chapter makes it probable, that when " the Trial of Selim" was published, Moore was not known to him. Lyttelton, whose means, even after his father's death, were from careless management scarcely adequate to his station, was unable to confer on Moore a pension for life, and would

* See above, page 114.

not, however gratified by Moore's compliment, post- 1751.
pone for his sake the patronage of others whom he thought generally superior. Moore was not moderate in the estimation of his deserts, and when Lyttelton bestowed a small place upon Bower, conceived himself affronted, and behaved so rudely to Lyttelton that he forfeited his patronage, which, probably, had not been even then altogether unsubstantial; alarmed at this he had recourse to Horace Walpole to effect a reconciliation, little aware that the mediator he had chosen was the very author of the "Letters to the Whigs." Horace Walpole, who kept his own secret, and reconciled Moore to his patron, mentions the anecdote with great good-humour. His chief subsistence came from the stage, for which he wrote several comedies, now little known, but his "Gamester," produced in 1753, still maintains its place,* and from it he derived at the time considerable profit and reputation. Before this period, about the year 1751, Lyttelton projected a scheme for the advantage of Moore which was as successful in the issue as it was benevolent in the conception. Persuading Dodsley to act in concert with him he set up a paper called "the World," of which it was agreed that Moore should enjoy the full profits, whether the numbers were written by himself or by others. Always unwearied in any charitable project, Lyttelton continued his exertions till Lords Chesterfield,† and Bath, Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyns,

* Garrick is said to have contributed largely to this play.

† Lord Chesterfield sent his first paper anonymously, it was carelessly looked at and very nearly excluded on account of its

1751. and Cambridge were enlisted among the volunteer contributors. Moore himself wrote sixty-one papers which are not without originality of thought and playfulness of humour, while free from the coarseness and indecency to which the fashion of the day was friendly. The paper became the most popular periodical of the time. Its end was not a little singular. In the last number the conclusion of the work is made to depend on a fictitious accident which had caused the author's death. Moore while superintending a second edition of the papers collected into volumes, actually died* while the last number was in the press.

In 1745 Lyttelton received a letter from one of his old companions at Twickenham,† Algarotti. This person who enjoyed a considerable reputation during his life, was born at Venice in 1712 and being educated at Bologna under Eustachio Manfredi and Francesco Zanotti made rapid progress both in the abstract sciences and in classical studies. His industry was extraordinary and his abilities very good. At the age of twenty-one years he went to France and published "*Newtonianismo per le Dame*,"‡ a work much

length. Lyttelton happened to call at Dodsley's and the paper was shewn to him, he immediately knew both the style and the handwriting. Moore read the manuscript attentively and published it with a compliment to the author and an apology for the delay.—See Maty's Chesterfield, vol. i. p. 118.

* Feb. 28, 1757.

† See page 44.

‡ Taking for his motto "quæ legat ipsa Lycoris." Fontenelle had published Des Cartes in a similar manner.

esteemed for its clearness of method and perspicuity of style. Afterwards he went to London and became acquainted with Pope, Lyttelton and others, among whom was Lord Baltimore,* with whom he travelled to Petersburg, and afterwards published "*Lettere sulla Russia*," the favourite work of the author. Having devoted himself with the greatest enthusiasm to the study of the Fine Arts,† he was engaged by the Elector of Saxony to increase and arrange the magnificent collection of pictures at Dresden. Frederic the Great soon after his accession to the throne, wrote to him with his own hand, invited him to his court, and heaped upon him the titles of Count, Cavalier, and Chamberlain, but his delicate health, weakened by unceasing application, sank under the rigours of a northern climate. He retired to Pisa where he died in 1764, at the age of fifty-two.‡ 1751.

His letter to Lyttelton is as follows:—

"Sig^{r} e Am^{o}. mio Riveren^{ue}.

"In contrassegno della antica ntra amicizia, e di quella stima infinita che io ô delle tante sue virtù, prendo la libertà di mandarle la presente bagatella,

* See pages 183, 211.

† He wrote also "*Saggi*," and "*Lettere sopra la Pittura e sopra l'Architettura*," and some foolish productions published without his consent.

‡ He wrote his own epitaph "*Algarottus sed non omnis*," in imitation of Horace's, "*non omnis moriar*," &c. Frederick the Great caused a sumptuous monument to be erected to him in the Campo Santo of Pisa, with the inscription, "*Algarotti Ovidi æmulo, Newtoni discipulo, Fredericus Rex.*"

1751. che io n' crederò più tale, doue aliquid possa a lei parere: —

. . . . . tibi hæc sint qualiacunque,
Arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe,
Deterius nostrâ.*

" S'ella, docte sermones utriusque linguæ e che tanto onor fà al Paese pensante vorrà scrivermene il purgarito^me giudizio suo, non sò dirle quanto obbligo le ne avrò. Saprò allora in quale opinione io tener debba quest' Opera, e crederò me fortunati^mo, se crederò di avere alcun luogo nella mente sua, tesoro di tante cose belle; ella ama un poco chi la ama la stima ed onora infinit°, e mi creda quella colla più perfetta stima ô l'onor di dirmi j^rs mio stri Res °

" Venezia, il di ult^mo di Luglio, 1745.

" Suo Reve^mo obblig^mo servidore,

" E. Algarotti."

" S'ella volesse onorarmi di risposta
ad evitare gli errori della posta ella
potrà indirizar la lettera sua a M^r.
" M^r. le Comte Algarotti,
Conseiller intime des guerres
de S. M. le Roi de Pologne. Elect. de Saxe.
a Venise.

It is now time to mention the acquaintance of Lyttelton with Bower, for whom he procured the Librarianship* from Mr. Pelham. Archibald Bower, born in Scotland, in 1686 had been sent to the Scotch College at Douay; in 1706 he was admitted into the Jesuit's Order; in 1726 disgusted, as he himself alleged,

* Hor. Sat. l. c. Sat. x. v. 88. quibus hæc sint, &c.

with the enormities practised by the Inquisition, and in which he performed the office of Counsellor, he escaped from Macerata to England. Soon after his arrival there he professed to have become, chiefly from conversing with Bishop Berkeley, a convert from the Roman to the Anglican Church. His first acquaintance in England was Dr. Aspinwall, who also had formerly belonged to the order of Jesuits; by him he was introduced to George the First's physician, Dr. Goodmans, who recommended him to Lord Aylmer—that nobleman made him known to Lyttelton, who, to borrow the words of one of Bower's biographers, "became his warm, steady, and to the last, when deserted by almost every other person, his unalterable friend." Bower for some time subsisted by a salary from Lord Aylmer, with whom he read the classics, by writing a monthly review called the "*Historia Literata*," and by employment from the proprietors of the "Universal History."* In the interval between 1744 and 1749, he is said by his enemies to have returned to his Order. Certainly he did not belong to it in 1747: in which year he put forth proposals for his "History of the Popes," which he professed to have begun long ago at Rome, and during the prosecution of this task to have imbibed his first doubts as to the doctrine of the Papal supremacy. 1751.

In May 1748, he was appointed by Mr. Pelham, at Lyttelton's request, to the Librarianship vacant by the death of Mr. Say. In 1751 he published the

* In which he wrote the Roman History.

1751. first volume of the History of the Popes; and it appears from a letter written by Lyttelton to Doddridge in October 1751, that from the moment of its publication, the character of Bower had begun to be suspected and attacked. "You have brought on, (he writes) your distemper by too continual study and labour in your spiritual functions, and an entire remission of mind is absolutely necessary for your recovery. I therefore request of you not to write the preface to Bower's book; it will do more harm to you than good to him: the merit of his work will bear it up against all these attacks; and as to the ridiculous story of my having discarded him, the intimate friendship in which we continue to live will be a sufficient answer to that, and better than any testimony formally given."* In 1754 Lyttelton procured for him the appointment of Clerk to the Bucks warrants. He died at the age of eighty, in 1766, having published seven volumes of his History of the Popes, and with the general reputation of a detected impostor: this was chiefly owing to the learned Dr. Douglas,† into whose hands Bower's correspondence with the Jesuits fell, and who, moreover, discovered divers falsehoods in the story of

* Doddridge's Letters, p. 471, 8vo. ed. 1790.

† Born 1721, died 1807, was successively Canon of Windsor, Dean of Windsor, Dean of St. Paul's, Bishop of Carlisle (1789), and Bishop of Salisbury (1791). He was a person of considerable erudition, and corresponded with the greatest political and literary characters of his time, during the early part of his life he accompanied Lord Bath in his various visits to Tunbridge, Cheltenham, the Duke of Cleveland, and Lyttelton.

his conversion and in his History of the Popes. Such 1751.
at least was the general opinion of his contemporaries, with two singular exceptions, Dr. Johnson and Lyttelton; the former declared that when Bower faced his enemies, they retreated before him; and the latter protected him through life, and never ceased to be perfectly convinced of his innocence. It will be seen in another part of these memoirs, that by his intercession the wrath of Garrick, when it assumed a formidable shape against Bower, was warded off from its destined victim. It was in 1741 that the powers of this wonderful actor were first displayed in London, at the theatre in Goodman's Fields in the character of Richard the Third, and probably about this time, his acquaintance was cultivated by Lyttelton, which afterwards ripened into a friendship.

In August 1749, Lyttelton unhappily followed the advice of his departed friend Thomson, and married a second time. The lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Rich, Baronet. For a little while everything wore a pleasing aspect, but the new wife soon proved herself in every respect the reverse of Lucy, and her conduct at last made a separation inevitable. By her he had no children. But by his first wife three—Mary, who died an infant—Thomas, who was afterwards equally notorious for his talents and his profligacy, the constant source of his father's and his own misery—and Lucy, who married Lord Valentia. Lyttelton's brother, Charles, the rector of Alvechurch, had been made in 1747 chaplain to George the Second, and in 1748 Dean of Exeter—his brother William sat in Parliament for

1751. Bewdley—his brother Richard, who retained the Prince of Wales's favour, was made a knight of the Bath in 1753—his sister Anne had married his old tutor, Dr. Ayscough,* Clerk of the Closet to the Prince, and first preceptor to George the Third: this person was much indebted to Lyttelton, but nevertheless strove, not unsuccessfully, to widen and keep open the breach between him and the Prince.

In 1751 Lyttelton lost his father, who had suffered with great fortitude a most painful malady, and towards whom he had never failed in filial love and duty.

Soon after his second nuptials, Lyttelton received the following letter from one of the most remarkable of his contemporaries :—

"Bow Street, Aug. 29th, 1749.†

"Sir,

"Permit me to bring up the rear of your friends in paying my compliments of congratulation on your late happy nuptials. There may perhaps be seasons when the rear may be as honourable a post in friendship as in war; and if so, such certainly must be every time of joy and felicity. Your present situation must be full of bliss; and so will be, I am confident, your future life, from the same fountain. Nothing can equal the excellent character your lady

* In vol. 14, p. 51, of the Gentleman's Magazine, the event is announced thus—"Nov. 1745, Rev. Dr. Ayscough, to a daughter of Sir T. Lyttelton of Hagley, Worcestershire, with £6,000.

† Fielding was at this time paid magistrate for Middlesex.

bears among those of her own sex, and I never yet 1750.
knew them speak well of a woman who did not deserve their good words. How admirable is yr fortune in the matrimonial lottery! I will venture to say, there is no man alive who exults more in this, or in any other happiness that can attend you than myself, and you ought to believe me from the same reason, that fully persuades me of the satisfaction you receive from any happiness of mine; this reason is that you must be sensible how much of it I owe to your goodness; and there is a great pleasure in gratitude, tho' it is second I believe to that of benevolence, for of all the delights upon earth, none can equal the raptures which a good mind feels in conferring happiness on those whom we think worthy of it. This is the sweetest ingredient in power, and I solemnly protest I never wished for power more, than a few days ago, for the sake of a man whom I love, and that more perhaps from the esteem I know he bears you, than from any other reason. This man is in love with a young creature of the most apparent worth, who returns his affections. Nothing is wanting to make two very miserable people extremely blessed, but a moderate portion of the greatest of human evils, so philosophers call it, and so it is called by Divines, whose word is the rather to be taken, as they are, many of them more conversant with this evil than ever the philosophers were. The name of this man is Moore, to whom you kindly destined that laurel, which tho' it hath long been withered, may not probably soon drop from the brow of its present possessor; but there is

1750. another place of much the same value now vacant; it is that of Deputy Licensor to the stage. Be not offended at this hint; for tho' I will own it impudent enough in one who hath so many obligations of his own to you, to venture to recommend another man to your favour, yet impudence itself may possibly be a virtue when exerted on the behalf of a friend: at least, I am the less ashamed of it, as I have known men remarkable for the opposite modesty, possess it without the mixture of any other good quality. In this fault then you must indulge me—for should I ever see you as high in power, as I wish, and as it is perhaps more my interest than your own that you should be, I shall be guilty of the like as often as I find a man in whom I can, after much intimacy, discover no want, but that of the evil above mentioned. I beg you will do me the honour of making my compliments to your unknown Lady, and believe me to be with the highest esteem, respect, and gratitude,

"Sir, y^r^ most obliged,

"most obd^t^ humble Serv^t^,

"HENRY FIELDING.

"To the Hon^ble^ George Lyttelton, Esq."

Lyttelton's acquaintance with Fielding began at Eton. Genius in distress, from whatever causes incurred, and above all appearing in the garb of early friendship, never failed to touch the heart of this generous and noble-minded man: as surely as his heart was touched his purse was open, often indeed to those who abused his goodness, and greatly to the detriment

of the fortune though not of the name which he bequeathed to his posterity. It is not from this letter alone that we learn that he relieved the well known difficulties and distresses of its gifted writer; the fact is distinctly asserted by Fielding's friend, admirer and biographer, Murphy, and by himself in a work which he dedicated to Lyttelton, the most remarkable of all his works, the production of his maturest years, his greatest pains, his best faculties, "the History of Tom Jones." His dedication begins—"Sir, notwithstanding your constant refusal, when I have asked leave to prefix your name to this dedication, I must still insist on my right to desire your protection to this work. To you, Sir, it is owing that this history was ever begun. It was by your desire that I first thought of such a composition. So many years have since past, that you perhaps may have forgotten the circumstance, but your desires are to me in the nature of commands, and the impression of them is never to be erased from my memory. Again Sir, without your assistance this history had never been completed. Be not startled at the assertion. I do not draw on you the suspicion of being a romance writer. I mean no more than that I partly owe to you my existence during great part of the time while I have been employed in composing it: another matter which it may be necessary to remind you of, since there are certain actions of which you are apt to be extremely forgetful; but of them I hope I shall always have a better memory than yourself. Lastly, it is owing to you that the History appears what it now is. If there 1750.

1750. be in this work, as some have been pleased to say, a stronger picture of a truly benevolent mind than is to be found in any other, who that knows you, and a particular acquaintance of yours, will doubt whence that benevolence has been copied? The world will not, I believe, make me the compliment of thinking I took it from myself, I care not: this they shall own, that the two persons from whom I have taken it, that is to say, two of the best and worthiest men in the world, are strongly and zealously my friends." He proceeds to record also "the princely benefactions of the Duke of Bedford," and that he owed to Lyttelton his first introduction to such a benefactor. Towards the end of the dedication he says, "From the name of my patron, indeed, I hope my reader will be convinced at his very entrance on this work, that he will find in the whole course of it, nothing prejudicial to the cause of religion and virtue; *nothing inconsistent with the strictest rules of decency, nor which can offend the chastest eye in the perusal.* On the contrary, I declare, that to recommend goodness and innocence, hath been my sincere endeavour in this History. This honest purpose you have been pleased to think I have attained; and to say the truth it is likeliest to be attained in books of this kind; for an example is a kind of picture in which Virtue becomes as it were an object of sight, and strikes us with that idea of loveliness which Plato asserts there is in her naked charms. Besides displaying that beauty of virtue which may attract the admiration of mankind, I have attempted to engage a stronger motive to action in her favour, by

convincing men that their true interests direct them to a pursuit of her. For this purpose I have shewn that no acquisitions of guilt can compensate the loss of that solid, inward comfort of mind, which is the sure companion of innocence and virtue, nor can in the least balance the evil of that horror and anxiety which their own guilt introduces into their own bosoms. And, again, that as these acquisitions are in themselves generally worthless, so are the means to attain them, not only base and infamous, but at best uncertain, and always full of danger. Lastly, I have endeavoured strongly to inculcate that virtue and innocence can scarce ever be injured but by indiscretion, and that it is this alone which often betrays them into the snares which deceit and villainy spread for them. A moral which I have the more industriously laboured, as the teaching it is, of all others, the likeliest to be attended withsuccess: since I believe, it is much easier to make good men wise, than to make bad men good. For these purposes I have employed all the wit and humour of which I am master in the following history: wherein I have endeavoured to laugh mankind out of their favourite follies and vices." 1750.

It is impossible to read without astonishment the lines printed in italics. Few, if any, would now be found to deny that it has required all the extraordinary powers displayed in this work—its knowledge of human nature, its lively painting of characters, the skilful arrangement of its story, the happiness of its wit and its unrivalled humour, to prevent its entire condemnation on the ground of grossness of incident and indecency of expression.

1750. These are notoriously the causes why it is now often unread by men and scarcely ever read by women; though its merits have saved it from the oblivion to which unredeemed indecency has consigned Amelia.

That its tendency is less mischievous than almost every French and some English novels of the present day may be admitted: still, that such a work, with such a preface, should have been dedicated to such a patron, is no inconsiderable proof of the advance in refinement, and of the public homage paid to decency, of the age in which we live. Poor Fielding set out for Lisbon in 1754, with a shattered body and a distressed mind; he died there two months after his arrival, at the age of forty-eight, adding his own history to the sad catalogue of the sufferings of genius under uncontrolled passions and reckless habits.

The other great novelist of his day was Smollett. The ungovernable temper and excessive self-conceit of this successful novelist and wretched historian,* made him consider the refusal of every unseasonable demand a personal insult, and his revenge was of a coarse character. In Roderick Random, which was published in 1748, he reviled both Garrick and Lyttelton. The reason is given by Horace Walpole,† (a

* It was dedicated to Pitt. "11,000 copies (says Horace Walpole) of that trash, (Smollett's History of England), were instantly sold, while at the same time, the University of Oxford ventured to print but 2,000 of that inimitable work, Lord Clarendon's Life."—Mem. of G. II. vol. i. p. 420.

† Smollett was then (1760) in prison for writing a scurrilous libel in the Critical Review on Admiral Knollys.

witness always to be believed in *favour* of Lyttelton), 1750.
who says in his Memoirs of George the Second:—
"Smollett wrote a Tragedy and sent it to Lord (he was then Mr.) Lyttelton, with whom he was not acquainted, Lord Lyttelton not caring to point out its defects civilly advised him to try comedy. He wrote one and solicited the same Lord to recommend it to the stage. The latter excused himself, but promised if it should be acted, to do all the service in his power for the author. Smollett's return was drawing an abusive portrait of Lord Lyttelton in Roderick Random, a novel." In like manner for some imaginary affront he ridiculed Akenside, whose worth and genius no one ever questioned, as the Physician in Peregrine Pickle, which was published in 1751.

In still worse taste he wrote a very dull and unfeeling parody upon Lyttelton's Monody. It is fair, however, to add that in the second edition of Peregrine Pickle, the author "owns with contrition that in one or two instances he gave way too much to the suggestion of personal resentment, and represented characters as they appeared to him through the exaggerating medium of prejudice;" and in his sketch of the liberal arts at the close of his History of George the Second's reign, he makes what one of his biographers calls—"a public atonement for wrongs done to Dr. Akenside, Mr. Garrick and Lord Lyttelton by certain allusions in Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle."

Incessant drudgery combined with domestic affliction to undermine his health. Smollett, like Fielding,

1751. and like the biographer of them both, Sir Walter Scott,* sought in vain to recruit his constitution in a foreign clime. He set out for Italy in 1770, and died at Leghorn two months after his arrival there, in his fifty-first year.

* He was deeply impressed with the history of their misfortunes and deaths.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DODDRIDGE.

[Hagley MSS.—Chalmers' Biog. Dict. Life of Doddridge – Orton's Life of Doddridge, printed at Shrewsbury—Van Mildert's Life of Waterland, preface to his Works—Birch's Life of Tillotson, preface to his Works — Southey's Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 232—Book of the Church, chap. 13.—Calamy's Life and Times, especially last pages of last vol.—Charges of Secker when Bishop of Oxford, and Archbishop of Canterbury—Gladstone's Church Principles, &c. c. vii. — Mahon's History of England, Vol. 2, c. xix.—Arnold's Lectures on History, L. vii.—D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft.]

In the year 1738, soon after his appointment as Secretary to the Prince, Lyttelton received two letters from Dr. Doddridge, to which he returned the following answers:— 1738.

"Sir,—It would be the greatest pleasure to me to give any assistance or encouragement in my power to such a work as yours, and I should extremely commend your choice of a Patroness in the Princess, if it were not for one circumstance, viz. your being a dissenter; which makes me apprehensive that in the explanation of the Gospel it will be difficult for you to avoid interpreting some texts in a manner favourable to your own particular tenets, and by consequence,

1745. offensive to the Established Church. I am not therefore sure it would be proper for me to recommend it to Her Royal Highness's protection, without being assured there is nothing in it unfitt, upon any account, for Her to patronize, which I cannot be unless you are willing to submitt it to the perusal of some Divine of the Church of England, upon whose opinion of it I may safely rely.

"There is now in the house with me Dr. Ayscough, a gentleman of great learning, candour, and judgement, who is Clerk of the Closet to the Prince, and the properest person I know to do what I desire, if you approve of it. I dare say it will be a great pleasure to him; and if he finds the work such as I hope it is, free from objections, and of general service to the cause of Christianity, I dare answer for the Princess, from her known piety, that she will give it the most favourable reception. For my own part, nothing can be more agreeable to me, than to serve a person who employs his pen so well, so much to the good of mankind, and so conformably to the design and duty of his holy function. I am, Sir, with great esteem,

"Your must humble

"and obedient servant,

"G. Lyttelton.

"Pall-Mall, September 25th."

"Hagley, August ye 7th, 1745.

"Sir,—I am quite ashamed to have been so long without returning an answer to your last letter, butit

was because I desired to make you one that might be satisfactory. I have spoke often about it to Mr. Scroope, and never could get a positive answer; at last, I desired to talk with those Ministers to whom, as I understood, the Bounty is intrusted in London, and I was promised that they should come to me, but they have not, nor do I believe that they will. Upon the whole I am forced to conclude that the management of this charity is got into hands that do not care to part with the least share of it, and I suspect that it may be directed to uses which you are not so well qualified, nor inclined to advance, as some of your brethren, I mean election jobs and party interests. However, I will make another trial at my return to town, before I quite give it up. I had lately the pleasure to read part of the book you was so kind to send to Mrs. Lyttelton, and was charmed with the piety and benevolent spirit that appears in it; I am persuaded your writings will do great service to the Christian cause, and help to stem that torrent of impiety which is overflowing this wretched land, and bearing down before it all publick and private good: I like them the better because of their simplicity, which fitts them for the capacity of the common people, who are not to be gained by abstruse metaphysical reasonings. You speak a plain language to plain understandings, and at the same time you speak to the heart, without which, even the best instructions produce little effect, especially among the lower and grosser part of mankind. I hope you and your lady and family enjoy 1745.

1745. perfect health; mine, I thank God, are well, and I am myself much better this year than I was the last; indeed, in a very good state of health. When I say my family are well, I must except my poor father, who is a surprising instance how much constant and violent pain a strong body and mind are able to bear. No man ever yet carried the virtue of patience further than he, but though he endures them so well, his continual sufferings cast a great damp over the pleasures of Hagley, which would be else one of the sweetest retirements I know in the world. If any business should at any time call you to this part of England, I hope you would let us see you here, and shew you the park, which we are as proud of as Lord Cobham of Stowe, especially since the honour Mr. Tompson has done it in the new edition of his Seasons.

"Believe, dear Sir, that I shall always be fond of any occasion to shew you how sincerely I am,

"Your most faithfull

"Humble servant,

"G. Lyttleton."

The book alluded to in the first letter was Doddridge's "Family Expositor" of the Gospel. Philip Doddridge,* to whom this letter was written, was born

* He was the son of the Non-conformist Rector of Shepperton, in Middlesex, and collaterally related to Judge Doddridge, the reputed author of two legal classics, and one of the judges who refused bail to the five persons imprisoned for resisting the loan demanded by Charles the First.

in 1702; he was carefully and classically* educated, 1747.
and united an active and earnest piety with considerable talent both for preaching and writing. No man, with the exception, perhaps, of Watts, was equally esteemed by the Dissenters during the course of the last century. In 1729, he opened an academy at Northampton, which obtained a great reputation at the time, and over which he presided for twenty years, in fact, almost till his death (1750). It is said that he numbered several members of the Church among his pupils.

This letter appears to have been his first communication with Lyttelton. A great intimacy, of which, perhaps, West was the original channel, afterwards sprung up between them, and as it appears, from the correspondence before me, to have exercised great influence upon the life of the subject of these memoirs, I could not have duly fulfilled my task without printing a selection from it. These letters are not, I think, uninteresting on another ground, as illustrative of the religious state of the country at this period. Lyttelton avowed himself, it will be seen, in the course of this correspondence, to be a sincere and steadfast member of the Church of England, and till one of her ministers had vouched for its orthodoxy, refused

* Dr. Johnson passed a great panegyric on Doddridge's epigram on his family motto, "dum vivimus vivamus."

"Live while you live," the epicure would say,
"And seize the pleasures of the present day."
"Live while you live," the sacred preacher cries,
"And give to God each moment as it flies."
Lord! in my views, let both united be,
I live in pleasure when I live to thee."

1745. to present Doddridge's book to the Princess. It is not, I think, a question of barren curiosity, but fruitful in matter for meditation, how it came to pass that a highly educated person, of his thoughtful character, with his opinions, with his position in society, and his habits of life, chose a Dissenting minister for the repository of his religious feelings, and his adviser in religious practice. The true solution of this question is to be found in the state of the Church at this time.

But this cannot be well, if at all understood, without a glance, however hasty, to a much later period. Let me for a moment—a longer time the limits of this work forbid—direct attention to the causes of the feeble drowsiness of the Church when Doddridge's active piety excited the respect and love of Lyttelton.

The Reformation was achieved by good and bad men, from the best as well as the worst motives. Pious hands sought only to remove the gaudy decorations which overlaid the chaste beauties of the original temple. Unhallowed hands sought the total destruction of the edifice, and the plunder of its contents. Rapine was the object of the latter—Reformation of the former. It is well and truly said by Mr. Southey, "by one of these unnatural leagues in which men with the purest intentions sometimes find themselves involved, the most religious members of the Church, and the veriest worldlings of the State went hand in hand; the former acquiescing in the evil which they could not prevent, for the sake of bringing about the good at which they aimed; the latter promoting that good, because they made it subservient to their own selfish

and rapacious ends." The result bore, and still bears the traces of both agencies. 1745.

An impoverished clergy, and an uneducated people, marked the era immediately adjoining to the Reformation,* and the state of things which followed was for some time unsettled. Political principles mingled with religious feelings—the latter were too often punished, and not guided as their sincerity deserved, and both acted and reacted on each other. So was generated the sad fanaticism of the Puritans, which Hooker clearly foresaw, and against which he lifted up his vain but earnest prayer;† a fanaticism to be succeeded by a

* The sermons of Ridley and Latimer complain, with all the force of honest and homely energy, that God was dishonoured in his ministry, his Church disserved, and his religion disgraced. The Reformed Churches of Germany and France, making their hatred of the Roman Church the measure of their progress in true religion, threw off the Episcopal order, and a great part of the discipline and doctrines of the Primitive and Catholic Church; while for the same reason in Poland Arians cast off their belief in the Holy Trinity, "imagining," says the wise and eloquent Hooker, "the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief."

† "There hath arisen a sect in England, which, following still the very self-same rule of policy, (i. e. blind and equal abhorrence of everything done, said, used, and believed by the Church of Rome), seeketh to reform even the French Reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of Popery. These have not taken as yet such root that they are able to establish anything. But if they had, what would spring out of their stock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of such policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to see may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatsoever evil our swervings on the one hand or the other may threaten to the state of the Church."—Ecclesiastical Polity, b. iv. c. 8.

1745. yet worse calamity, the libertinism and infidelity of the Restoration. Great, indeed, were the English Divines of this corrupt period, pure in life, sound in doctrine, keen in wit, robust in thought, mighty in argument, rich in eloquence. But the tide of vice and scepticism was too strong even for such a barrier. At this epoch too, when between six and seven thousand Episcopal clergy were restored to their benefices, two thousand non-conformists were ejected. From these events arose a two-fold evil—distracting doubts in the minds of the people, and the nucleus of an organised dissent from the National Church;—both these evils were for the time at least increased by the Revolution of 1688. The Church was then still further weakened by the secession of some of the most eminent and pious of her ministers, who became *Non Jurors.* What a loss (to take one out of many instances), did she sustain in the excellent Bishop Ken, who with his brethren, was sent to the Tower for withstanding James, and was deprived of his See for refusing to acknowledge William.* Libertinism was perhaps less gross and open, but "a decent and decorous Epicureism"† became prevalent at this time in England,

* "Bishop Ken never concurred in opinion with those Nonjurors who wished to continue a separation from the established Church, by consecrations among themselves. In his Will were these words: "As for my religion I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."

† Coleridge's expression: Appendix E to Statesman's Manual.

as well as the rest of Europe. Thus the movement of the times, from the accession of William and Mary to the date at which these memoirs have now arrived, became essentially political and not religious—and, according to the policy of those in power under William* and the two first Georges, not perhaps quite so much under Anne, ecclesiastical patronage was considered either exclusively as an instrument for preserving the new dynasty upon the throne, or at least primarily in its bearing upon the ministerial measures of the day, and only secondarily, if at all, in its bearing upon the religious instruction of the people. By the blessing of God indeed, many so promoted were not unmindful of their awful responsibility. I speak only of the spirit which animated the disposers of high places in the Church. For instance, Walpole never forgave Bishop Gibson his vote against the ministerial measure of the Quaker's Tythe Bill, and for this reason alone refused to promote him to the See of Canterbury. 1747.

* See a very curious letter of Tillotson (then Dean of St. Paul's), to Lady Russell, April 19, 1689. "I will now give your Ladyship a short account of his Majesty's disposal of our English Church preferments, which I think he hath done as well as could be expected in the midst of the powerful importunities of so many great men, in whom I discern too much of court and contrivance in the preferment of their friends; yea, even in my good Lord of Nottingham more than I could wish: this is a melancholy consideration to one in my station, in which I do not see how it is possible, so to manage a man's self, between civility and sincerity, between being willing to give good words to all, and able to do good to very few, as to hold out an honest man, or even the reputation of being so a year to an end."—Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. cxlvii.

1747. When the learned and laborious Waterland, having been recommended to ministerial patronage as a supporter of the House of Brunswick, was appointed Chaplain to George the First, I find these memorable and prophetic words in the Thanksgiving Sermon which he preached at Cambridge in 1716.* "As divisions increase, christian charity will decrease daily, till it becomes an empty name or an idea only. Discipline will of course slacken and hang loose, and the consequence must be a general dissoluteness and corruption of manners. Nor will the enemy be wanting to sow tares, to corrupt our faith, as well as practice, and to introduce a general latitude of opinion. Arianism, Deism, Atheism, will insensibly steal upon us, while our heads and hearts are after politics and party." The five calamities here predicted: namely, 1. the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline: 2. the revival of divers heresies: 3. the low tone of doctrinal preaching: 4. avowed infidelity: and, 5. general corruption of manners; rose to a fearful height between the period when this sermon was delivered and the year 1745, the date of Lyttelton's correspondence with Doddridge.

1. The revival of divers heresies has been partially noticed in the chapter containing the Warburton Correspondence, it will be obvious to those who remember that on one occasion the Royal† authority interposed,

* Vol. 8. p. 406, Waterland's Works.

† See George the First's directions for preserving the Unity of the Church.

"I. That no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity,

forbidding any person from introducing novel opinions respecting the Holy Trinity, and who cast their eyes over the catalogue and dates of Bishop* Bull's writings ending in 1703, and over those of Dr. Waterland's, beginning in 1719 and ending in 1738. At the same time, to increase the dissensions in the Church, many of the most vehement impugners of Tritheism, Socinianism, and Sabellianism, however they disagreed among themselves, joined in endeavouring to prove that those who had subscribed our articles in an *Anti-Calvinistic*, were no less chargeable with prevarication, than those who had subscribed them in an *Anti-Trinitarian* sense. The relaxation† of Church discipline 1747.

than that is contained in the holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the three creeds, and the 39 Articles of Religion."

"II. That in the explication of this doctrine, they carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themselves to such ways of expression as have been commonly used in the Church."—Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. 2, p. 336.

* In 1691-5, a Socinian, named Riddle, collected the tracts written by Churchmen against each other, on the mysterious doctrine of the holy Trinity; they amounted to three small quarto volumes.

Sherlock (the Dean, father of the Bishop), had been charged with Tritheism, and South with Sabellianism. It was the policy of the Socinians to charge Trinitarians with these two forms of heterodoxy.

† "And whereas there are defects and abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts and Jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removal of scandalous ministers, and for the *removing of manners either in ministers or people, &c.*"—Royal Commission of William and Mary to 10 Bishops and 20 Divines, 13th Sept. 1689.

"I am perfectly sensible that both immorality and religion are

1747. over both laity and clergy, was deplored by all the heads of the Church in 1690, and it is the subject of frequent lamentation in Archbishop Secker's charges, which extend from 1738 to 1766. What author in the present age, who thought probability necessary to a work of fiction, would venture to describe such clergymen as are to be found in the novels of Fielding and Smollett? What Bishop's Charge would now contain advice to his clergy "to think the imputation of being *mighty to drink wine*, almost as infamous as that of being overcome by it?"* Were Hogarth now alive, would he find any Churchill to feed the severe satire of his pencil?

3. The low tone of doctrinal preaching.—It has been made a subject of censure that the clergy generally, as well as the principal Divines of the middle and earlier part of this century, had in a great degree departed from doctrinal and evangelical preaching, substituting for them jejune dissertations upon general morality, which might have been preached as well to a heathen as to a Christian audience. The charge has been undoubtedly made, as any one acquainted with the Ecclesiastical

grown almost beyond the reach of Ecclesiastical power, which, having in former times been very unwarrantably extended, hath since been very unjustly and imprudently cramped, and weakened many ways. I am sensible also that sometimes churchwardens, nay *even Ministers, are so dependent on persons* who deserve to be presented, that they cannot present them without danger of ruining themselves:" &c.—Bishop Secker in his Charge of 1753. The readers of Tom Jones will be reminded of several dialogues between the 'Squire and Parson.

* Charge of 1738, p. 32.

literature of the day must be aware, in far too sweeping 1747
language,—but there was certainly a strong foundation for such censure, and the "want of vital warmth in Religion," is one of the topics on which Archbishop Secker admonishes his clergy, while he admits that such deficiency has been greatly exaggerated.

4. The open and fashionable avowal of infidelity is too plainly deducible, not only from the sermons of the time, and especially the Preface to Butler's Analogy, but also from works like Addison's Drummer, Berkeley's Minute Philosopher, Lyttelton's Persian Letters, and other writings, where wit and sarcasm were not unsuccessfully enlisted on the side of Christianity. In one of these letters to Doddridge, Lyttelton says, his treatise on the Conversion of St. Paul may be of use in a time "*when all men of rank are thought to be infidels.*"

5. But above all, the existence of a general corruption of manners receives, unhappily, abundant proof from the literature of the day—if less indecency was exhibited on the stage, never had a coldblooded profligacy been reduced into a system for young gentlemen, before the publication of Chesterfield's Letters to his Son. "Men," says Bishop Secker, in 1738, "have always complained of their own times: and always with too much reason. But though it is natural to think those evils the greatest, which we feel ourselves; and therefore mistakes are easily made, in comparing one age with another: yet in this we cannot be mistaken, that an open and professed disregard to religion is become, through a variety of unhappy causes, the

1747. distinguishing character of the present age; that this evil has gone to a great height in the metropolis of the nation; is daily spreading through every part of it; and, bad in itself as any can be, must of necessity bring in most others after it. Indeed it hath already brought in such dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the higher part of the world, and such profligate intemperance, and fearlessness of committing crimes, in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal. And God knows, far from stopping, it receives, through the ill designs of some persons, and the inconsiderateness of others, a continual increase. Christianity is now ridiculed and railed at, with very little reserve; and the teachers of it without any at all;" and in 1741 he speaks of "that preposterous shame of religious performances with which the present age is so fatally tainted," a remarkable expression, confirmatory of the tradition that at this time, those young men who went to church, always sought to do by stealth so unfashionable an act. To this evidence of the general irreligion of the age may be added the testimony of the Dissenters. Calamy writes in his journal of the year 1730, that "there was a real decay of religion both in the Church and out of it." Another great proof of this fact is furnished by a passage in his remarkable diary preceding the one just cited. "This year there was a great deal of discoursing and writing about the decay of the dissenting interest, and the cause of it." What could have been the cause of it? not a sense of the guilt of schism,

for one may search almost* in vain for traces of such a feeling at this period—not any contrast to dissent afforded by the self-denying love and active piety of the Ministers of the Church, for we have seen, (though there were always, God be thanked! shining exceptions,) that there were too many whose secularity and drowsiness caused, however unjustly, the whole order to be in "a station of reproach and contempt from a great number of men"†—not disfavour shewn by the Court to Dissenters, for on the contrary, the Regium Donum had been given to Irish Dissenters, and, it appears both from Calamy's journal, and from Lyttelton's second letter to Doddridge, that some portion of the private bounty of the Crown had been bestowed on the English Non-conformists—certainly Lyttelton's old master,‡ Prince Frederic, had received deputations from three denominations of dissent in the most gracious manner. The cause then—look to what quarter we may—to the Church, to dissent, or to literature—was a general decay of religion. In this state of things, 1747.

* See vol. i. p. 9, of that most valuable contribution to history, philosophy, and literature, Burke's correspondence, but in fairness, the reader's attention should be also directed to vol. ii. p. 17.

† Charges, p. 222, and again in his Instructions to Candidates for Orders, 'You must but see in what a profuse and corrupt age the stewardship is committed to you; how grievously religion and its ministers are belied and despised; how lamentably both this and its professors are degenerated and divided."

‡ They hoped, in their address, that he would be "a refuge to the distressed, a patron of all reformed Churches, a lasting blessing to the kingdom, and as universally beloved as Prince Henry."—Calamy, vol. ii. p. 257.

1747. when the higher classes were tainted with infidelity as well as immorality, when the peasants were grossly ignorant, the town populace addicted to excessive drinking, the highways* infested with robbers, and the discipline of the prisons into which they were thrown when taken, tending to corrupt the novice, and confirm the veteran in crime—while, at the same time, the punishment of death was multiplied with a frightful levity for trifling offences, and inflicted upon a people whom the State thought it no part of its duty to educate, and while the Church † was dormant and secularized—in this condition of things arose Wesley: his earnest piety shrank with horror from the levity and irreligion which surrounded him; while his ardent and restless spirit prompted him to attempt the remedy of so frightful an evil. The success which followed his individual exertions to check the career of profligacy increased the natural enthusiasm of his character; he did not stop to consider whether his noble end might not be more effectually and more permanently obtained by rousing the Church to a sense of her high calling, and the exertion of her high privileges; the grace of God visibly, it appeared to him, attended his individual efforts; and he seemed to possess a miraculous power for the cure of mind and body. Thus it was, that accomplishing much good, he, and still more Whitfield and his followers, were led into the promulgation of

* See Fielding's tract on the increase of highway robberies.

† "Wake the dull church."—Pope.

"The church was drowsy and tolerant."—Macaulay.

fearfully extravagant doctrines, and into acts that bor- 1747.
dered on fanaticism. Meanwhile the Clergy turned a deaf ear to the advice of their wise and faithful prelate,* to avoid ridicule, rudeness, and reviling,† to shun the appearance of discountenancing *seriousness* of life, "to imitate and emulate what was good in them, avoiding what was bad; to attend their cures, and edify their parishioners into awakening with scriptural and rational discourses"—"to honour those who were truly devout and virtuous among them, much more on that account than to blame them for being injudicious and hard to please; to be full as ready to acknowledge the good they had done as to complain of the harm; yet to be sure and counsel them to beware of being drawn by esteem of their piety into relishing their singularities, or patronising their schism."

The Church, generally speaking, was deaf to this voice of true piety and wisdom, and it has been well said, "cast out from her bosom men whose worst fault was their indiscretion, and were unquestionably, in intention, faithful to her, as well as eminently zealous

* Similar had been the advice of Archbishop Sancroft as to the treatment of Non-conformists, in his Articles to the Bishops, 16th July, 1668. See Extract in Birch's Life of Tillotson.—Charges, p. 214-5, 257 and 259.

† Wesley and his friends were jeered at, and nicknamed "Sacramentarians," because, at College, they always partook of the Holy Communion when it was administered. Archbishop Secker reminds his Clergy that in the three first centuries the Eucharist was everywhere celebrated weekly.

1747. in the service of her God." * A grievous schism was the consequence of these faults on both sides, a schism, of which Wesley, if alive now,—instructed in the nature of Church privileges, seeing the sure tendency of Church principles to effect, systematically and continuously the good, while they avoid the evil, of sectarian schemes—seeing too "the sin which he would never tolerate" † weekly committed in his chapels,—would be the first to denounce the errors and to deplore the guilt. But half instructed in these privileges, but half seeing this tendency, Lyttelton looked upon

* Gladstone's "Church Principles in their Results," p. 465, chap. vii.

† In the speech of Mr. Macaulay on the Dissenters Chapels' Bill, I find these words:—"But then there are the Wesleyan Methodists, who are so very eager in their opposition to this measure—is there nothing, Sir, in *their* history to make them a little uneasy? I think I could point out some matters very well calculated to afford grounds for recrimination. What were the doctrines of that great and good man, who was their founder, upon the subject of lay administration of the sacraments? What was the answer which he made to his congregation with respect to lay administration? He said 'it is a sin which I can never tolerate.' Those were his own words. With his consent it was never done. It was never done, I believe, in his lifetime; but soon after his death the feeling in favour of it grew strong and general. They applied to the Conference, and at last permission was granted, every building, therefore, every chapel and every plot of ground which belonged to the Wesleyan body in the time of John Wesley, is at this moment every Sacrament Sunday, applied or misapplied to the performance of rites which John Wesley, the founder of the sect, pronounced to be a sin and a heresy."—House of Commons, June 6th, 1844.

Doddridge simply in the light of a fellow-labourer in the same cause with himself. Both had published religious treatises, which had produced a great effect at a time when Bishop Secker lamented the cold morality of the sermons, and the paucity of learned writings emanating from the Clergy, and though Lyttelton occasionally remonstrates against the state of schism in which Doddridge was living, it is but feebly, and principally from a wish to advance the temporal interests of his friend. 1747.

FROM DODDRIDGE TO LYTTELTON.

"Northampton, June 10th, 1747.

"Sir,—I had the happiness yesterday to meet with a pamphlet on the conversion of St. Paul, which Sir Francis Cave (whom I happened to meet at Dr. Bishop's) told me was written by you. On that information I could not wait till I might get it from London, but immediately borrowed it, and though I was besieged with business, and had my house full of company, I could not apply to anything else till I had given it an attentive perusal. As it is so judicious and masterly a performance, I think it extremely probable it may indeed be yours, and I greatly rejoice in the apprehension that it is so. My heart would have congratulated a gentleman for whom I have so unfeigned an esteem and affection on a piece so admirably well written, whatever had been the subject, much more must I do it on a production which demonstrates a mind so well acquainted with Christianity, and a heart so deeply impressed with it; which

1747. (as I esteem it the greatest happiness a man can possess in this world) will certainly be attended with honours and rewards in a better, to the glories and felicities of which, the applause of senates, and favour of princes (so justly bestowed) can bear no proportion.

"Though there are few subjects with which I am more fully acquainted, I freely confess many of the thoughts contained in this discourse are intirely new to me, and many which were most familiar received a new beauty and force from your elegant and lively manner of proposing them. I am sorry, Sir, that my work on the Acts (which has waited almost a twelve month for an index) cannot be enriched with your charming illustration of St. Paul's address at Athens, but if ever I publish another edition, I shall take the liberty with Mr. Lyttelton as I have done to Mr. West, in an Appendix, which I have inserted in this third volume of my Exposition in relation to that excellent work of his, with which the world has lately been blessed; which, as soon as it came out, I perused again and again, and for which, having so fair an opportunity, I beg leave under your cover to transmit a few lines of acknowledgment to the valuable author. On mentioning that gentleman's much esteemed name, I cannot forbear adding to you, dear Sir, that I have lately heard it reported he is going into orders. The resolution, if he has indeed taken it, is what every one ought to impute to the noblest and most generous principles. Yet the world is so suspicious and censorious in such cases, that I must freely own I was troubled at the report, lest it should derogate something from the

weight which his admirable Treatise might otherwise 1747.
have, when considered as coming from one who cannot possibly have any secular motives to byass him in defending Christianity, a consideration of which he has thought fit to avail himself in his Preface; on which account, unless the resolution should have been formed very lately, I can hardly believe the report, and therefore should be extremely glad of your immediate authority to discredit it. I must not conclude the trouble I am now giving you without telling you, that, in December last, I had the pleasure to pass by Hagley. Tho' almost covered with dirt, and extremely straitened for time, I felt an impulse to call on good Sir Thomas, which it was with some difficulty that I overcame. I, however, sent my compliments by my servant, and heard, with great pleasure, that Sir Thomas was as well as usual, and that you, Sir, and your lady, were in good health. A day or two before, Sir Thomas had the goodness to renew that kind invitation to Hagley, with which you, Sir, had formerly honoured me, and which I long for an opportunity of accepting. A publick engagement for July in the eastern parts of England, after fulfilling which, I am to end the vacation in London, forbids that agreeable hope this summer. In the meantime, it will give me a sensible pleasure to hear that you, Sir, and your good lady and family (I hope, by this time, happily increased) are well, as I bless God, dear Mrs. Doddridge, you will pardon my calling her so, is, and I am as well as I can be while the small-pox rages so fatally around us, and I see a wife who has been

1747. growing more amiable to me for these sixteen years exposed to the danger of it. To calm the mind under these tender anxieties is one of the peculiar glories of that religion which you so happily defend and adorn. That you may long continue to do both, and may see the extensive effects of those pious endeavours, is the wish, the hope, and the prayer of,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obliged,

"and obedient humble servant,

"P. DODDRIDGE.

"I beg the favour of you to make my best compliments to Dr. Ayscough when you see him."

FROM DODDRIDGE TO LYTTELTON.

"Northampton, June 14th, 1747.

"Alas, Dear Sir, how unhappy was I not to have heard sooner of that terrible misfortune of yours, which made a part of my last letter so very unsuitable. Why have I, by these ill-timed expressions of respect, which I share with multitudes who never saw the object of it, renewed those sorrows, which, had I known them, I should rather have rejoiced in an opportunity of soothing. But your own wisdom and piety raises you above the need of such an attempt from me; perhaps, however, few can more sincerely take their part in your distress, for, tho' blessed be God, that excellent woman, Mrs. Doddridge continues well, few have paid a severer tribute for having had a great number of valuable friends, which has left such a peculiar sensibility of my heart in this respect, that

it feels very tenderly even for the death of worthy per- 1747.
sons in low ranks of life, and with whom I have had but little intercourse; of which I have had many affecting instances, in consequence of the prevalency of that fatal distemper which I mentioned in my last, which took off, but the other day, one fine youth who had just taken a house near us, another that was just going to be married, and the cheerful, industrious mother of seven poor small children, torn from the arms of an honest day-labourer, who was one of the best of husbands and of fathers. All these things do pain and burden me from day to day, and I carry them in my heart almost every hour. What, then, might I feel, when but yesterday, when in a circle of very polite and agreeable friends, the sad tidings from your family, which reading the news so seldom and in so cursory a manner I had before missed, reached me, in a circumstance peculiarly affecting. For, indeed, I may say I was informed of it by yourself, as those charming verses in which you have so beautifully drawn that lovely picture were then first given me, and I was reading them to the company delighted in the thought of your happiness and of hers, and pleasing myself in the hope that possibly I might see you both together, when that sad word *was** struck me on a sudden in the midst of my flight with a consternation not to be expressed. The company, by the *visible*

* "Not only good and kind
But strong and elevated *was* her mind."

Doddridge must have begun to read at the XIth stanza of the Monody.

1747. alteration in my countenance, thought I must have been intimately acquainted with Mrs. Lyttelton, tho' they knew not how to reconcile that with my having been so long ignorant of her death, and even ready to make an apology for having shocked me on a sudden with such sad tidings; and, indeed, I have ever since been able to think or speak of but little else. Had I known it, be assured, good Sir, that my condolences, such as they are, should not have been so late, but to you it is not yet late, it is almost as if you had lost her yesterday, nor can I suffer these condolences to be unmixed with congratulations. Yes, Sir, I now give you joy of your Christianity, not merely known, and sagaciously and eloquently defended, but cordially embraced and obeyed as the discipline of the heart. *That* can assuage, and at length heal the wound, deep as it is, so that, as Seneca somewhere expresses it, when speaking of the death of friends eminent for their virtue, this grief, which, like some kind of excellent fruit when first gathered, has a mixture of bitterness and acidity which mellows into a delicious sweetness, such as that which I feel at this moment in the recollection of dear Colonel Gardiner. The heart, on such great occasions, when sorrow has had its time to pay its just and decent tribute, rises into a calm, yet triumphant kind of joy, on the thought that so much excellence has existed, that we have intimately known it, that it still exists in a state not only of entire security (which is no small thing) but of much higher perfection; shining, as it was fit what was in its original so celestial should shine, and that we ourselves

are going apace, to hail it in all its lustre, and if that be not too proud a word, to bring it what shall increase its transports. In the mean time the bond of souls continues, and adds a kind of dignity to the mind of the Saviour in these low scenes of mortality, which is one of the surest and noblest supports of virtue, in which view we sometimes owe as much to the death of our friends as we have done to their lives. 1747.

"I shall wrong Mrs. Doddridge, if I do not add that she sends you her best compliments of condolence on this sad occasion; she is truly sensible of the greatness of your loss, and that of the dear children and the family, for whom we really join our best wishes, and of whose health and happiness with yours, we shall always rejoice to hear. May both their excellent parents long live in each of them."

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"London, June y^e^ 15th, 1747.

"Sir,

"Your approbation of my little Treatise upon the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul, gives me great satisfaction, as there is no man in England whose judgment upon a work of this nature I more esteem. Your Book on the Acts I long to see, and if you publish another edition of it (which I dare say the world will require of you) I shall think myself honoured in the notice you say you will take of it then, which will be a recommendation of it to many to whom it would otherwise remain unknown. I am surprised that you find anything in it which can be new to you, who have

1747. thought so much and so well on these subjects; my only hope in publishing it was, that it might bring some people to think a little more deeply and candidly than they are apt to do upon a matter of so great importance, by the conciseness of the argument, and by being writt in a stile, perhaps, more genteel than books of controversy usually are; but especially from its being known to come from a layman and one of some rank in the world. I am sorry to say that these two last particulars should signify anything in such a point, but it is certain they do, too many imputing a motive of interest to the writings of the clergy in defence of Religion, and taking opinions upon authority rather than reason. The authority of those who set the fashion in these present times has been too generally gone against Christianity, and I think it the duty of every christian, as far as his own abilities go, to endeavour to stem that torrent by which weak minds are carried away, and profess himself openly not to be ashamed of his Redeemer. I am far from supposing that my declaring myself a believer in Christ will be of force to alter the mode of infidelity, or ballance the credit of its admired partisans, but every man of any figure in life, that appears on this side of the question is so far of use, that he shews all in that rank are not Infidels, as some would gladly suppose them to be, and may excite others of higher authority to take the same part with greater effect. It is of some consequence even to shew that one is not afraid of that ridicule which deterrs many from owning their Faith, though they are fully convinced of the truth of it.

These were my motives to write and publish the little work you are pleas'd to commend, and if it shall please God to assist it with so much of his grace as to make it a means of bringing one man to faith in Christ Jesus, of confirming any who doubt, or establishing any who believe, it will be as great a joy to me as my mind can receive. The report you have heard of Mr. West's designing to go into Orders is entirely given up; were there no other reason to hinder it but that you mention, I am sure he would not, but it has never been in his thoughts. He is now somewhere in Northamptonshire with his mother, upon the death of Sir John Langham; I will get his direction and send your letter to him there. I am sure my father would have been very glad to have seen you when you past by Hagley in December last. Alass, Sir, soon after that time I lost that dear Wife of whose health you enquire. She is dead Sir, she is dead, and has hardly left her equal upon the earth for every excellence that could adorn a woman, I might say that could adorn human nature. My tears will hardly allow me to write any more, but I must tell you, that she died in childbed, of a fever, after having brought me another girl. What I suffered during her illness and at her death, no words can express, your own feeling heart will represent it to you; how I have been able to bear up against it, and to recover usual strength both of body and mind, after so dreadfull a blow, religion alone can instruct you, that religion which satisfies me she is gone to more happiness, infi- 1747.

1747. nitely more, than even the fondest wish of my love, could have given her here, if my power to make her happy could have equalled my will. This, Sir, is my comfort. This and the hope, that unworthy as I am, I may by the mercy of God, and merits of my Redeemer, be united to her again in a better state, and a more perfect love, which nothing can ever render unhappy, or expose to those pangs that have torn my heart, in this our mortal separation. I am but too sensible that I was most undeserving of so great a blessing as she was to me here, and dare not repine against that Justice which has taken it from me. I only implore the Divine goodness which has been pleased to support me under so great an affliction to sanctify it to me, and accept my resignation as the best atonement in my power to make for the many offences that have drawn down this chastisement upon me, and merited greater, if God was to deal with me according to my own merits, not those of his Son. Adieu, dear Sir, my heart is too full to let me write more, though at the same time I could wish to write volumes to you about my dear wife, that blessed angel, who was almost one here, and of whom I could tell you such things as would make you honour her memory more than I persuade myself, than any woman's you ever have known, but I restrain myself, and indeed my tears quite blind my eyes; let me only conclude with a prayer that you and your lady may long possess all that happiness which I have lost, and have the reward of your virtues here, as well as hereafter, in an unin-

terrupted and lasting enjoyment of your mutual love. 1747.
I am, with the truest esteem and regard, Sir,

"Your most obliged,

"Humble Servant,

"G. LYTTELTON."

"I was just making this letter up to send to you yesterday, when I received another from you. As I was not able to answer it then, having some business upon my hands, which I could not delay, I kept it till now, that I might thank you for the kind and powerful comforts which you suggest to my grief. Indeed, Sir, the friendship alone of so good a man, is of itself a great consolation, and would be of the greatest advantage to me, if I could enjoy the satisfaction of a nearer conversation with you, whose tender heart has, even at a distance, such a sympathy with mine in its affliction; and in whose piety I shall find an assistance to every virtuous effort my mind can make towards complete resignation, and acquiescence under the loss I have sustained. You say most truly, that loss is to me as if it had happened but yesterday, with regard to the sense I have of its greatness, though I thank God the bitterness of it is somewhat abated, or rather my heart is strengthened to bear it, without those agonies that the first shock threw it into, and which time only could soften. I am, however, far as yet, from that *delicious sweetness* in the idea of my lost love, which Seneca speaks of, and which you tell me you feel in the thought of Col. Gardiner, when I endeavour to think of her in heaven and give up my mind to that pleasing thought it gives, it goes no

1747. farther, than just to silence and check my grief; for in spite of myself, my thoughts return to her sick bed, to her last tender terms, to her dying looks, words, and actions; and then all my fortitude dissolves in tears; all the joy I ought to have in her happiness, turns to anguish, for that I have lost in losing her; and I am forced to do violence to my mind, and turn it to some other subject, instead of dwelling with complacency upon the idea of my dear saint exalted now to her proper state, and made perfect. But time, perhaps, may enable me to do better hereafter, especially if I can improve in virtue and piety, the want of which I am sensible is the chief cause that keeps down my mind from rising, as yours does, to those noble and divine consolations. I beg you, dear Sir, to make my best compliments to Mrs. Dodderidge, and thanks for the part she is so kind to take in my sorrow. Such hearts only as hers and yours, can be so sensible to the afflictions of those they so little know. I enter most cordially into the anxieties you must feel on her account from the alarm the small-pox has given you; and allow me to mention, on that occasion, that besides the instances given in the Bishop of Cloyne's,* and Prior's Book, I have heard some myself I can entirely depend upon, of the great efficacy of tar water, both as a preventative, and as a medicine, against that distemper. Let me, therefore, recommend the drinking of it to Mrs. Dodderidge, while the small-pox remains in the neighbourhood, if she has not particular reasons to be afraid of the use of it, from having found it disagree.

* Bishop Berkeley.

My children, I thank God, are all well. I propose inoculating my son next year. Mr. West, I am informed, is returning to town, so I will keep your letter till I see him here. Adieu, dear Sir ; I have no words to tell you how much your friendly condolence affects me." 1747.

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"Hagley, Aug. 29th, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received the letter you favoured me with in town, and have now a second to thank you for, which I received at my return hither from Derbyshire, where I have made a tour. It is with great pleasure I hear of Mrs. Dodderidge's continuing well, with all her little family. May the good God, who has formed your heart, and hers, for the highest relish of domestic virtue and happiness, keep from you all those accidents that might disturb your enjoyment of it. I suffered greatly, as I expected I should do, in the first sight of Ebrington, the place where my dear wife lived almost all her virgin years, and where every thing recalled her to my mind ; but most of all, her sweet little girl, who, in beauty, understanding, temper, manners, and a thousand little ways so strongly resembled, and brought her often to my thoughts, that not only my spirits, but my health was much disordered by it. I came from thence, hither ; and though the objects here did not affect me so painfully as those at Ebrington, yet they raised many a sigh, and, I believe I should have been uite cast down, if my friend Mr.

1747. Pitt, had not carried me with him to see the Peak, and make a visit to my Lord Gower, at the end of our journey. This change of objects, together with exercise, has made me quite well; and now upon my return to Hagley, my mind only retains that tender impression of melancholy, which I think I would not lose if I could. As to the affair you inquire about, it remains pretty much where it was when I saw you. Dr. A. still acts the same bad part; and the influence he has over his master, has hitherto hindered him opening his eyes: but I hope time will open them, with the assistance of Dr. Lee, and some other men of honour about him, who are disposed to tell him the truth.

"All the family here are well, except my father, and he, I thank God, no worse than usual. They all desire their compliments to you. I am, with the truest esteem and affection, Dear Sir,

"Your most obliged friend,

"And humble servant,

"G. LYTTELTON.

"I beg my compliments to Mrs. Dodderidge."

The little girl was afterwards Lady Valentia. Dr. afterwards Sir George Lee, was a very eminent civilian of that day, and afterwards Treasurer to the Princess Dowager. His integrity was as undoubted as his capacity, both at the Bar in Parliament, and on the Bench. It has been seen, in an earlier part of these memoirs, that his election to the chairmanship of Committees, in the House of Commons, was the first defeat of Walpole.

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE. 1747.

"Argyle Street, October 29th, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"I HEARTILY wish that I had it in my power to make you a visit as often as I go down to Hagley; but as Mrs. Fortescue, and my pretty girls, lie directly in one road to that place, I am generally obliged to go that way, and not by Northampton, which I would otherwise make my road, to have the pleasure of seeing you, and your good lady, whose acquaintance I earnestly wish: and somehow, or other, I hope we shall meet before it be long. I should also be very glad to find an opportunity of waiting on Dr. Bishop, and having the honour to be personally known to him; but I am seldom now at Lord Cobham's for above a day, and don't know when to flatter myself that it will be in my power to go to Crick on purpose to see him, as it lies so wide out of the way of my usual journeys. I could therefore wish, that, without giving you so much trouble, as you are so good to offer to take, any way could be found to convey to me, in writing, the remarks he has made, which, coming from so learned and able a man, must be of great use to me in my History of Henry II. I have read your life of Colonel Gardiner with pleasure and edification, but could not help wishing that his conversion had rather been the effect of sober reason, than the impression of a dream; not but that divine grace may take that method, as well as any other, of converting a sinner, and best knows which is fitted, but because this circumstance,

1747. joined to the style of his letters, throws an air of enthusiasm upon his religion, and may prevent many from being affected by his conversion, whom it would have affected had it been the result of reason and thought; and, had he avoided that language, which, being the common cant of enthusiasts, is apt to make even true piety and virtue less venerable in the opinion of the world than it would otherwise be.

"At the same time, I agree with you that he was no enthusiast, since, after his return to religion, he never did anything which the coolest reason would not approve. But, indeed, the expressions he uses, are of that sort, which those affect who are certainly so; and therefore I should have advised the not printing his letters, but only saying, in general, that they were full of a true spirit of piety, and suitable to the goodness of his life; and in this way of thinking, I am confirmed by the opinion of some great and good divines of our church, and (as I hear) by some of your brethren, though they, from their notions in certain particulars, approve that still more than our's do. As to the malignity of those who discover sedition and treason in your book, it deserves no other notice from you, or your friends, but contempt.

"I heartily thank you for your kind caution. Nothing is truer than what you observe, that our passions often cheat us into ill things, *sub specie boni;* and it is no easy task to guard against those delusions. As to what you hint at, I can only say, that without disputing the point, I desire for the rest of my life to avoid as much as I can even the appearance of evil.

"I have sent you under two franks a poem, on a sub- 1747.
ject on which you and Mrs. Doddridge are so kind to interest yourselves very much. It was the overflowing of my heart upon my first coming to Hagley, as soon as my spirits had a little recovered the first shock of grief. The ease I found in venting my sorrows, was my reason for writing it, and the desire of paying all the honour I can to the memory of her, I so justly loved, occasions my publishing it, which, however, (to comply with the fashion of the world) I have not done with my name, but the author cannot be mistaken.

"Some very good judges to whom I have shewn it, tell me it is the best of my compositions, at least, in verse, and if I did not think so myself, I would not have let it be seen by the world, but still it appears to me so much below what the subject requires, that I am by no means content with it. Nevertheless, as you will find in it some image of her for whom I know you have conceived an affection even after her death, upon the mere report of her character, I send it to you as I would a picture imperfectly drawn, of her, in which, though it does not do justice to the original, yet some resemblance there is, enough to give it value in the eyes of a friend.

"I am most sincerely, Dear Sir,

"Your most faithfull, &c.

"G. Lyttelton.

"I wish you joy of our happy success at sea. May it incline our enemy to such a peace as we may accept."

1747. "Hagley, September the 14th, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,

"I AM much obliged to Mrs. Doddridge for the good-natured share she takes in my affliction, and should be happy to have a nearer acquaintance with her, which I hope by your means to obtain before it be long. It is a great pleasure to me to hear that she continues to drink the tar-water with benefitt to her health, as I persuade myself it will secure her from that dreadfull infection which rages so much in her neighbourhood. You have great reason to trust in Divine Providence that she will not be taken from you, because you have so much better deserved the gift and continuance of such a blessing, than I had, when it pleased God to take my dear wife from me. I thank you heartily, Dear Sir, for the concern you express, lest my future life should by the prevalence of my passions over my duty, make me deserve a more lasting and terrible separation. Such admonitions are most obliging proofs of a true christian friendship, and my infirmities need them extremely, but it is the sincere purpose of my heart not to fall into any deliberate sins, but to endeavour to strengthen myself in religion and virtue, and make the best amends that I can by my future life for the faults of my past. In doing this both your prayers and your friendship will, I am confident, be of great use to me, and I shall be most gratefull to you for the continuance of both. Your edition of Archbishop Leighton's book will be a usefull work in many respects, and particularly will shew that candour to the Church of England, which, as a Dissenter, does you

so much honour, and shews so true a spirit of Chris- 1747.
tianity in you, that there is nothing I esteem you for more. Indeed, without it a man may be an able divine, but I am sure he cannot be a good Christian.

" I shall be very glad to have my name among your subscribers; and will look for the other pieces you recommend to me as soon as I come to town. The mention you have made of my little work in your Exposition of the Acts gives me great pleasure, as it is a mark of your esteem and regard, which I value very highly, and am proud that the publick should know. The book on Providence, which you say is imputed to me, I never so much as saw, but it is one of the greatest plagues of authors that they are exposed to such imputations. It is enough for a man to be responsible for what he does write, without being also to answer for what he does not. I thank you for contradicting this idle report, and desire you to do me the same good office, if you hear anything else ascribed to me upon a religious subject which I have not acquainted you with before it comes out. The little leisure I have at present for writing will I believe be taken up in finishing my history of King Henry the 2nd, of which four books are already written, and I have two more to write. Next to defending the true religion I think I cannot better employ my pen, than in exposing a false one, which is every day gaining ground in this kingdom; and this will be effectually done by my account of that reign, in which the spirit of Popery discovers itself in all its deformity. You will be surprised when you read it, to see how im-

1740. perfectly and inaccurately (not to say dully and falsely) so important a piece of our history has yet been treated by any of our historians, not excepting Rapin himself. I am far from thinking I have writt it so well as it might be written, but of this I am sure, that I have done it more justice than they, were it only in the pains I have taken to get all the information that contemporary authors could give me upon the subject, which as yet no others have done. Mr. Cart promises to do more of this than the rest, and I know he has had the perusal of some valuable books which they have omitted to make any use of, but besides that the extent of his work will not allow him to dwell long enough on this single reign to relate the particulars of it as they deserve to be related, I know all that comes from his hands will be deeply tinctured with the absurdity of his political principles, and both partially and heavily writt. My mother is obliged to you for the inscription you sent her, which is a fine one. She and all the family join in compliments to you.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Most affectionately yours,

"G. Lyttelton."

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"London, Nov. y^e^ 20th, 1747.

"Dear Sir,

"The present hurry of business does not allow me to answer the letters you have favoured me with half so particularly and fully as I could wish; but as I have

the pleasure to hear you will be in town at Christmas, 1747.
I shall postpone till then most of the matters upon which I should otherwise desire to write. Give me leave, however, just to return you my thanks, both for your approbation and criticism of the poem I sent you. I am, as usual, obliged for the last, as the first; but I can't say I entirely agree to them, because the best judges to whom I have shewn it, are of my mind, that simplicity, if it does not descend into *vulgarism*, is the chief excellence of all kinds of writing, but above all of those in which the heart is to speak. Without the utmost simplicity, both of thought and diction, the *pathos* cannot be preserved; and I would admit no ornaments into such a work, but merely as pauses at proper intervals, to relieve the reader from the emotions of grief, which are excited by the more passionate parts. In those parts, figures, or metaphors, or any high colouring, or hardness of style, are quite improper; and points, or *concetti*, are insupportable faults, however witty and brilliant they may be (which, by the by, very much spoils a beautiful poem of Cowley on the death of his friend); and we may say of them with Moliere:—"*Ce n'est pas ainsi que parle la nature.*" The great master of the art of poetry, Horace, observes how inconsistent a swelling, pompous, and very poetical style, is with grief:—

"*Nam tragicum plerumque dolet sermone pedestri*
Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba
Si curat cor spectantis tetigesse querelâ."

"But it has been the fault of our modern poets, even some of the best of them, not to make this distinction.

1747. Upon the whole, if I have been faulty in this respect, it was a fault upon principle. I could have written it in another manner; but I would not. I could have contracted the sense, as I did in my epitaph, into much shorter, and more pointed expressions; but I thought what was proper there, improper here. Conciseness and strength, is the merit of that kind of writing, an easy and copious flow of passion, void of all affectation, and even of all ornament, except sweetness of numbers, adapted to the sentiment, and an elegant purity of diction, is the merit of this. Pardon me, therefore, if I do not entirely yield to your taste in this particular, as it is both contrary to my own, and to that of others, which I have reason to value more than my own. Perhaps when you read it again, and consider not only the pastoral scene, but the pathetick subject of it, you will change your opinion; and think that the high colouring, which did very well in the *simile*,*

* "So where the silent streams of Siris glide,
In the soft bosom of Campania's vale,
Where now the wintery tempests all are fled,
And genial Summer breathes her gentle gale,
The verdant orange lifts its beauteous head:
From every branch the balmy flowerets rise,
On every bough the golden fruits are seen;
With odours sweet it fills the smiling skies,
The wood-nymphs tend it and th' Idalian queen:
But in the midst of all its blooming pride,
A sudden blast from Apeninus blows,
Cold with perpetual snows,
The tender, blighted plant, shrinks up its leaves and dies."
The Monody.

which you say you admire, and in some other parts of it, would have been very improper in those where grief alone could find room to speak. As to what I said upon Colonel Gardiner's conversion, you seem to mistake my meaning. I did not and could not mean to wish, that with respect to *him*, God had chosen any other method than that he did chuse, to call him to repentance. That which proved efficacious, was surely the best, so far as he alone was concerned. But with regard to others, I said I thought his conversion would have had more effect had it appeared to proceed from reason, and not from the impression of a vision or dream, which might cast upon it an air of enthusiasm, particularly in the opinion of men of a free-thinking turn. And this was the opinion of Col. Gardiner himself, according to your own account of him. Speaking of the first profession he made to his friends, in town, of the causes and nature of his conversion, you say, "He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened, which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy. But he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could, with any shadow of reason, contest. And afterwards he testified, calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, *for the most elevated delights he did not think fit to plead, lest they should be deemed enthusiasm.*" These, Sir, were my very reasons for wishing that neither his vision, or dream, nor his letters, full of those *elevated* 1747.

1747. and what may be thought enthusiastick *delights*, had been published to the world; because ninety-nine in a hundred, will be inclined from thence, to think him an enthusiast, and therefore less edified by his truly virtuous and christian behaviour, than they would have been had these things been omitted, and nothing insisted on but his true penitence, and sincere return to God after a loose and irreligious life. Such examples are wanting, and would do much good in exciting others in the modish world to act the same part, if the impression they would otherwise make were not destroyed by a colour of enthusiasm thrown over the whole from these particular parts. * * *

"In answer to the proposal of your good friend for a society of catholick Christians, &c., I can only say that those sort of societies appear to me very liable to the charge of affectation, which I very much desire to avoid. I think it best to go on as a quiet member of the Church of England without any new distinctions or names, which I have seldom known to produce any good. However, your friend's good intentions deserve much commendation, and I am proud of the approbation he honours me with. I beg my best compliments to your *Lucy*. This new alarm of the small-pox in your neighbourhood makes me uneasy for her and you; but I trust that the same Providence which has preserved her hitherto will do so still. It is with all other good to you, the sincere wish and prayer of,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most faithful friend,

"G. Lyttelton.

These concluding expressions of Lyttelton's letter are worthy of observation: they are proofs of that wisdom which is the fruit of integrity of heart as well as soundness of judgment, and which eminently characterised their writer. How many devices, how many Exeter Hall Societies and joint stock companies has this age witnessed, for effecting by clumsy and gaudy machinery, that which mere compliance with the plain precepts of Christianity, and simple obedience to the voice of the Church ought to have unostentatiously and easily produced. Lyttelton's good sense, no less than his right principles, rebelled against such plans, sometimes indeed invented by honest ignorance, but oftener by self-deceiving vanity, elevating the individual on a platform to parade the discharge of a task which should be performed as a matter of course in the unobserved routine of the daily duties incident to Christian fellowship. 1748.

That Lyttelton's piety was free from all fanatical enthusiasm, that it was a sober, humble, working piety, not the creation of excitement and impulse, may be gathered from his comments upon Colonel Gardiner's story: it is remarkable too, that there is no mention in this correspondence of the doctrine of "Spiritual Experiences," of impulses and impressions *immediately* proceeding from the Holy Spirit, whose influence was irresistible; a doctrine which renders Baptism a nugatory and unavailing ordinance, and which, a few years before this period, became a distinguishing mark of the followers both of Wesley and Whitfield.

1748.

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"London, January y^e 12th, 1748.

"DEAR SIR,

"I SHOULD have been much grieved to hear you have been ill, did you not at the same time tell me that you are recover'd. I have myself been much out of order, partly with a cold, but more with the painfull remembrance which the return of the year brings along with it, how unfortunately for me the last begun. This so much deprest my spirits that I was once afraid of a nervous fever, which my apothecary thought was coming on, but thank God, though the melancholy anniversary of my dear Lucy's death is not yet past, by forcing my thoughts to other subjects, and sleeping draughts at night, I am now got well again. Dr. Stonehouse's loss and behaviour upon it affects me very sensibly. There is indeed, a sad sympathy between us two, and glad I am if he can find any consolation in what I have writt. It would be a still greater satisfaction to me if I could assist him as a friend, by my conversation, and if we could talk together of our dear departed saints. Yet perhaps it is better for us both that we should not meet at present, hereafter I hope we shall, and that I shall see his little Lucy and he mine. Both my poor little girls were well when I heard of them and so, blessed be God, was my boy. It is a great pleasure to me that your's are so too. I thank you for the account you give me of your son: I love to hear of your happiness in every instance, and particularly in one of such moment

to you as this; nor do I ever think myself more 1748.
obliged to my friends than for speaking to me without reserve, and opening their whole hearts. I am sure I never can see too much of yours. I am glad to find by what your correspondent tells you, that I was mistaken in imagining that the passages which look like enthusiasm in your life of Colonel Gardiner might disgust the greater part of your readers. If it has had a contrary effect upon those of his own profession, I must suppose my apprehension was groundless. And indeed in some minds the love of the marvellous goes further, and makes deeper impressions, than cool reasoning would do without that assistance. Perhaps it may be so here; but whatever is the cause, if the effect corresponds with your good intention, it is all very well. This is most certain, that whoever reads the book, if he is not disgusted by some of those passages, must read it with profitt as well as delight, and to be much disgusted with them, I should think the sign rather of a bad heart than a good head; I mean, so much disgusted as not to attend to the rest. All attacks on your character will, I dare promise you, have the same fate with the Edinburgh Libel, and you need give yourself no more trouble about them. I have heard nothing of the letter you mention. No man can wish better than I do to *uniting schemes*, but I have observed that Time, the great conciliator of unessential disputes, generally brings them about better than any projector, and that to precipitate is to spoil them. If toleration continues, these things will do themselves, and *that* I shall always maintain as one of

1748. my first principles in religion and government. Dr. L. has not been spoke to about my affair, and did not think fitt to speak of it himself to *that person*, so it remains in *statu quo*. Only I have the satisfaction to find that all whose judgements I value out of that house, and most even *there* not only acquit but approve my conduct. Adieu, dear Sir, this busy time will not allow us to write so much to you as I wish to do. Many happy new years to you, your Lady and family. I am, very affectionately,

" Your faithfull friend, &c.

" G. LYTTELTON.

" The Duke* I believe will soon sett out to command the army: I wish it was a stronger one for his sake and ours.

" What are Dr. Kilpewich's lines to me which you mention as good, and who is Dr. Kilpewich ?"

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

" Argyle Street, March y^e^ 1st, 1748.

" DEAR SIR,

" I THANK you for the trouble you have taken about my History. Most of old Dr. Bishop mentioned to you, is not new to me, and in some things he is not very accurate. I have no queries worth troubling him with, except upon what grounds he ascribes *the establishment of juries* to Henry the 2d, which was certainly as old as King Alfred, and probably older. I have heard in general of the conversation

* Duke of Cumberland.

between some of the Bishops, and Mr. Chandler, but 1748.
should be glad if you could give me a more particular account of it. I have not yet received any visit or message from Mr. Cunningham, but should be obliged to him for any instructions he would be willing to communicate to me. I am ashamed that I have been so long without answering your letter; your very kind letter upon the 19th of January. But though I did not thank you for it immediately, I felt all the gratitude your friendly anxiety for me deserves. I thank God, I got as well over that terrible day, and the whole melancholy season, as I could well hope to do; for though I am much disordered both in body and mind, I did not sink under it, and have since been able to go through with the business of Parliament as well as I used to do. Indeed, that business has been of service to me, by forcing my thoughts from my lady's tomb. At present, I have no other complaint but a cold, which is the universal complaint. I am sorry to hear you have one, attended with a feverish disorder. I doubt, dear Sir, you are too attentive to the duties of your function, and not enough to the care of your health," &c. &c.

The next letter renders it necessary to review a particular, but not unimportant, part of Church History.

In the year 1688, on the 16th of July, Archbishop Sancroft, sent to all the Bishops within his metropolitan jurisdiction, certain Articles, containing some heads of things to be more fully insisted on by the Bishops in

1748. their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses. In these Articles, the clergy are advised "to have a very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own; treating them fairly whenever they meet them; discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or at least, that whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing: and in order thereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring them, that the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, and idolatries and tyrannies of the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies, which some had of us to the contrary, are altogether groundless. And in the last place, that they warmly, and most affectionately, exhort them to join with us, in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace, for an universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; and that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."

The next step taken by the Archbishop, was to devise a plan for bringing the Dissenters within the pale of the Church, at a time, it will be remembered, when the danger from Popery was urgent, and when the conduct and writings of the clergy, must have

extorted admiration and gratitude from the most obstinate schismatics. 1748.

"It were to be wished, (says Dr. D'Oyly, in his life of the Archbishop,) as matter of curious information, that we possessed more knowledge than has reached us, of the details of the plan which he proposed, and of the extent to which he proceeded in it. Our principal information respecting it, is derived from the speech of Dr. Wake, delivered by him some years after, when Bishop of Lincoln, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell. This prelate, in consequence of the misrepresentations which were industriously made of this scheme, which had been termed a popular engine to pull down the Church, was induced to enter into a short detail of what had really been intended. He stated, that the person who first concerted this supposed design against our Church, was the late most reverend Dr. Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury. "The time was towards the end of the late unhappy reign, when we were in the height of our labours in defending the Church of England against the assaults of Popery, and thought of nothing else. At this time, that wise prelate, foreseeing a revolution, such as that which soon after occurred, began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the restoration of King Charles II., to settle many things to the advantage of the Church; and what a happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such previous care, for its more perfect establishment. It was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our

1748. divines had made against Popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come within the pale of the Church. And it was therefore thought worth while, when the members of the Church were deliberating about those other matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain the more moderate Dissenters, without doing any prejudice to ourselves."

"The scheme," he proceeds, "was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction of the great prelate, to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be entrusted with it. His Grace took one part himself; another was committed to a pious and reverend person (Dr. Patrick), then a dean, and afterwards a bishop of our Church. The reviewing of the daily service of our liturgy and communion book, was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at present upon our bench (the Archbishop of York (Dr. Sharp), and the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Moore), and I am sure will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was, in short, this, to improve, and if possible amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our liturgy, by correcting some things, by adding others, and if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in Parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies, which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of neces-

sity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses, or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply. 1748.

" How far this good design was not only known to, but approved by the other fathers of our Church, that famous petition for which seven of them were committed to the Tower, and which contributed so much to our deliverance, may suffice to shew. The willingness they then declared of coming to such a temper as should be thought fit, with the Dissenters, when that matter should be considered and settled, in Parliament and Convocation, manifestly referred to what was then known to several, if not all, of the subscribers, to have been at that very time under deliberation. And, that nothing more was intended than has been stated, is no less evident from what was publicly declared in a treatise purposely written to recommend the design, when it was brought before the two Houses of Parliament, in the beginning of the late reign, and licensed by the authority of a noble Peer, who was at that time Secretary of State. In the very beginning of which is this remarkable passage:—' No alteration that I know of, is intended, but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself.' And if things alterable, be altered, upon the ground of prudence and charity, and things defective be supplied, and things absurd be restored to their proper use, and things of a more ordinary composition revised and improved, whilst the doctrine, government, and worship of the Church, remain entire in all the substantial parts

1748. of them, we have all reason to believe that this will be so far from injuring the Church, that, on the contrary, it will receive a benefit from it."

This is the only account which we possess of Archbishop Sancroft's scheme. It was never executed. The Government was changed, and the Archbishop retired from the Primacy. Soon after the Toleration Acts were passed by William and Mary, a Bill was brought into Parliament "for uniting their Majesties Protestant subjects;" and while it was depending in Parliament, Dean Tillotson, (as we are informed by Dr. Nicholls,) persuaded the King to pursue another method for accomplishing the design of it. He reminded his Majesty of the reproach often cast upon the Reformation, by the Papists, that it was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority; and that no handle ought, for the future, to be given to such an objection. That the affairs of the Church chiefly belonged to the synodical authority; and that if they were passed by the members of the convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiously observed by the laity. He added, that lest affairs of this nature, consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might proceed too slowly in so numerous a body, it would be best, as had been formerly done, for his Majesty to authorize, by his letters patent, several of the most eminent of the clergy, to consider some methods of healing the wounds of the Church, and establishing a durable peace; that so what they should agree, upon being laid before convocation, might have their sanction,

and then that of parliamentary authority. In pursuance of this advice, the King summoned a convocation, and issued out, likewise, on the 13th of September, 1689, a commission to ten bishops, and twenty divines, to prepare matters to be considered by the convocation. It was in these terms:— 1748.

"Whereas, the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority, should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient; and whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the Church: and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people; and whereas it is most fit, that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners.

"We, therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, and edification, and unity of the Church of England, committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects, and to take

1748. away all occasions of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize and empower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider such other matters, as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above mentioned."

"The committee," (says Birch, in his life of Archbishop Tillotson,) "being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, a dispute arose about the authority and legality of the court; the bishop of Rochester, though he had so lately acted in an illegal one, being one of those who questioned it. The grounds of this scruple, were the obligations the clergy lay under by Act of Parliament of King Henry VIII., not to enter into any debates about making any alterations in Church affairs, without the King's special and immediate privacy and direction,first given under such alterations. It was answered, that that must be done either by an act of the King's own judgment, or by a private cabal, (both which ways would be very exceptionable,) or else by his Majesty's commission to a certain number of ecclesiastics, to consult about, and prepare what was necessary to be altered, as it was in the present case. For, moreover, the Commissioners pretended not to make these alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the convocation, the very reports being not so much as to be referred to the Privy Council, lest they

might be subject to be canvassed, and worked by lay hands. However, the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldrich, withdrew dissatisfied; and the rest, after a list of all that seemed fit to be changed, was read over, proceeded very unanimously, and without any heats, in determining as follows (each Article as soon as agreed on being signed by the Bishop of London)." * * * 1748.

Such were the proceedings of the Commissioners, which had been protested against by their brethren, who had left them immediately after their first meeting, with a declaration that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought, "that too much had been already done for the Dissenters in the toleration which was granted them, and would do nothing to make them still easier." They said, "that the altering "of the customs and constitutions of our Church, to "gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have "no other effect on them, but to make them more insolent; as if the Church, by offering these alterations, "seemed to confess that she had been hitherto in the "wrong. They were of opinion, that this attempt "would divide the Church, and make the people lose "their esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it "wanted correction. They excepted, also, to the manner of preparing matters by a special commission, "as limiting the convocation, and imposing upon it; "and to load this with a word of an ill sound, they "called this a new ecclesiastical commission;" whether because these objections were sound, or from whatever cause, this attempt proved as abortive as the former.

1748. The last attempt of the kind, which equally failed, is mentioned in the following letters more in detail than I think it can elsewhere be found.

FROM DODDRIDGE TO LYTTELTON.

"Northampton, March 14th, 1748.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wonder not that Dr. Bishop's hints were not new to you; some of them were not quite so to me; and I made the same reflection on the original of Juries, as to be traced much higher, unless he meant that Henry II. was the first Prince since the Conquest which restored them, concerning which I am not antiquarian enough to pronounce.

"I am glad you passed the doleful anniversary safely; and hope every return of it, which for the sake of the public I wish to be many, will find you happier than the other, in complete submission to the All-wise disposer of Providence, and a deeper experience of the efficacy of genuine Christianity on your mind. The growing age of your dear children, will, I hope, give you growing pleasure; and with that, you may look on Master Lyttelton, in the evening of life, with a delight like that which you give Sir Thomas and his lady. Dr. Kilpatrick is so worthy a man, and is so irretrievably engaged in his design, that I perceive Dr. Stonehouse, who is the particular friend, is very desirous you would favour him with your name on the list of his subscribers, as Lord Halifax has done; and so much the rather, as perhaps

there is no one person whose name he so much desires. He is a stranger to me entirely, but I have reason to believe he is an ingenious and worthy man. 1748.

"I have subscribed to Mr. Bower's History of the Popes. Among several of Mr. Isled's friends in these parts I have recommended it to some of my acquaintance, whose names I hope to be joined with my own.

"I have been confined several days with a cold since I received your last favour; but I thank God, have not been prevented from publick service any Lord's Day; and I preached twice yesterday. My good nurse has performed her part with her usual tenderness and kindness. I am very glad Mr. Barker's sermons were so agreeable to you. I cannot but hope that the blessing of God will attend the discourses of so eminently wise and good a man; and I know your approbation will be a great encouragement to him.

"All I know of what passed between the Bishops and Mr. Chandler, concerning a Comprehension, is contained in the following abstract from the letter of a friend, who had his account from Mr. Chandler himself, so that I conclude it may be depended upon, but have my reasons for wishing that, if you communicate it to any, it may not be known that it came from me.

"'As for the Comprehension so much talked of in town and country, the utmost of that matter is this:— Mr. Chandler last summer made a visit to his friends at Norwich, and there happened to hear the Bishop give a Charge to his clergy, which he thought not very candid. One expression appeared to him in-

1748. vidious, viz., that the heads of the rebellion were Presbyterians, as appeared by those Lords in the Tower sending for Presbyterian *confessors*. Upon Mr. Chandler's return to London, he wrote a letter to Dr. Gooch, complaining of his Charge, and particularly of that expression. This letter was writ very handsomely, and it brought a very civil and respectful answer. After the Bishop came to town, Mr. Chandler, at his desire, made him a visit, in which they had much discourse, and among other things, there was talk of a Comprehension. This visit was followed, at Dr. Gooch's desire, with another, where the Bishop of Salisbury was present, who, among other things, said,—Our Church, Mr. Chandler, consists of three parts, Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies. As to the last, they ought to be left indifferent, as they are agreed on all hands to be. As to the second, he said, our discipline is so bad, that no one knows how or where to mend it. And as to our doctrine, what is your objection? He answered:—Your Articles, my Lord, must be expressed in Scripture words, and the Athanasian Creed must be discarded. Both the Bishops answered, they wished they were fairly rid of that Creed, and had no objection to the altering the Articles into Scripture words. But what should we do about re-ordination? To this, Mr. Chandler made such a reply as he judged proper. He said, None of us would renounce the Presbyterian ordination; but if their Lordships meant only to impose their hands upon us, and by that rule recommend us to publick service in their society or constitution, that, *perhaps*, ought to be submitted to. The two Bishops, at the conclusion of the visit,

requested Mr. Chandler to wait on the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he did, and met Dr. Gooch there by accident. The Archbishop received him well; and being told by the Bishop of Norwich, what he and Mr. Chandler had been talking on, viz., a Comprehension, said—A very good thing. He wished it with all his heart; and the rather, because this was a time which called upon all good men to unite against infidelity and immorality, which threatened universal ruin; and added, he was encouraged to hope from the piety, learning, and moderation of many Dissenters, that this was a proper time to make the attempt. But may it please your Grace, said Dr. Gooch, Mr. Chandler says the Articles must be altered into the words of Scripture. And why not?—replied the Archbishop; it is the impertinence of men thrusting their words into Articles, instead of the Words of God, that hath occasioned most of the divisions in the Christian Church from the beginning of it, to this day. The Archbishop added:—that the Bench of Bishops seemed to be of his mind; and that he should be glad to see Mr. Chandler again, but was then obliged to go to Court:—and this is all.' 1748.

"I will not trouble you with my friend's reflections, nor with my own, on these facts. Were I to attempt giving you my thoughts on the matter, I must fill at least another sheet. I will only add, that I sincerely pray, and honestly labour to promote peace; and though I am a Dissenter on principle, and as the terms of conformity at present are, dare not in conscience comply with them; yet I always avoid, both in my

1748. sermons, and writings, and private conversations, what tends to irritate. I have sent out sixty Dissenting ministers, who had their education under me, of which no one (who went then my whole course) ever conformed, yet not one of them is a bigot against the Establishment; and of considerably more than 15,000 souls, I might perhaps have said 20,000, under their ministerial care, I am persuaded no one learns from his ministers to mingle, or to censure, but all are taught to make candid allowances for the different sentiments of their brethren, and thankfully to use their own liberty, without either judging or despising others; and though, perhaps, on the whole, most of these congregations increase, rather than decay, yet I have great reason to believe that a generous and catholic temper has been very much spread in these parts, within the twenty-five years I have spent here, or in Leicestershire; among the last nineteen of which I have been engaged in the business of a tutor. But night advances, and it is more than time I concluded. Mrs. Doddridge's compliments, and Dr. Stonhouse's added to those of dear,

"Dear, and honoured Sir,

"Your very grateful friend,

"and most obliged and

"affectionate humble servant,

"P. DODDRIDGE.

"P.S. I heartily congratulate you on the many articles of good news, and particularly on the birth of the young Stadtholder. My letters from Holland speak of people there quite in raptures of joy. 'Tis

said that Lord Goring offers himself a candidate here, instead of good Mr. Cartwright; but Mr. Knightley, a most furious Jacobite, has already canvassed half the country, and no Whig candidate is declared. Such is our wisdom." 1748.

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"Argyle Street, March y^e^ 19th, 1748.

"Dear Sir,

"Though I am much taken up at this time, both with Parliamentary and Treasury business, I can't let Mr. West's letter go to you without a few lines of my own in answer to your last. The account you give of the conversation with Dr. Chandler gave me great pleasure, as it show'd such sentiments in our Bishops as I extreamly approve, and as may in time produce a Comprehension, which all good men must heartily wish; yet I have my fears that if an attempt were now made to carry it into execution, it would meet with difficulties which from these fair beginnings one would not expect. For there is a great deal of difference in things of this nature between *talking* and *doing*. However, I thank God that so much disposition has shewn itself towards so good a work. I dare say, upon the character you have heard of Dr. Killpatrick from Dr. Stonehouse, that he is a very good man, but indeed he is not a good Latin poet: however, if it will be any pleasure to him to have my name in the list of his subscribers, I shall be very willing to give it him, though it may call my poetical taste and judgment in question. It is a pity he is so far engaged in a work

1748. which will certainly do him no honour, for he has not the first elements of Latin versification. To whom must I pay the subscription? The birth of a young Prince of Orange is good news to be sure, but if I were a Dutchman, I should think the news of a peace a good deal better. The superiority of France is so great, and threatens Holland so much, that while the war continues, I have no idea of people there feeling *raptures of joy* upon an event which may be render'd quite useless to them before the campaign is at an end. But they are intoxicated, and will not see their danger; and we have caught the contagion from them; I pray God to bring us to our senses before it be too late, and not in the way that national follies are sometimes corrected, by national ruin. Adieu, dear Sir, my best compliments to your lady, I am sorry to hear that with all her care of you, she has neither been able to keep you from catching another bad cold, nor from performing publick service with it upon you. Indeed you make too free with your health and her happiness.

* * * *

"Most faithfully yours,
"G. LYTTELTON."

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"Hagley, September 30th, 1748.

"DEAR SIR,

"I HEARTILY thank you for your last letter and the picture you give me in it of Mrs. Dodderidge, in which I see so strong a resemblance of my dear Lucy, that I don't wonder you think your whole earthly

happiness wrapt up in her life. I pray God to pre- 1748.
serve her to you, and save your heart from the pangs which mine has felt and still feels! I could hardly bear to read the letter you was so kind to send me a copy of, or the story you tell me, so much did I find in both to putt me in mind of what I have lost. But God's will be done! It has pleas'd his Providence to afflict me lately with a new stroke in the sudden death of poor Mr. Thomson, one of the best and most beloved of my friends. He loved my Lucy too, and was loved by her. I hope and trust in the Divine goodness that they are now together in a much happier state. That is my consolation: that is my support. It often occurs to my mind that the death of our friends* is one of the most powerfull ordinary means made use of by Providence to detach our affections and hopes from this world, and convince us that we have here *no enduring city, but are to look for a better*. By that time we have run half our course, those who set out with us, and of whose company we are most fond, are parted from us, and got to the end of their journey. If we were never to meet again, to what purpose has nature implanted in us such strong, such bitter, such lasting regrets at this separation; these affections are not in vain, they are not fixed upon what is no more; they are intimations and notices of a life to come, and are designed to carry our views, our wishes, I could almost say our passions, on to that life. They are therefore strongest in the best minds,

* See the lines to Aikman by Thomson, p. 313.

1748. and when they are properly used, instead of exciting any impious complaints or murmurs against God, produce a higher and tenderer confidence in him, and raise our souls to a more lively faith in that immortality promised by him and to a more earnest desire of obtaining it.

"I saw the Bishop of Worcester last week. He has received your letter and exprest to me great satisfaction in your correspondence. I shall stay here about a week longer, and then go to Ebrington to my good mother, Mrs. Fortescue, and my sweet girls. All my friends here are well, except my Father, who is still grievously afflicted with such violent pains as scarce any other man I believe ever endured so long together and with such patience and fortitude. My brother, the Dean, is come back from Buxton waters, a good deal better I think in his health than he went thither, I wish you were more acquainted with him, he is one of the best men I ever knew. Adieu, dear Sir, make my compliments to Mrs. Dodderidge whom you have fixed for ever in my esteem and affection. I am,

"Most faithfully yours,

"G. Lyttelton."

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"London, November the 7th, 1748.

"Dear Sir,

"I have but a moment's time to make you my hearty and affectionate congratulations upon Mrs. Dodderidge's safe delivery, the joy of which must be encreased to you by the alarm of that accident which might have proved fatal. May Providence continue

to watch over you, and bless you in all things, but particularly in her safety and health, which I know must be dearer to you than all other earthly blessings. I have not read the sermons you mention, but will upon your recommendation. Thomson,* I hope and believe died a Christian. Had he lived longer I don't doubt but he would have openly profest his faith; for he wanted no courage in what he thought right, but his mind had been much perplex'd with doubts, which I have the pleasure to think my book on St. Paul had almost entirely removed. He told me so himself and in his sickness declared so to others. This is my best consolation in the loss of him, for as to the heart of a christian, he always had that, in a degree of perfection beyond most men I have known. Adieu, dear Sir, you think too well of me; but I will try to deserve it. My best compliments to your lady: indeed her delivery has deliver'd me from many fears that I felt for you." 1749.

(not signed.)

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"London, March ye 30, 1749.

"DEAR SIR,

"THE papers have misinformed you, I am not Treasurer of the Navy; but it is from my own choice that I am not; I did not care to embarrass myself and my family, (especially as my son is an infant) with a most perplext and vexatious account of publick

* See Lyttelton's letter to Thomson, p. 308.

1749. money, that would hang over our heads for many years. I therefore declined it in favour of my friend Mr. Legge; to whom I believe it will be given, and my friendship for him was a principal motive to induce me to give up my pretensions to it, as he being a single man, has not the same objections to it as I. Otherwise, notwithstanding the difficulty of the account, I might have been tempted to accept of it for the sake of the rank that it gives. But neither that, nor the difference of the profit above the peace I have now, could stand in comparison with the pleasure of obliging a man I love.

"However, though I am still where I was, I am extreamly obliged to you for the part that you took in my supposed advancement, and still more for the kind admonitions with which you accompanied your congratulations. Few men in this age, even of your holy order, would have writt in such a stile upon such an occasion; but I can truly assure you that of all your letters this pleas'd me most. I have laid it up as a lesson to myself, if it should please God that I should hereafter rise to higher employments; and at the same time as a proof to my children that the spirit of a true christian pastor is not lost among us. I feel very sensibly the truth and force of what you say on the difficulty of maintaining in the heart an habitual sense of God and religion, amidst the dissipations and cares of the great world. May your prayers be heard, that I may never lose it, and I will add my own that I may much rather lose whatever advantages, honours, or pleasures that world can give! You are much in

the right to prefer such a wife as you have got, and I have lost, to any wealth; especially in the light you consider them in when you make the comparison. If I ever should make a second choice it will be such as will answer that end. * * * 1749.

"Most affectionately yours,

"G. LYTTELTON."

FROM DODDRIDGE TO LYTTELTON.

"Northampton, July 3, 1749.

"DEAR SIR,

"THE great candour with which you express yourself in your last letter, could not indeed surprize me, because I have known, honoured, and loved it as a most charming part of your character, ever since I have had the happiness to know you; but it greatly delighted me, and seemed to bring an obligation upon me in conscience to use the utmost freedom in my correspondence with you, where the interests of virtue and religion are concerned. I believe no man makes your concerns more truly and cordially his own; but Providence has fixed me in a station of life in which I know not that I can be any way useful to you but by praying for you, and by suggesting from time to time, not matter of new instruction, for that it were arrogance to pretend, but such hints relating to a seasonable recollection of what you well know, as may keep a sense of the most important things warm upon your mind. This Sir, since you desire it, since you charge it upon me, as what you are pleased to say *you expect from my virtue*, I will endeavour to perform,

1749. that I may feed the lamp which Divine Grace has enkindled in your heart, which burns for the instruction and comfort of so many. And I esteem this the best return I can make to that kind Providence which has so unexpectedly bless'd me to such a share in the friendship in the heart of one so very much my superior.

" Now, because you are so much my superior, I earnestly wish then, in an age when virtue and religion have so few votaries in high life, you may be gloriously distinguished in that view. I will therefore at any time when I have leisure to write you a few pages, pour out from my heart into them, any sentiments which may be warm there, the communication of which I apprehend may in any degree be profitable to you, and may in some measure counteract the ill influence to which, in a sphere like yours, you must be exposed ; and do you the like to me, and let this be the pledge and fruit of our friendship. " And when," as Shakespeare says, " we have shuffled off this mortal coil," it will be no grief of heart to either of us to have been thus employed. And different as our rank now is, I will embolden myself with thinking it may happen, that to have been a faithful defender of the Gospel of Christ, a tender friend to the immortal interests of men, a guardian and comforter of the despised and neglected poor, and to have sacrificed every view of worldly advantage to what some will think a nice punctilio of religious honour, if it be judged worthy of so good a name, may appear to have been accepted and remembered by the great Arbiter of our

future fates, and may have its distinguished reward, 1749.
when the distinctions which are here more regarded shall be known no longer. And my heart burns with an ardent desire of seeing my friend Lyttelton, (so presumptuously have you taught me to speak), in those nobler and happier regions "among ten thousands eminently known." Let this, my dear fellow-soldier in this glorious warfare to which we are called out, let this be an apologetical preface to all the freest letters in such a strain which you may now and then receive from me; and let me for the future, when I can rescue or collect by scattered fragments an hour for this sacred purpose, fall plumb upon anything that it is in my mind, and speak to you with as little ceremony as I do to dear Mrs. Doddridge, who by the way, is, and looks so pure well, that one would think your happiness reach'd her at this distance, and made her a great deal younger than she was this time two years.

"I began this letter almost as soon as I had ended my last, but company and a hurry of business, from which a vacation is not free, when I am at home, has long forbid my proceeding in it, and yet I resume it as not out of season, determined to take a little time even from my sleep, to tell you what I have been thinking concerning you; for I think much and often of you when I am not upon my knees, as well as when I am. I remember you desire and even conjure me to tell you plainly of your faults. So I would with all my heart, if I knew you well enough to have discovered any but those which you have yourself most freely told me. My thoughts of your character are such, that I

1749. don't care to speak much directly about it, lest I should give you a pain of another kind. But such hints of advice as from what you have told me, or from what I know of your circumstances may seem proper, I will give you as frankly as if you were my younger Brother, and I will begin with it even now.

"I know not, Sir, whether you have prayer in your family or not; but if you have not, I entreat that now you are opening your new house, and commencing a new relation, you would immediately begin it. I need not tell you how efficacious it is to keep up a face of piety and regularity in a family, which is of great and general importance; it has a thousand happy consequences on children, and may be an inestimable blessing to servants. Besides it strongly fortifies the heads of the family against many temptations, as a compliance with them is so visibly and notoriously inconsistent with such daily and solemn approaches to God. I know the business of the Parliament and the Treasury in town will be a strong objection; but have an appointed time at least once a day, and a substitute in case of necessary absences.

"Another little piece of counsel which I have thought of giving you, is to consecrate to God, I will not say by a solemn vow, but by a pretty resolute purpose, formed in your own mind, a certain proportion of your substance; that it may always be a bank of charity lying ready. I will venture to tell you that my proportion, as I have a pretty large family but slenderly provided for, is only a tenth part of what statedly comes in as my own, and an eighth of what may come

in occasionally by presents, legacies, if they happen, as sometimes, though seldom, they do. Your proportion is perhaps much larger; I know the generosity of your temper, and trust to that as to any danger I might otherwise incur, of hurting the poor by this suggestion instead of helping them. 1749.

"And here you will pardon me if I mingle a petition with my counsels, which I do with the greater confidence, as I have been and always shall be very cautious on this head. Since a hint that I once gave you many years ago cannot be made to bear, as there may perhaps be strong reasons against it, permit me to offer you my assistance as your almoner in the annual distribution of some little sums; perhaps no man knows a greater variety of afflicted and truly compassionable cases than myself, for I visit the poor people in their cottages and chambers of illness, and see their misery, if I may be allowed the expression, in the very spring. I see what very hard shift some very honest, diligent, and worthy people make, to get cloaths and food, the meanest of the kind for their numerous families, and how heavily sickness presses upon them, for which our infirmary, though it be indeed a great blessing to the place, is by no means an adequate relief. I have hardly any people of wealth and rank under my care, and since the death of Colonel Gardiner, have very little to distribute but what comes out of my own little stock, and what Mr. Hervey, who is one of the best men upon earth, gives me out of the gains of his book, which are very considerable.

1749. He devotes them all to charity, and he thinks the assistance I gave him in revising his pieces, though my advice did not always prevail, entitles me to some influence on the distribution of them, and he knows that no party views affect me in cases of this nature.

"Let me press you resolutely to keep your times for religious retirement. I know that in your busy life these must be but short, but let them be constant. Let a few words solemnly uttered before God, begin and end every day, and let your heart be in the address, be it ever so short. There is a wonderful efficacy in prayer, and none but they who conscientiously practise it, know how much of the health of the soul depends upon it. Forgive me if I add a caution, that the delight you take in your new lady, in the hours you reasonably and necessarily give to conversation with her, may be adjusted so as not to interfere with pleasures of a much higher order.

"Indeed it will be of great importance on all occasions, to appear to her from the first, as a resolutely *religious man.* Fear not to shew her (I know it will always be without affectation, for less affectation I never saw), fear not to shew her how the secret springs of it lie in your heart, and how high an office of friendship you think it, to endeavour by proper applications, to keep it always alive in her breast: and particularly let this appear on Sabbath-days, from the modish profanation of which I trust you will keep yourself and shield her. You will find the devout observation of

this, as the wise Judge Hale used to observe, to have a great influence on all the week. 1749.

"It is to make religion in these instances and in all others yet easier to you, that I farther urge you courageously to plead the cause of virtue and piety in every company, when a just and proper opportunity presents. After what you have already done it will be a great rudeness in any to affront it in your company. But besides expressing in a proper manner your resentment for such affronts to it, if not to yourself, where they are offered, I promise myself that you will not only keep yourself in that respect unspotted, but that you will do what you can to banish out of the modish world that lewd discourse which so scandalously abounds in it (if I am rightly informed), and that irreverent abuse of the Divine Name. Good Doctor Stonehouse, whose family depends so much upon the friendship and favour of neighbouring gentlemen, dares to do it, and in your independent state of life, you will do it more easily; and you will find that vice and prophaneness is a very cowardly thing, and that when looked at with a little firm resolution it will run away.

"You will I hope always be careful to preserve a candid openness of temper as to the doctrines of Christianity. Great care will be requisite in guarding against preconceived prejudices, abetted perhaps, by the authority of some good and worthy men, for whom you have an esteem and a fondness. Read the New Testament with simplicity of heart and a sincere desire of learning all that it has to teach you. I think you

1749. will assuredly find that Divines have run into different extreams, and that as some have added what the sacred writers never thought of, so many have retrenched a great deal from true, genuine, and sterling Christianity.

" On the whole you will, I hope, Sir, accustom yourself to look on human life as a momentary thing, and all its interests as so evanescent that they borrow almost the whole of their weight and importance from the aspect they have on eternity. The presence of the ever-blessed God as beholding and recording all our actions, and the probability of our entering on a few months—the certainty, however, of our entering in a few years, on an unchangeable state, where we shall reap according to what we have sowed, are principles pregnant with so much good instruction to minds of every capacity, that I question whether any one who closely attended to them, failed of being wise, and good, and happy.

" And now, dear Sir, I will put an end to my sermon, perhaps, when you have read it, you will think amidst all my business I might easily have employ'd myself better than in writing to you such obvious things as these. But you know my view in them, I pretend not to teach but to remind, and I find most of the evils of my own life have their rise from the want of attending to things as obvious as these.

" I should perhaps, if I had time, add a few words relating to that celebrated Book of Disquisitions, &c. which some wise men our way call " cutting the church's throat with a feather." You may be sure I am

highly pleased with so wise, and candid, and solid a performance, but I have ever acquitted you and Mr. West of all concern in the murther. 'Tis certain that the alterations proposed would do great honour and service to the church, though not one Dissenter should be brought in by them. As for a Comprehension, I have in a few words spoke my mind about it in my late thanksgiving sermon, which I hope you received with another for Mr. West; it will be a great pleasure for me to hear you approve it. I sometimes suspect this may find you in the joys of a bridegroom; if it does be pleased to accept our sincerest congratulations to yourself and lady. I shall, God willing, set out for London next week, but shall not reach it till towards the end of the following week: and this day three weeks I propose going to Mr. West's and spending Tuesday and Wednesday, which time, should it suit your convenience to give me the meeting there, which I rather wish than hope, you may be assured it would be very agreeable to me: one way or another, in town or country, I hope to have an interview with you, and shall in the meantime be glad of any hint that may direct my schemes into a conformity with yours. I must be at home again before the 24th of August, but incommode not yourself in the least on my account, it is enough for me that you believe me to be,

1749.

"With the greatest fidelity and truest esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your ever affectionate friend,

"most obedient humble servant,

"P. Doddridge.

1750. "May I presume to beg my compliments to Sir Thomas and the Dean of Exeter, and your directions how I may be like to find Mr. Charles Yorke. I should be glad to *see* your happiness, but if that cannot be, I shall however rejoice in the report and apprehension of it."

FROM LYTTELTON TO DODDRIDGE.

"Henley, April, 1750.

"DEAR SIR,

"I WRITE this at an inn on my road to Gloucestershire, where I propose passing these holydays in very good company, viz. in the company of Miss Lucy Lyttelton, to enjoy which I have eloped from my wife. Indeed I love that young lady exceedingly, not at all less than you do your Polly, or that younger fair one to whom you sent your last billet-doux, which I (as your *confidant*) had the pleasure to read and to frank. Whenever I go to Worcester I will presume on my knowledge of your amour to have some conference with the lady, and privately advise her to change her name (as poor Miss Biddy Tipkin was forced to do), because it will be impossible for any lover to celebrate it in verse, unless instead of a sonnet or elegy he writes a hymn or a psalm to her. It is a barbarous thing in you Dissenters to impose such names upon your innocent babes. *Mercy* indeed! Mercy upon us! you had better have called her Tigress or Lioness. Those names would have done well enough in a complaint of her cruelty; but how would it sound, 'O cruel *Mercy*, wilt thou break my heart?'

" Fie upon you, naughty Papa, I am ashamed that 1750.
a man of your *classical* taste should be such a *Goth;* and if there were no other reason for your quitting the Dissenters and coming over to our Church, but to save any future child you may have, from the horrible danger of being so christen'd, I would have you do it without delay.

" As to the explanation of the Act of Uniformity, about which your curiosity is so much rais'd, it will neither facilitate nor obstruct your conversion. It is only a prolongation of the term within which, by the said Act, our clergy are obliged to declare their assent to the Book of Common Prayer, in case of sickness or other sufficient impediment. This to the best of my memory, is the whole of the matter which you say has caused so much speculation.

" I join with you in sorrow for the poor Dryads of Boughton, and thank you for the regard and concern you express for those of Hagley. They are at present pretty secure, but I sometimes tremble to think that the rattling of a dice-box, at *White's*, may one day or other (if my son should be a member of that noble academy), shake down all our fine oaks. It is dreadful to see not only there, but almost in every house in town, what devastations are made by that destructive fury, the spirit of Play! The time, the fortunes, the honour, and the consciences of our nobility and gentry, both male and female, are all falling a prey to it, and what is still worse, the force of the laws has been tried against it, and proves ineffectual. Those laws are openly broke every day by the legis-

1750. lators themselves; we are now trying what sermons can do, but I fear this one vice will be too hard for all our preachers, assisted by your's, and three or four earthquakes besides.

"The superstition of the great vulgar, and small, upon the late famous prediction, was, indeed, very astonishing, and shews how well the greatest excess of credulity may consist with irreligion. The Bishop of Oxford said—Well, to me these people believe every thing but what they should believe, and fear every thing but what they should fear. The ague fitt is now over, and I don't doubt but a hott one of debauchery and prophaneness will soon succeed.

"I propose being at Tunbridge about the end of July or the beginning of August. If you are then in town, as I shall come over once a week to the Treasury, we may easily meet at Mr. West's; and where can I make you a better assignation?

"When I am there with you two, I think myself escaped out of the world, *from the rank vapours of this sin worm mould* (as Milton expresses it) and conversing with angels. I have a great honour too for that gentle angel, to whose house you say you are going, the good Lady Huntingdon. Her virtue and piety are very respectable, but perhaps would be more so, if she was not call'd a Methodist; some of that sect have printed such follies as give the whole an air of enthusiasm, and nothing can hurt religion more than having that air.

"I told you not long ago that I had been reading your Family Expositor. I will now tell you that

though I admire the performance very much upon the whole, I think the paraphrase sometimes too florid, and could wish that you would more sparingly insert words of your own, beyond what is necessary to explain the text. Mr. Locke has been very cautious not to do this, and so indeed has Dr. Benson. I also object to the word *Improvement* for the title of the short discourse which you have putt at the end of every chapter. It carries an idea very different from your meaning, as if it were an improvement *of* or *upon* the Gospel, not an improvement to be drawn *from* the Gospel. The word *Observations* or *Reflexions* would answer the intention a great deal better, and these discourses are often too florid, though *that* here is much less a fault than in the paraphrase, which can't be too concise if it be clear. Let me also beg you to avoid those phrases (which though many Dissenting writers are fond of the use of them) most readers of our Church will call *cant*. You must know what I mean: and I need make no apologies to you for this freedom. Adieu, my worthy friend, 1750.

"I am ever,

"Most affectionately yours,

"G. LYTTELTON.

"Either by my mistake or my servant's, I find that Thompson's works were not sent when I told you they were, but I hope by this time you have received them."

In 1750, Doddridge caught a cold at St. Alban's,

1750. whither he had gone to preach a funeral sermon over his friend Dr. Clarke; the cold became a pulmonary complaint, and in October 1751, at Lisbon, died this pious, amiable, and not unlearned man:—*utinam noster esset.*

END OF VOL. I.

NORMAN AND SKEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

MEMOIRS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

GEORGE, LORD LYTTELTON,

FROM 1734 TO 1773.

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY ROBERT PHILLIMORE,

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

" Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
" Ingenium." . . . . . .—*Juven. Sat. IV.*

" Letters of affairs from such as manage them or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves."—*Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Human and Divine, Second Book.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1845.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

1748—1753 425

CHAPTER XII.

1754—1756.

Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, and elevation of Lyttelton to the House of Peers 482

CHAPTER XIII.

Literary History, 1756, to the death of Lyttelton, 1773 . 546

CHAPTER XIV.

1757—1760.

Beginning of Mr. Pitt's Administration to Accession of George the Third 583

CHAPTER XV.

1760—1766.

From the Accession of George the Third to the close of the Rockingham Administration 627

CHAPTER XVI.

1766—1768.

From Pitt's second Administration to the end of the first Parliament of George the Third 705

CHAPTER XVII.

1768 (March)—1773 (August).

From the Meeting of the second Parliament of George III. to the death of Lord Lyttelton 746

APPENDIX 793

CHAPTER XI.

1748—1753.

[Hagley MSS.—Coxe's Pelham Administration—Chatham Correspondence, vol. i.—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii.—Chesterfield's Letters—Lord Marchmont's Diary, vol. ii.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs—Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii.]

WE now return to Lyttelton's career in the political world. About the year 1748, the party of the Prince of Wales became again formidable. This was owing to the unpopularity of the King, the affability and revived popularity of the Prince,* the prospect of his speedy succession to the throne, to large sums of money lavished on elections, and also to the union† of the remains of the former 1748.

* After the peace, quantities of French goods were introduced into England. The Prince and Princess forbad any one to appear at their court in dresses of French manufacture, and made their children act Addison's Cato. The Duke of Newcastle's election to the Chancellorship of Cambridge had increased the dislike borne to him by the Prince, who had been a candidate for that office.

† It is remarkable that Burke in his memorable "Thoughts on the present Discontents," ascribes to the advisers of Frederic,

1748. opposition with some, who, like Sir John Hynde Cotton had deserted their party. The leaders in the House of Commons were Lord Egmont and Bubb Doddington, to whom the Prince had promised a peerage, and whom, on his quitting the Government and his place of Treasurer of the Navy, he had made Treasurer of the Chambers. But by far the ablest as well as the most respected of the parliamentary chiefs was Dr. (afterwards Sir George) Lee, a civilian of great eminence and profound learning, a politician of acknowledged integrity, and a debater of great power. The Prince was also at this time at enmity with the Duke of Cumberland, and the King's partiality for the younger embittered the opposition of the elder brother. The meetings at Leicester House became frequent and notorious, and provoked the wrath equally of the King and his ministers. The breach was widened by Bolingbroke. The councils of Leicester House were (till his death, in 1751) chiefly influenced by this veteran and indefatigable intriguer, who now more than seventy years old, resided at Battersea, and was the bosom counsellor of the Prince.

Excluded by the general distrust of all parties from any share in government, he still lent no mean aid to

Prince of Wales, the project, afterwards attempted to be executed by Lord Bute and George the Third, of forming two systems of Administration, one in the real confidence of the Crown, the other merely ostensible, to perform the official and executory duties of Government. This system of a "double cabinet" and "King's-men," is now best known from the immortal writings in which it is denounced. See p. 639 of this volume.

any cause which he chose to espouse by the magic of his pen. Soon after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he published some remarks on the melancholy state, as he thought proper to describe it, of the nation; and not long afterwards he gave to the world his "Idea of a Patriot King," a work which has been much celebrated, and will probably be always read for the eloquence of its language and the beauty of its style, though inferior in these respects to his letter to Sir W. Wyndham, and perhaps also to the Dissertation on Parties, but which can scarcely be said to have any other merit. It propounds a theory of government not very intelligible or consistent, and perfectly impracticable, if desirable; the Patriot King is, of course, the Rising Sun, Prince Frederick. A great part of this essay, as of his historical works, is a mere vehicle for the abuse of Walpole's policy. It is not, I believe, generally, if at all, known that this book was originally dedicated to Lyttelton, at least I have never found the fact asserted in print: but the following letters leave no doubt upon the subject. The copy of the first, as well as the endorsement, is in Lord Lyttelton's hand-writing. 1748.

"This letter was writ upon the publication of Lord Bolingbroke's Idea of a Patriot King, which was originally writ in the form of a letter to me. I being then in the Prince's service. I have it in manuscript as it was writ, and in my Lord's own hand."

1748. "London, April y^e^ 14th, 1748.

"My Lord,

"I am prevented by unavoidable business from waiting on you this morning, as I intended to do, in order to talk with your Lordship upon the subject about wh'ch you sent Mr. Mallet to me, which I have thought much upon since, and with no little uneasiness. Any publick mark of your Lordship's esteem and partiality for me, as it would be the highest honour, so it would be the greatest pleasure to me; but as I am now in the most intimate connection of friendship with many of the best and nearest friends of the late Lord Orford, and have even received obligations from some of his family, who would be extreamly offended at a work which so severely reflects on his memory being now published and addressed to me, it is an honour, which, however flattering and agreeable it would be to me in other respects, I am on that account compelled to decline. I must, therefore, though with the utmost reluctance, beg of your Lordship, if you resolve to publish it now, that you would leave out the part that relates to me; but I should much rather wish, and, if I might presume to judge for your Lordship, should think it more eligible for you yourself, to defer the publication of it to a more proper time. That a very disagreeable use will be made of it I am very sure, and there is a great difference as to the consequences and effects of it in the world, between an imperfect copy of it being stole into print in a magazine, and this avowed and authorised publication, which will draw the attention of all mankind.

But in this point your Lordship must think for your- 1748.
self. I only entreat you to forgive the necessity which I am under of declining, in my situation, what in any other I should most ardently wish; and to believe me, in all situations, with the most perfect respect and most grateful sense of your favours to me,

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's
"most obliged
"and most faithful humble servant,
"G. LYTTELTON."

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO MR. LYTTELTON.

"Battersea, April 15th, 1748.

"DEAR SIR,

"I WOULD not answer your letter that came yesterday to my hands, till I could tell you, as I can now do, that every word will be left out of the papers which have given you so much uneasiness, and out of the introduction to them that may even seem to have been addressed to you. I have had my uneasiness too; that of being forced to reveal the turpitude of a man with whom I had lived long in the intimacy of friendship, and that of being obliged by your commands to suppress any marks of my esteem and affection for you. I have obeyed you; and it was reasonable that I should: but I cannot take your advice, nor think it eligible for me to defer the publication of these papers to a more proper time. They should not have been made public at all, if I could have helped it. But since they must be made so,

1749. what time can be more proper for me to publish them than the present? I must either suffer them to be sent abroad uncorrected, in such a manner as I would not have published them myself, and with every thing in them which you are so desirous to have left out, or I must do what I am doing, let them appear corrected and less unfit for the public eye. If any use disagreeable to others be made of this forced publication, I shall be sorry for it. As to its consequences and effects relative to myself, I am under no concern. For though age and infirmities press me hard, and I stand almost alone in the world, yet I find vigour enough remaining to defend myself against any attack, with truth, reason, and the cause of this country on my side. Thus I think for myself, and, I hope, not unreasonably.

"As to you, I shall continue to think as I have always thought, with true esteem and a pure affection in whatever situation you are, and shall profess myself as long as I live,

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful friend,

"and most obedient humble servant,

"B."

This is the last letter which the Hagley MSS. contain of this extraordinary man, who died in December, 1751, and who at one time had acquired considerable ascendancy over the mind of Lyttelton, and to whose talents he paid to the last, unfeigned homage. His character was drawn by a common friend and keen

observer, Lord Chesterfield. It was on the occasion of sending to his son a copy of the Patriot King. 1749.

"I desire (he writes)* that you will read it over and over again, with particular attention to the style, and to all those beauties of Oratory with which it is adorned. Till I read that book, I confess I did not know all the extent and powers of the English language. Lord Bolingbroke has both a tongue and pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation, is full as elegant as his writings; whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversation, if taken down in writing, would bear the Press, without the least correction either as to method or style. If his conduct, in the former part of his life, had been equal to all his natural and acquired talents, he would most justly have merited the epithet of all-accomplished. He is himself sensible of his past errors: those violent passions, which seduced him in his youth, have now subsided by age; and, take him as he is now, the character of all-accomplished is more his due than any man's I ever knew in my life.

"But he has been a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and

* Chesterfield's Letters, clxxv.

1749. sudden contrast. Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours; and both rendered more shining from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized not only his passions, but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination has often been heated and exhausted with his body, in celebrating and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic Bacchanals. Those passions were interrupted but by a stronger, Ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character, but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation.

"He has noble and generous sentiments, rather than fixed reflected principles of good-nature and friendship; but they are more violent than lasting, and suddenly and often varied to their opposite extremes, with regard even to the same persons. He receives the common attentions of civility as obligations, which he returns with interest; and resents with passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which he repays with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a Philosophical subject, would provoke, and prove him no practical Philosopher, at least.

"Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which, from the clearest and quickest conception, and happiest memory, that ever man was blessed

with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket- 1749.
money, and he never has occasion to draw upon a bank for any sum. He excels more particularly in History, as his historical works plainly prove. The relative Political and Commercial interests of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, are better known to him, than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he has pursued the latter, in his public conduct, his enemies, of all parties and denominations, tell with joy.

" He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business; and his penetration was almost intuition. I am old enough to have heard him speak in Parliament. And I remember, that, though prejudiced against him by party, I felt all the force and charms of his eloquence. Like Belial in Milton, " he made " the worse appear the better cause."* All the internal and external advantages and talents of an Orator are undoubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, knowledge; and, above all, the purest and most florid diction, with the justest metaphors, and happiest images, had raised him to the post of Secretary at War, at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the smallest employment.

" During his long exile in France, he applied himself to study with his characteristical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed the plan of a great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination. He must go *extra flammantia mœnia*

* Sic in orig.

1748 9. *Mundi*, and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of Metaphysicks; which open an unbounded field for the excursions of an ardent imagination; where endless conjectures supply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and too often usurp both its name and influence.

"He has had a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners: he has all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have.

"He professes himself a Deist; believing in a general Providence, but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is commonly supposed) the immortality of the soul, and a future state.

"Upon the whole, of this extraordinary man, what can we say, but alas, poor human nature!"*

Directly after the peace Mr. Pelham proceeded with the great object of his administration, relieving the country from taxes, then considered, in happy ignorance of the future, to be enormous. He effected this by the wise and statesman-like measure, (imitated since these pages were first written, by the present Government) of reducing the *interest* on the public debt. In 1717, the interest had been lowered from six to five—in 1727, from five to four per cent average. The accumulation

* In another letter, he writes:—"Lord Bolingbroke joined all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity of a statesman, and to the learning of a pedant; he was "*omnis homo*."—Chesterfield's Letters, vol. iii. ccxl.

of capital since the accession of George the Second, 1750.
had brought down the actual rate of interest to three per cent., and to this rate Mr. Pelham carefully, and without violence, reduced the interest on the national debt. The public credit of Great Britain was immediately raised on the Continent, and the fame and success of the measure excited, even as a similar measure has done in our own day, the envy and admiration of Europe. Nevertheless Mr. Pelham began to experience considerable difficulties in the conducting his measures of Government. The Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State, and his friend Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, began to cabal with the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia, who had been offended with the Duke of Newcastle; while the jealousy of this selfish man induced him to make partisans in the Government against his brother. Pitt began at this time rather to court the Duke, while Fox attached himself to Mr. Pelham: at the same time the Cobham party, which, with the exception of Lyttelton and Pitt, were never, perhaps, identified with the administration, opened a secret communication with the Prince of Wales. Before the close of the year 1750, Lyttelton's health seems to have been much affected. The following letters of Mr. Pitt are interesting from the amiable light which they throw upon his character. The first is to William Lyttelton.

"South Lodge, July 14th, 1750.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I HAVE been running about ever since I received the honour and pleasure of your very obliging

1750. letter, or I should have returned you my best thanks for it sooner. I am for some days set down quiet in my little retreat of Enfield; and find myself so absolute an hermit, that I hardly know how to write to a man of the great world, fresh from the Court of Compiegne, and consequently filled with all that is great and gallant. While I am sitting in much leisure under my tree, I have the pleasure of thinking that you are much better employed; whether it be *à courir le cerf* with the King; or if for gentler sports you quit the savage field, and are forming your style to purity and elegance, in the delightful school of some Court beauty,—however you are occupy'd, I have the satisfaction to know that you are on the road to every accomplishment travelling is intended for, and I hope you find the journey pleasurable. I desire you will sometimes let me hear from you, and if I am an irregular correspondent, you must impute it to my rambling about: for I lead so vagabond a life, that no letter scarcely reaches me so soon as it might. Believe me, my dear Lyttelton, my sincere wishes, and very affectionate esteem go along with you wherever you are. I will end without form.

"Your's most faithfully and truly,

"W. PITT."

The two next are to the subject of these memoirs.

"Pay Office, Sept. 20th, 1750.

"MY DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I AM infinitely concerned at the present low state of your health: and did immediately upon the reading your letter send for Burgess, who, I

thought a good judge of your constitution, to consult what might be properest for you to do; whether to go southward or return to England: he is strongly of opinion that a more northerly climate is best for you; that is, the air of England; and advises that you should lose no time in leaving Paris, delay in cases of this hectic nature being sometimes of great consequence. Remembering how George and Harry Grenville had been recovered by elixir of vitriol, I ask'd Burgess if it was proper for you; and he recommends it of all things, provided you have no complaint upon you of the bowels: this elixir of vitriol may be taken twice a-day in winter (provided the water be good and not of the Seine,) from forty, fifty, sixty, to a hundred drops; you are desired not to make great journeys, and if you can bear it, get out of your chaise, on horseback, and gently ride for half a post, now and then, if the weather be good. Let me add my earnest desires to Burgess's advice to you to lose no time in leaving Paris. I am most sincerely anxious, my dear Lyttelton, for your health: much encouraged however to hope a speedy good effect from a good air, such as that of Hagley. I have been ill of an ugly quartan ague, and am not well able to write long, therefore without more ceremony, God in heaven bless you, my dear Lyttelton. 1750.

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. PITT.

"Don't be anxious about Parliament. You will have time to get well before it meets, but of this make no mention."

1750. "Bath, October 13, 1750.

"Dear Lyttelton,

"Your letter since your arrival in England has given me much sincere pleasure. The account you give of your amendment with respect to the alarming part of your disorder, leaves me no doubt that I shall have the satisfaction of hearing better and better news of you very soon. Be assured, my dear Lyttelton, no one wishes you more health and happiness than I do; as no one is more sensible than I am how highly you deserve both. I rejoice with your brother and you upon the present state of Bewdley; few things can import your family more than the securing that place. I am much obliged to you for your concern for my health. I have had no return of my ague this month, and find the waters agree perfectly well with me. They don't allow me to write much: so, my dear Lyttelton, adieu.

"Your very affectionate,

"W. Pitt.

"My best compliments to Sir Thomas and all the family."

Soon after the meeting of Parliament in January 1751, Mr. Pelham proposed the unwise reduction of the seamen from ten to eight thousand. It was vehemently opposed by the Prince's friend, Lord Egmont, and strongly supported by Mr. Fox; the proposition was carried by 167 against 107. But Pitt, Lyttelton, and George Grenville, all voted in the minority. Pitt, indeed, protesting great regard for Pelham, spoke against it in bringing up the report. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to his friends in approbation of Pitt's

conduct. In this, as well as other instances, the good temper and good sense of Mr. Pelham alone prevented an open rupture between the brothers. At this time, while the Duke of Newcastle was (to borrow H. Walpole's expression) "countenancing Pitt against all," the Duke of Bedford was endeavouring to set up Fox against Mr. Pelham. During this Parliament, great discussions took place on the Mutiny Bill, raised inadvertently it should seem by Colonel * Richard Lyttelton, younger brother of Lyttelton, member for Brockley, and a favourite with the Prince. Lyttelton (now Sir George) delivered a set speech,† elaborate and well reasoned, in favour of the measure. During this session, Pelham proposed that £40,000. a-year should be paid to Bavaria for six years, £20,000. by England and £10,000. by the Empress Queen, and by Holland. According to Walpole (whose Parliamentary sketches, divested of their personalities, form the most valuable part of his memoirs,) "Martin made a speech of great wit against "it, Lyttelton a learned one, and Murray, Solicitor "General, a very masterly one for it." Pitt spoke vehemently, and with the three Grenvilles and Conway (alone of English Whigs) voted against Mr. Pelham, on a petition for a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of a General Anstruther on a court martial. It does not appear that Lyttelton deserted Pelham on this or on any other occasion than that already mentioned, the reduction of the seamen: but there is no doubt that he was engaged in a plan for conci- 1751.

* He is the person whom Glover eulogises in his Memoirs.

† Printed in his works as corrected by himself.

1751. liating the Prince of Wales, not however as it appears to me, for the purpose of overthrowing Mr. Pelham. That Minister was at this time thwarted by three parties (1.) secretly, by his brother and Pitt, (2.) and by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, and Fox, the latter of whom had become adherents of the Duke of Cumberland, (3.) and openly by the Prince of Wales. The Prince died of a pleurisy, on the 20th of March, 1751.* Then follows a story told by H. Walpole, and resting on his authority alone.† "Soon after the Prince died, an unlucky discovery was made.

* The best trait of the Prince is his kindness to Flora Mac Ivon.—See Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. c. xxix.

The following verses were written (except the lines in italics, which I suspect to be a recent insertion,) about this time.

"Here lies Hanover Fred
Who was alive and is dead;
If it had been his father
I had much rather;
If it had been his brother
Better than any other;
If it had been his sister
Nobody would have missed her;
If it had been his son
No harm would have been done;
If it had been the whole generation
The better for all the nation—
But as it is only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
Why—there's no more to be said."

† "I must guard you (writes Professor Smythe) against the historical publications of the celebrated Horace Walpole. Look for entertainment in them, and you will not be disappointed; but give him not your confidence, indeed you will soon see from his lively and epigrammatic style of narrative, that he cannot deserve it." To the same effect Mr. Hallam in his Constitutional History.

" George Lyttelton had written a lamentation on that 1751.
" occasion to his father, an antiquated baronet in Wor-
" cestershire, telling him that he and his friends had
" just renewed their connection with the Prince of
" Wales, through the mediation of Dr. Ayscough;
" which, though not ripe for discovery, was the true
" secret of their oblique behaviour this session in Par-
" liament. This letter he had delivered to a gentle-
" man's servant who was going into that county; but
" the fellow having some other letters for the post, had
" by mistake given in the private negotiation which
" was only subscribed to *Sir Thomas Lyttelton*. It
" was opened at the Post-office, and carried to Mr.
" Pelham. Had it been seen by no other person
" the secret had been safe, and the treachery con-
" cealed as carefully as if he had been in the conspiracy
" itself, instead of being the object of it; but it was
" talked of from the Post-office, though obscurely for
" some time, till at last it was carried up some how or
" other, and arrived at the King's ears, who grew
" outrageous, and could not be hindered from exa-
" mining Shelvocke, the Secretary of the Post-office
" himself; here he got very little further light, for
" Shelvocke had been instructed to affirm that the let-
" ter was sent back to Mr. Lyttelton unopened; but
" Lyttelton who had not been so well instructed in his
" own secret, avowed it; and as if there was nothing to
" be ashamed of but the discovery, he took pains to pal-
" liate no other part of the story." This is followed by a caricature of Lyttelton's personal appearance and character, and is the version of one who bore such

1751. a malignant hatred against him, that alone of all contemporaries who have written or spoken about Lyttelton, he affected to disbelieve the sincerity of his religious feelings; and who at the very time he was sweltering this posthumous venom, was subscribing himself in private letters Lyttelton's "admirer." The MSS. before me throw no light on this transaction; but it was clearly one of which Lyttelton was not ashamed; and there is every proof that Mr. Pelham's regard for him continued unabated till that gentleman's death. The letters to Doddridge make it probable that this was a negotiation through Dr. Lee, not Dr. Ayscough, for a reconciliation with his old master, (the estrangement from whom his affectionate nature had never ceased to lament), by which whoever else was, Mr. Pelham was not to be sacrificed. Whatever was the cause Dr. Ayscough was immediately removed from his place of tutor to the young Prince. The political party of Leicester House was for the time dissolved. The Princess threw herself into the arms of the King, who received her with unfeigned affection. The Pelhams bestirred themselves and greatly strengthened their administration. They excluded the Duke of Cumberland from the Regency,* which

* "The death of the Prince of Wales (writes Lord Chesterfield to his son), who was more beloved for his affability and good nature, than esteemed for his steadiness and conduct, has given concern to many and apprehensions to all. The great difference of age in the King and Prince George, presents the prospect of a minority; a disagreeable prospect for any nation! but it is to be hoped, and is most probable, that the King, who is now perfectly recovered of his late indisposition, may live to see his grandson of age. He is

they conferred on the young Princess, assisted by a 1751.
council of twelve, which included the Duke of Cumberland. Pitt supported this measure with all his energy, but Lord Cobham spoke against the council, as did Fox. The next step of the Pelhams was to drive out the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, detaching however from the latter his father-in-law, Lord Gower. Lord Anson was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Granville sunk into complete insignificance, quietly accepted the Presidency of the Council. From this time the placidity of the Government continued undisturbed till the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754, except by the debates on the Jews Naturalization Bill, which the Minister warmly supported. Early in the year 1753, an Act which passed the Lords without opposition, and with the approval of several Bishops, passed the Commons after some debate; it was entitled, "An Act to permit persons professing "the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Act of Par- "liament, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

seriously a most hopeful boy: gentle and good-natured, with a good sound sense. This event has made all sorts of people here historians as well as politicians. Our histories are rummaged for all the particular circumstances of the six minorities we have had since the conquest, viz.—those of Henry III. Edward III. Richard II. Henry VI. Edward V. and Edward VI.; and the reasonings, the speculations, the conjectures, and the predictions, you will easily imagine must be innumerable and endless in this nation, where every porter is a consummate politician Doctor Swift says, very humorously, 'Every man knows that he understands religion and 'politics, though he has not learned them; but many people are 'conscious they do not understand many other sciences from having 'never learned them?'—Adieu."—Letter ccxvii.

1753. The bill, in fact, only extended to foreign Jews, naturalized here, the privileges enjoyed by the sons of Jews born here. So violent an outcry was raised against the measure as destructive of the Church and Christianity; so incredible was the ferment into which the nation was thrown by it, that Ministers thought it expedient to repeal it that same year. Some discussion took place as to the repeal and the words employed. Among others, (to borrow Horace Walpole's words,) "Pitt, who was just come abroad again, after a year "of sullen illness, defended the words and the repeal, "and it passed by a majority of 150 to 60." Lyttelton delivered one of those studied orations in which both Walpole and Lord Waldegrave pronounce that he excelled. In the course of his speech* he said, "Re- "solution and steadiness are excellent qualities; but "it is the application of them upon which their value "depends. A wise Government will know where to "yield as well as where to resist: and there is no "surer marks of littleness of mind in an administra- "tion than obstinacy in trifles. Public wisdom on some "occasions must give way to popular folly, especially "in a free country, where the humour of the people "must be considered as attentively as the demand of "a King in an absolute monarchy. Under both forms "of Government, a prudent and honest ministry "will indulge a *small folly* and will resist a *great one.* "Not to vouchsafe now and then a kind indulgence "to the former, would discover an ignorance of human "nature. Not to resist the latter would be a meanness

* See vol. iii. of Lyttelton's works.

" and servility." He also observed in the course of his 1754
speech, that " the worst mischief that can be done " to Religion, is to pervert it to the purposes of " faction. Heaven and hell are not more distant than " the benevolent spirit of the Gospel, and the malig- " nant spirit of party;" that he " who hated another " for not being a Christian was himself not a Christian;" that " Toleration was the basis of all public quiet—a " charter of freedom given to the mind, more valua- " ble, he thought, than that which secures our persons " and estates."*

On the 6th of March, 1754, Mr. Pelham died. " Our tranquillity, (writes Lord Waldegrave,) both at home and abroad died with him." " Now I shall have no more peace," exclaimed George the Second. In truth he had been an able, wise, and honest Minister, under whom this country greatly flourished. As to his private character, Lord Chesterfield truly observed, " that he had many domestic virtues and no vices." And the Detractor-General, H. Walpole, allowed that he had lived without abusing his power, and died poor. Very different was the character of his brother the Duke of Newcastle, whose high rank, powerful connections, indefatigable industry and per-

* Well would it have been for the country if such opinions had been generally prevalent among his contemporaries. Speaking of the period a few years before the date of this speech, Burke accuses Lord Chesterfield of duping the credulity of Papists in Ireland, while he was " urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne, and of stimulating with provocatives the wearied and half-exhausted bigotry of the then Parliament of Ireland."—Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.

1754. severance, and intrepidity in debate, scarcely redeemed him from the contempt to which his constant perfidy, his mean jealousy, servile timidity and low ambition of place and power, almost universally consigned him. Pitt, Fox, and Murray, were by far the ablest debaters in the House; and the candidates out of whom the world imagined Mr. Pelham's successor would be chosen. Murray set his heart on being Lord Chief Justice, and wisely resolved to cling to his profession: the Duke of Newcastle was determined to outwit both Fox and Pitt. Fox was at this time bribed by the Duke of Cumberland, as not long afterwards Pitt was by Leicester House, which had again become the theatre of habitual intrigue, under the Princess Dowager and her son, then nearly eighteen years old, the future George the Third. Lyttelton, George Grenville, and Legge were the most considerable persons in the House, after the three whose pre-eminence was generally admitted. The Duke of Newcastle offered Fox the Secretaryship of State, and on his acceptance clogged it with such humiliating conditions, that he knew it must be refused. He then placed a creature of his own, Sir George Robinson,* in that important post; he was not less unacceptable to the King, because not only wholly ignorant of continental politics, but utterly without the faculty of explaining himself in intelligible language—no slight requisite in a leader of the House of Commons. He soon became the derision of the House under the incessant baiting of Pitt and Fox, who remained Paymaster of the Forces

* Afterwards Lord Grantham.

and Secretary at War. Lyttelton who had become 1754.
sincerely attached to Mr. Pelham's principle of government, which he believed the Duke meant to carry into execution, was made Cofferer,* George Grenville, Treasurer of the Navy, an office vacant by the promotion of Legge to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Horace Walpole says, that Lyttelton "undertook to be a factor for his friends," and unauthorised answered for Pitt's acquiescence under a new plan. This period brings us to a remarkable epoch in Lyttelton's life—the causes which led to the rupture of "the historic friendship"† with Pitt. Fortunately the story can be told in their own language. The correspondence of Pitt, from the death of Mr. Pelham till the close of the year 1754, and Lyttelton's paper of observations thereupon, constitute not the least curious and interesting portion of the manuscripts at Hagley. Lord Waldegrave in his agreeable and trustworthy memoirs observes, that at this time "Mr. Pitt's fol-
"lowers were scarce a sufficient number to deserve
"the name of a party, consisting only of the Gren-
"villes and Sir George Lyttelton. The latter was
"an enthusiast both in religion and politics—absent
"in business, not ready in debate and totally ignorant
"of the world; on the other hand his studied ora-
"tions were excellent, he was a man of parts, a scho-
"lar, no indifferent writer, and by far the honestest
"man of the whole society." I should here observe, that the manuscripts before me show no trace of any

* He made his brother William sub-cofferer.

† H. Walpole's expression.

acquaintance subsisting between Lyttelton and Lord Waldegrave.

FROM PITT TO LYTTELTON.

"Bath, February 16th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

1754. "I AM extremely sensible of your friendly and kind remembrance of your faithful servant, now under the wholesome but painful discipline of fit the second of gout in both feet; I was just beginning to use my feet when I lost them again, and have been for this week in much pain, and nailed fast to my great chair. I rejoice much in the health of the Lytteltons; at least of Hill-street, for as to Sir Richard, I have not the pleasure of hearing any boasts of his defying the severe winter we have had. I hope, however, he is not, as I am, laid up. Your bustle about putting the troops at Madras, &c. under martial law was, I imagine, not great; a more reasonable and indeed necessary proposition could not, in my opinion, be moved. A greater state solecism can hardly be imagined than foreign mercenary troops, not under the controul of martial law; and that in a place exposed every hour to war. Le Harpe stands you a long chase: I suppose you partake of the sport, with what keenness I know not. The affair, though not of the first magnitude, has, I believe, a good deal of dirt at the bottom of it, and is well worthy of the exertion of that great Right of Enquiry, which is to be exploded in a few years more. A thousand thanks to my dear Lyttelton, for his very obliging tender of his company to the

sick: I hope, before it is very long, to repeat these thanks to you in London, and enjoy the pleasure of that conversation you have goodness enough to offer me in my present state of tribulation. I rejoice things at Oakhampton are likely to go well. Believe me, 1754.

"My dear Lyttelton,

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. Pitt.

"I am much Mrs. Mary West's humble servant, and rejoice in her health."

"(Secret.)

"Bath, March 10th, 1754.

"Dear Lyttelton,

"I am much obliged to you for your dispatch, and am highly satisfied with the necessary reserve you have kept with respect to the dispositions of yourself and friends. Indeed the conjuncture itself, and more especially our peculiar situation, require much caution and measure in all our answers, in order to act like honest men, who determine to adhere to the public great object; as well as men who would not be treated like children. I am far from meaning to recommend a sullen, dark, much less a double conduct; all I mean is to lay down a plan to ourselves; which is, to support the King's government in present and maintain the Princess's authority and power in a future contingency: as a necessary consequence of this system, I wish to see as little power in Fox's hands as possible, because he is incompatible with the main part and indeed of the whole of this plan; but

1754. I mean not to open myself to whoever pleases to sound my dispositions, with regard to persons especially, and by premature declarations, deprive ourselves of the only chance we have of deriving any consideration to ourselves from the mutual fears and animosities of different factions in court: and expose ourselves to the resentment and malice in the *closet* of the one without stipulations or security for the good offices and weight of the other there in our favour. But do I mean then an absolute reserve, which has little less than the air of hostility towards our friends (such as they are) at court; or at least, bear too plainly the indications of intending a third party or flying squadron! by no means: nothing would, in my poor judgment, be so unfit and dangerous for us. I would be open and explicit (but only on proper occasions) "that, I was most willing to support his Majesty's government upon such a proper plan as I doubted not his Majesty, by the advice of his Ministers, would frame; in order to supply, the best that may be, the irreparable loss the King has sustained in Mr. Pelham's death: in order to secure the King ease for his life and future security to his family and to the kingdom: that my regards to the ministers in being were too well known to need any declarations;" this and the like which may be vary'd for ever, is answer enough to any *sounder*. As to any things said by Principals in personal conference, as that of the Chancellor with you, another manner of talking will be proper, though still conformable to the same private plan which you shall resolve to pursue. Pro-

fessions of personal regard cannot be made too strongly; but as to matter, generals are to be answered with generals; particulars, if you are led into them, need not at all be shunn'd; and if treated with common prudence and presence of mind, can not be greatly used to a man's prejudice; if he says nothing that implies specific engagements, without knowing specifically what he is to trust to reciprocally. Within these limitations, it seems to me, that a man whose intentions are clear and right, may talk without putting himself at another's mercy or offending him by a dark and mysterious reserve. I think it best to throw my answer to the Chancellor into a separate piece of paper, that you may send it to his Lordship. I am sorry to be forced to answer in writing, because not seeing the party, it is not possible to throw in necessary qualifications and additions or retractations, according to the impression things make. 1754.

"As far as, my dear Lyttelton, you are so good to relate your several conversations upon the present situation, I highly applaud your prudence. I hope you neither have nor will drop a word of menace, and that you will always bear in mind that my personal connection with the Duke of Newcastle, has a peculiar circumstance which yours and that of your friends has not. One cannot be too explicit in conversing at this unhappy distance* on matters of this delicate and critical nature. I will, therefore, commit tautology, and

* Pitt, says H. Walpole, was at Bath, "where he had, or had "unluckily acted, very ill health."

1754. repeat what I said in my former dispatch: viz. that it enters not the least into my plans to intimate quitting the King's service; giving trouble, if not satisfied, to Government. The essence of it consists in this: attachment to the King's service, and zeal for the ease and quiet of his life, and stability and strength to future government under the Princess; this declared openly and explicitly *to the ministers.* The reserve I would use should be, with regard to listing in particular subdivisions, and thereby not freeing persons from those fears which will alone quicken them to give us some consideration for their own sakes: but this is to be done *negatively* only; by eluding explicit declarations with regard to persons especially; but by *intimations of a possibility of our following our resentments;* for, indeed, dear Sir George, I am determined not to go into faction. Upon the whole, the mutual fears in Court open to our connection some room for importance and weight, in the course of affairs: in order to profit by this situation, we must not be out of office: and the strongest argument of all to enforce that, is, that Fox is too odious to last for ever, and G. Grenville must be next nomination under any Government. I am too lame to move.

"Your ever affectionate

"W. Pitt."

Lyttelton's ingenuous nature was ill qualified to follow the dark and tortuous course prescribed to him

in this memorable letter;* that the writer, however, 1754.
was fully able to practise what he taught will be seen from the enclosure to Lord Hardwicke. His mode of hinting, that if Fox is made Chancellor of the Exchequer, he will accept the Secretaryship at War, will amuse the reader.

"(Ostensible to Lord Hardwicke.)

"Bath, March 10th, 1754.

"My dear Sir George,

"I beg you will be so good to assure my Lord Chancellor, in my name, of my most humble services and many very grateful acknowledgments for his Lordship's obliging wishes for my health. I am still under an utter impossibility of travelling, with much gout and pain in both feet: it is particularly mortifying to me not to be able to wait on his Lordship to receive his commands in this unhappy and difficult conjuncture, when the King and kingdom have sustained an irreparable loss. The best which can be done must leave, I fear, the public exposed to many disagreeable and perhaps dangerous contingencies—that this best, wherever it is to be found, will be done, I can safely trust to my Lord Chancellor's wisdom, authority, and firmness, in conjunction with the Duke of Newcastle's great weight and abilities, as soon as his Grace can recover into action again. I can never

* Full of what Mr. Burke so admirably designates as "signifi-
"cant, pompous, creeping, explanatory, ambiguous matter, in the
"true Chathamic style."—Burke's Corres., vol. i. p. 173.

1754. sufficiently express the high sense I have of the great honours of my Lord Chancellor's much too favourable opinion of his humble servant; but I am so truly and deeply conscious of so many* of my wants in Parliament and out of it, to supply in the smallest degree this irreparable loss, that I can say with much truth were my health restored and his Majesty brought from the dearth of subjects to hear of my name for so great a charge, I should wish to decline the honour, even though accompany'd with the attribution of all the weight and strength which the good opinion and confidence of the master cannot fail to add to a servant; but under impressions in the Royal mind towards me, the reverse of these, what must be the vanity which would attempt it? These prejudices, however so successfully suggested and hitherto so unsuccessfully attempted to be removed, shall not abate my zeal for his Majesty's service, though they have so effectually disarmed me of all means of being useful to it. I need not suggest to his Lordship that consideration and weight in the House of Commons arises generally but from one of two causes—the protection and countenance of the Crown, visibly manifested by marks of Royal Favour at Court, or from weight in the country, sometimes arising from opposition to the public measures. This latter sort of consideration it is a great satisfaction to me to reflect I parted with, as soon as I became convinced there might be danger to the family from pursuing opposition any further; and I need not say I have not

* Sic in orig.

had the honour to receive any of the former since I became the King's servant. In this humiliating and not exaggerated view of my situation within the House, of how little weight can I flatter myself to be there? And how even would it be for me, were I in town, to assume anything like the lead, even though encouraged to it by as animating a consideration as my Lord Chancellor's protection, without the attribution of a weight, which does not belong to myself, and can arise to me only from marks of Royal Countenance towards me and my friends. Perhaps some of my friends may not labour under all the prejudices that I do. I have reason to believe they do not: in that case should Mr. Fox be Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary at War is to be filled up. I can not leave off without repeating again the high sense I have of the great honour of my Lord Chancellor's good opinion. I fear I have very little else to merit any degree of it but unutterable good wishes for the security, ease, and quiet of his Majesty's reign, and a firm attachment to the maintenance and stability of the Princess's authority as established in case of a minority, which God avert! And I hope I need not add, that no one is more respectfully and gratefully attached to his Lordship than I am, Farewell, my dear Sir George, your ever affectionate, 1754.

"W. Pitt."

The Lord Chancellor on the day he was created Earl of Hardwicke and Viscount Royston, wrote to Mr. Pitt this answer.*

* Published in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 89.

1754. THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

"Powis House, April 2, 1754.

"SIR,

"AFTER having read your letter to Sir George Lyttelton, which he was pleased to shew me, I take shame to myself for having omitted so long to do myself the honour of writing to you. But I must own (besides the pain of leaning down to write during the violence of my cough), another kind of shame has, in part, restrained me from it; for I blush even when I refer to that letter. I am penetrated with the goodness which it breathes for me; but that goodness carried you to say some things which, as I am sensible I neither do, nor ever can deserve, I dare not take to myself. Besides this, I have lived in such continual hurry, ever since the day of our great misfortune, Mr. Pelham's death,—

"Ille dies, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dī voluistis,) habebo,"—

that I have had no time for correspondence.

"The general confusion called upon somebody to step forth; and the Duke of Newcastle's overwhelming affliction and necessary confinement, threw it upon me. I was a kind of minister, *ab aratro*, I mean the chancery-plough, and am not displeased to be returned to it, laborious as it is to hold. I never saw the King under such deep concern since the Queen's death. His Majesty seemed to be unresolved; professed to have no favourite for the important employment vacant; and declared that he would be

advised by his cabinet council, with the Duke of Devonshire added to them; and yet I could plainly discern a latent prepossession in favour of a certain person, who, within a few hours after Mr. Pelham's death, had made strong advances to the Duke of Newcastle and myself. I gained no further ground for four days, and remained in a state of the utmost anxiety, as well for the King's dignity, as for the event. 1754.

"To poll in a cabinet council for his first minister, which should only be decided in his closet, I could by no means digest; and yet I saw danger in attempting to drive it to a *personal* determination. My great objects were to support the system of which Mr. Pelham had been, in a great measure, at the head; by that means to preserve and cement the Whig party, and to secure the election of a new parliament upon the plan he had left, though unfinished; which I inculcated to be the *immediate* fundamental object. This I stuck close to, as I saw it carried the greatest force; and I took advantage of the King's earnestness for a good House of Commons, to show him the necessity of fortifying his interest there, not only by numbers, but by weight and abilities.

"Under this head, it might have the appearance of something which I would avoid being suspected of, if I told you all I said of particular persons. I was not wanting to do justice to true merit, nor backward to show him how real strength might be acquired. Some way I made, though not all I wished; and I threw out intimations that, upon this occasion, open-

1754. ings would be made in very considerable employments, in which some of those I named should be regarded. I sincerely and without affectation wish that it had been possible for you to have heard all that I presumed to say on this subject. I know you are so reasonable, and have so much consideration for your friends (amongst whom I am ambitious to be numbered), that you would have been convinced *some impression* was made, and that, in the circumstances then existing, it could not have been pushed further without the utmost hazard.

" It would be superfluous and vain in me to say to you, what you know so much better than I, that there are certain things which ministers cannot do directly; and that in political arrangements, prudence often dictates to submit to the *minus malum*, and to leave it to time and incidents, and perhaps to ill-judging opponents, to help forward the rest. Permit me to think that has remarkably happened, even in the case before us. An ill-judged demand of extraordinary powers, beyond what were at last in the royal view, has, in my opinion, helped to mend the first plan, and to leave a greater facility to make use of opportunities still to improve it. This situation, with the Duke of Newcastle (whose friendship and attachment to you are undoubted and avowed) placed at the head of the treasury, and in the first rank of power, affords a much more promising prospect, than the most sanguine dared to hope when the fatal blow was first given.

" It gave me much concern to find by your letter to

the Duke of Newcastle, which his Grace did me the honour to communicate to me in confidence, that you are under apprehensions of *some neglect on this decisive occasion.* At some part of what you say I do not at all wonder. I sincerely feel too much for you, not to have the strongest sensibility of it; but I give you my honour, there was no *neglect.* I exerted my utmost, in concurrence with, and under the instruction of, the Duke of Newcastle; whose zeal in this point is equal to your warmest wishes. That an *impression* was made to a certain degree, I think appears in the instances of some of your best friends, Sir George Lyttelton, and Mr. George Grenville; upon whom you generously and justly lay great weight. I agree that this falls short of the mark; but it gives encouragement. It is more than *a colour for acquiescence* in the eyes of the world; it is a demonstration of fact. No ground arises from hence to think of *retirement, rather than for courts and business.* We have all of us our hours wherein we wish for those *otia tuta;* and I have mine frequently: but I have that opinion of your wisdom, of your concern for the public, of your regard and affection for your friends, that I will not suffer myself to doubt but you will continue to take an active part. There never was a fairer field in the House of Commons for such abilities, and I flatter myself that the exertions of them will complete what is now left imperfect. 1754.

"I need only add to this my best wishes for the entire re-establishment of your health. Those wishes are as cordial as the assurances which, with the utmost

1754. sincerity and respect, I now give you, that I am always, Sir,

"Your most obedient,

"most faithful, and

"most humble servant,

"HARDWICKE."

"Bath, March 20th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"YOUR letter by the post has left me in daily expectation of further information by an express. I conclude that things still remain unsettled, because I hear nothing from you, or any other friends, relating to them. I cannot yet fix any time for my leaving this place, for I cannot yet use my legs. I am much recovered in all other respects, and begin to flatter myself with the hope of a degree of health hereafter. The experienced in gout here, promise me the recovery of my feet, as soon as the weather becomes a little milder. The moment I am able to stand, I will set out for London. I need not tell you my impatience to be with my friends. I endeavour to kill my time with the Essay on Human Knowledge.* The work contains a vast compass of reading; it is writ with much clearness, great eloquence, as much wit, and still more arrogance; but I find it in some parts, not a few, filled with repetitions, from my Lord's fondness of the matter. The arrogance is so exces-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophical Essays, published by Mallet on the day of Mr. Pelham's death; a coincidence made memorable by Garrick's well known epigram.

sive, that great as the performance is, it becomes often even ridiculous. There was, not many years ago, a man in Bedlam, of very fine parts, and a scholar, who used to entertain all the spectators of that place, with very rational discourses, and talked with wit and eloquence; but always concluded by assuring his hearers, that he alone, of all the world, was in his right senses, and they, and all mankind, were mad, and had conspired to put him in that place. 1754.

"Adieu, dear Lyttelton,

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. PITT.

"I should hope a week or ten days may set me upon my legs."

"Bath, March 24th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"BEING much tired with long deliberation, and writing a very long letter to the Duke of Newcastle, as well as unfit to write much to-day, from a restless night by the late arrival of your packet, and the effects of Bath waters, I shall say but a few words. First, the inclosed directed for the Duke of Newcastle, I desire you will read, together with Lord Temple, and his brothers, and then seal it, not with my arms or crest, but with a head, and send it, or rather carry it, if you please, to the Duke of Newcastle, and deliver it with your own hand. I judge it upon the whole, necessary to remonstrate as fully as I have done. I hope it will meet with the joint approbation of you all. My plan still continues fixed, not to quit employments; merely quitting is annihila-

1754. tion; quitting to disturb Government, and make ourselves be felt, must at this time be faction; and faction for others' benefit, not our own: it must increase the present confusion, and produce a system I never think right for this country. Were this conduct sure to turn to our own benefit in the scramble, I can never bring my mind to engage in faction, in so dangerous a public conjuncture. Adieu, my dear Lyttelton; I desire you will say all you suppose I feel towards the Chancellor, as when I tell you I think him sincere in his professions, and reverence his wisdom before any man's. The Duke of Newcastle, I don't charge with insincerity intentionable, or want of good will; but I impute all that's wrong there, to an influence that overrules his mind, of which we shall discourse more largely when we meet.

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. Pitt."

It is to be regretted, observes the editor of the Chatham Correspondence, that no draught of Mr. Pitt's letter, here referred to, has been preserved. The Duke of Newcastle's is preserved, and published.* The writer vainly endeavoured to avert the wrath which he justly foresaw the appointment of such a log as Sir T. Robinson to the Foreign Secretaryship, over the head of Pitt, would draw down upon him.

"Whenever I have the honour (he writes) of one quarter of an hour's conversation with you, I am certain

* Vol. i. p. 95, Chatham Correspondence.

I shall convince you of the contrary, and that, in the late arrangements, I have had all the regard and attention to your connexions, which it was possible for me to show; and that if I had attempted more, I should have exposed my own weakness, mortified those whom I meant to serve, prevented even what I have been able to obtain, acted the part which those who wish us ill had laid for me, given them great cause of triumph over us, and perhaps have flung every thing into their hands. * * *

1754.

"A plan was at first made, with a view to make my going to the head of the treasury the more palatable to those who might be supposed to be the least pleased with it. That, for certain reasons, did not take place; upon which, the King himself, from his own motion, declared Sir Thomas Robinson secretary of state. Those, who are honoured with your friendship, thought that the most favourable measure that could be obtained. An honourable and able man, extremely well qualified in every respect for the execution of that office, sincerely attached to our system, and who, without departing from that rank and figure which belonged to his office, had not those parliamentary talents which could give jealousy, or in that light set him above the rest of the King's servants there; so that their situation did not receive the least alteration from his promotion; and since, from circumstances (which you know I have long lamented) it was impossible to put one into that office, who had all the necessary qualifications both within and out of the House, nothing sure could show so great a desire to

1754. soften or alleviate that misfortune, as the giving into a nomination of Sir Thomas Robinson, under the description above mentioned.

"The choice of Mr. Legge was made with a view to please all our friends. We knew he was well with the old corps, we knew he was happy in your friendship, and in your good opinion and that of your connection; and you must allow me to say, that I could never have thought one moment of removing you, in the high light in which you so justly stand, from the office you now possess, to be chancellor of the exchequer, with another person at the head of the treasury.

"These dispositions being thus made, it was my first view to shew you that regard, in the person of your friends, which it was impossible to do in your own, to the degree which you might reasonably expect. The two first vacant offices—that of treasurer of the navy and cofferer—were by my recommendation given to your two first friends, Mr. Grenville and Sir George Lyttelton; two employments as agreeable to them both, as I believe could be found out; and the rest of the vacancies plainly filled with a view to the House of Commons, and the providing for the most efficient men there.

"I have now very truly stated to you the state of the late promotions, and the reasons upon which they were made. Had it been possible for me to have surmounted those difficulties which you hint at, I may venture to assure you, that your situation would be very different from what it is, and no one complaint

should have remained, that I could have removed. I 1754.
am happy, in some measure, to have had the same considerations with yourself, and to have acted with success in consequence of it: viz. that the best alleviation that could be to you, would be the placing your friends in honourable and agreeable employments; and I happen to have pitched upon those mentioned in your letter."

Pitt answered* coldly and haughtily, that "The suffrage of the party in one instance, and a higher nomination in another, operating to the eternal exclusion of a man, can leave him (under a resolution not to disturb Government) no wish but that of retreat; not a retreat of resentment, but of respect, and despair of ever being accepted on equal terms with others, be his poor endeavours what they may." He trusted "a retreat neither dishonourable nor disagreeable, might, when it was practicable, be opened to him."

In the following letter to William Lyttelton, he congratulates him on his appointment of Sub-Cofferer, and praises Legge's appointment.

"Bath, April 1st, 1754.

"My dear Lyttelton,

"Nothing could give me more pleasure than to hear that you are agreeably placed under your brother, except the hearing that justice had been done to your talents and virtues by the highest powers. I wished

* Chatham Correspondence, p. 102.

1754. to see you put into the stream of promotion, which, by its natural current, and the right of succession in the gradation of office, (though not always held indefeasible,) commonly bears men to fortune; however, I heartily rejoice at this secondary mode of being placed; nor is the thing inconsiderable. A thousand grateful and affectionate thanks to you, for your kind alarm about me. I am much better in my general health, though far from quite well. I am still too lame to stand without two sticks. Adieu, my dear Sub-Cofferer; may you in no long course of years, (with Sir George's leave,) come 'to sleep within the chariot that you drive;' for all the cares of office will be yours, while the Cofferer reposes in the shades of Hagley, and dispenses his own fat bucks, as you will do those of His Majesty's parks and forests.

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. PITT.

"My affectionate compliments to Sir George and Sir Richard. I rejoice extremely at the accession to Legge's landed property."

"Bath, April 4th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I AM extremely happy to hear of your recovery at the same time I hear that you have been ill. I hope your health will be quite established before you attempt a journey to Oakhampton. I have, myself, a cold in my head, and a slight sore throat, which unfits me for writing. I have answered the Chancellor's

letter, and the Duke of Newcastle's, by this messenger, 1754.
I must therefore be short to you. The Duke of Newcastle's letter to me is not only in a temper very different from what you saw his Grace in, but is writ with a condescension, and in terms so flattering, that it pains me. I am almost tempted to think there is kindness at the bottom of it, *which, if left to itself, would before now have shewed itself* in effects. If I have not the fruit, I have the leaves of it in abundance; a beautiful foliage of fine words; and if lulling one to sleep would satisfy his Grace, I am quite disposed à m'endormir, *à l'ombre de ses Lauriers*, not as de Retz says of the Prince of Condé, of my own. The Chancellor's letter is the most condescending, friendly, obliging thing that can be imagined. I have the deepest sense of his goodness for me; but I am really compelled, by every reason fit for a man to listen to, to resist (as to the point of activity in Parliament) farther than I like to do. I have intimated retreat, and pointed out such a one in general as I shall really like. Resolved not to disturb Government, I desire to be released from the oar of Parliamentary drudgery. I am willing to sit there, and be ready to be called out into action when the Duke of Newcastle's personal interests might require, or Government should deign to employ me as an instrument. I am not fond of making speeches (though some may think I am). I never cultivated the talent but as an instrument of action in a country like ours: these ideas of men's fitness for office are changed. I wish the error may not be seen

1754. and felt too late. My best compliments to my Lady Cofferer. I am

"Dear Sir George's

"Most affectionate

"W. Pitt.

"I would write to G. Grenville if I was able to write any longer. My best wishes attend him; and many thanks for his letter."

"Bath, May 20th, 1754.

"Dear Sir George,

"I have continued much in the state Lord Temple saw me in, that is, in very good health, but weak in my feet, and lame in my hand. His Lordship was so good to charge himself with my thanks to you, for the pleasure of your letter from Oakhampton, and my excuse for not writing, which it was inconvenient to me to do. I use a pen with some difficulty still, and my feet, in so hobbling a manner, that I find myself neither very fit, *nor in much haste*, to make my bow in London—"*mihi jam non Regia Roma; sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.*" The country here is delightfull; and the taste I find in me for quiet, every hour takes deeper root in my mind. What can I do so well as yield myself up to this taste? to the tranquil comforts of indolence and innocence? I don't dare think I ever could have done much good; but since it is now become evident, that I am never to be suffered to try to serve my country, I have nothing left in my power but to resolve not

to hurt it. I believe I shall hardly be in town by the 31st; be so good to let me know how many days the Parliament is to sit. My hand begins to fail. 1754.

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. PITT.

"I hope the Duchess of Bridgewater* is in a good way. My affectionate compliments to Sir Richard."

"P.S. I hope my answer to the Chancellor will not be disapproved; it contains my poor plan in the exactest limits and extent of it; and equally to this answer I should wish to form my whole conduct, and *language* (when I thought proper to use any). I desire you will be so good to read it to the Chancellor, and if he desires to keep it, I have no objection. I wish to have it communicated to the Duke of Newcastle, and by you. If the Chancellor does not keep it, you will also be so good to communicate it before delivery to the three brothers;* as well as my letters at large to you. I have not intimated, you see, any thing with regard to what consideration I might expect for myself. I think it better that should arise from themselves, at least not come from me. If they are in earnest to avail themselves of me against what they

* Sir Richard Lyttelton married the Duchess of Bridgewater.

† Lord Temple, George and James Grenville. When Mr. Burke used the same expression, he included Lord Chatham:—"What think you of the three united brothers."—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 103.

1754. fear, they will call me to the cabinet; though a cabinet council office may be impracticable at this time, in future it may not, and I may be better able to undertake one. Whether they will do all they can for us, I cannot tell; but their wants are so great, and will infallibly grow so fast upon them, that if God grants us all health, our poor, depressed, betrayed, persecuted band, will have its weight, if we keep our tempers, and hold employments, and act systematically, without haste and fluctuation to the great plain objects of public good: the present security, and quiet of Government, and the maintenance of the future Government under the Princess, '*est et fideli tuta silentio merces.*' Silence is an inestimable jewel in these nice conjunctures. *Little said, soon mended*, is an axiom to be writ in gold. I mean silence to persons unauthorised to question, *sounders:* frankness with prudence to principals who talk with authority. I must have tired you to death; I am sure I have myself. Before I lay down the pen, I will say, nothing can be so glaring, as to say to you in one and the same breath, it was wished I was in town to take the lead, and to lay in a claim to plead the King's alienation of mind against me. Who could his Lordship think he was talking to? I, however, really honour and respect the Chancellor, and think him a great resource in these times. You cannot be too careful of these sheets, not to leave them in your pockets, or drop them. Pardon all these cautions; but we are beset with snares and dangers. I beg you will mend the

English in my answer to the Chancellor, if there are slips." 1754.

Rather a singular ending from so great a master of English. The letter to Lord Hardwicke bears an earlier date than this, but was as follows.*

"Bath, April 6, 1754.

"My Lord,

"No man ever felt an honour more deeply, than I do that of your Lordship's letter. Your great goodness in taking the trouble to write, amidst your perpetual and important business, and the very condescending and infinitely obliging terms, in which your Lordship is pleased to express yourself, could not fail to make impressions of the most sensible kind. I am not only unable to find words to convey my gratitude; but I am much more distressed to find any means of deserving the smallest part of your Lordship's very kind attention and indulgence to a sensibility carried, perhaps, beyond what the cause will justify, in the eye of superior and true wisdom. I venerate so sincerely that judgment, that I shall have the additional unhappiness of standing self-condemned, if my reasons already laid before your Lordship continue to appear insufficient to determine me to inaction.

"I cannot without much shame so abuse your Lordship's indulgence, as to go back, but for a moment, into an unworthy subject that has already caused you too much trouble, and which must unavoidably be filled

* Chatham Correspondence, vol i. p. 103.

1754. with abundance of indecent egotism. But permit me to assure your Lordship, in the first place, that far from having a doubt remaining on my mind, that more might have been done in my favour *on this occasion*, I think myself greatly indebted to your Lordship's goodness, and will ever gratefully acknowledge the kind efforts you were pleased to make, to remove impressions that have entered so deep; but I hope your Lordship will not think me unreasonable, if I conclude, from the inefficacy of these efforts in such a want of subjects to carry on the King's business in Parliament, and under his Majesty's strong sense of that want, that these impressions are immoveable.

"Your Lordship is pleased kindly to say, that some way is made, and that some future occasion may be more favourable for me. I am not able to conceive any such occasion possible. God forbid, the wants of his Majesty's Government should ever become more urgent! Such an unhappy distress can only arise from an event so fatal to this country, and which must deprive me of one of the two great protectors whose friendship constitutes the only honour of my public life, that I will not carry my views or reasonings forward to that melancholy day. I might likewise add (I conceive not unreasonably), that every acquiescence to his Majesty's negative (necessary as I am convinced it was to acquiesce) must confirm and render more insurmountable the resolution taken for my perpetual exclusion.

"This, I confess, continues to be strongly my view of my situation. It is very kind and generous in your

Lordship to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to the future. But, my lord, after having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing long a load of obloquy for supporting the King's measures, and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all consideration by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of irremoveable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under: it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb; and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I will presume upon your Lordship's great goodness to me, to tell my utmost wish:—it is, that a retreat, not void of advantage, or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as practicable, be opened to me. In this view, I take the liberty to recommend myself to your Lordship's friendship, as I have done to the Duke of Newcastle's. Out of his Grace's immediate province accommodations of this kind arise, and to your joint protection, and to that only, I wish to owe the future satisfaction of my life. 1754.

"I see with the greatest pleasure, the regard that has been had to Sir George Lyttelton and Mr. George

1754. Grenville. Every good done to them will be, at all times, as done to me. I am at the same time persuaded that nothing could be more advantageous to the system. Sir George Lyttelton has great abilities for set debates, and solemn questions: Mr. Grenville is universally able in the whole business of the House, and, after Mr. Murray and Mr. Fox, is certainly one of the very best parliament men in the House.

"I am now to ask a thousand most humble pardons of your Lordship for the length, and, I fear, still more for the matter, of this letter. If I am not quite unreasonable, your Lordship's equity and candour will acquit me: if I am so unfortunate as to appear otherwise, where it is my ambition not to be thought wrong, I hope your Lordship's generosity and humanity will notwithstanding pardon failings that flow from no ill principle, and that never can shake my unalterable wishes for the quiet and security of government. I rejoice in your Lordship's recovery from your late indisposition, and am, my Lord, &c.

"W. Pitt."

The next letter announces the marriage of the Great Commoner into a family, which, with the accession of his name and abilities, might and would, had they been always united, have wielded the most powerful political influence ever exercised by any family in these kingdoms. A family of which it has been truly and eloquently said, that "it has produced so many eminent men, and formed such distinguished alliances, that it exercised in a regular and constitutional man-

ner an influence in the state, scarce inferior to that, which, in widely different times, and by widely different arts, the house of Neville attained in England, and that of Douglas in Scotland. During the latter years of George the Second, and through the whole reign of George the Third, members of that widely spread and powerful connexion were almost constantly at the head either of the Government or the opposition. There were times when the cousinhood, as it was once named, would itself have furnished almost all the materials of an efficient cabinet. Within the space of fifty years, three first Lords of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, two keepers of the Privy Seal, and four First Lords of the Admiralty were appointed from among the sons and grandsons of the Countess Temple."* 1754.

"October, 31, 1754.

"My dear Sir George,

"Your warm and kind assurances of the joy you receive from an approaching event, full of every happiness and honour to your friend and servant, is a circumstance of additional pleasure and satisfaction most sensibly felt. I am, indeed, a most happy man. You, who know what it is tenderly and passionately to love the object of your perfect esteem, and entire confidence, will best be able to estimate this happiness truly. I can add, if I may without vanity, that I have the pride as well as joy, to find every taste of my mind, and more serious purposes of my life, cor-

* Mr. Macaulay's Essays, vol. iii. p. 13, on Sir W. Temple.

1754. respond to those of Lady Hester Grenville. Would I could add that my nature was as free from defects and weaknesses! I write this from Marlbro' so much happier than when your letter reached me, as I am nearer to the source of every felicity. My obligations to Lady Hester are indeed infinite: for what, my dear Lyttelton, have I to lay at her feet, in return for the invaluable present her goodness makes me, but a fortune very far from tempting, and a health shattered and declined? The manner in which you receive my warmest wishes for your brother William's fortune and figure is most obliging. Nothing could add to it but adopting so kindly the idea I ventured to intimate concerning Bewdley. Many, many cordial thanks to you for all your kind wishes for my welfare in general, which you do me the honour to express so largely. Accept in return of the warmest and sincerest wishes of my heart for all you wish to yourself of honour or of advantage. Give me leave to comprehend all Hagley in this letter of grateful thanks. I would do myself the honour to write to Lady Lyttelton separately; but that I know this will give her less trouble, as well as more pleasure coming to her through you. I am ever

"your affectionate
"and happy friend,
"W. Pitt.

"If Miller is with you, my kindest remembrance to him."

Then follows, in Lyttelton's own handwriting, and evidently after the accession of George the Third, these "Observations on Mr. Pitt's Letters of 1754." 1754.

"For fear of saying anything that Mr. Pitt might think too much or too little, I contented myself with delivering his letter to Lord Hardwicke without any comment upon it, either in talking to his Lordship, or to the Duke of Newcastle. The peculiar circumstance in Mr. Pitt's *personal* connexion with his Grace, which he desires me *always to bear in mind*, was his being brought by his Grace into Parliament for one of his family boroughs. But this he forgot soon, as he did many other things declared by him in these letters: for instead of being *ready to be called out into action as often as the Duke of Newcastle's personal interests might require it*, he acted the next session with much personal malignity against the Duke of Newcastle, in conjunction with Fox, whom he speaks of as so *odious*. By which conduct, though he did not lay down his employment, he forced the administration to let in Fox; and then, having gained Leicester House and the Tories, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Legge, formed so powerful a faction, that, when in consequence of his opposing all the measures of Government, he and his friends were turned out, in the year 1756, such difficulties were brought upon the administration, as, concurring with the unfortunate loss of Minorca in the following summer, put an end to it, and made him Secretary of State before the Parliament met. But he could not hold it long without a reconciliation with the Duke of Newcastle,

1754. as I had always foreseen. Their union, which was the point I had constantly at heart, proved the safety of the kingdom in that conjuncture. Pitt's opposition at first was the effect of a jealousy, that his Grace's inclination was to make Mr. Murray Secretary of State instead of him, which I knew to be false at that time; Mr. Murray having declared a fixed resolution to adhere to his profession. Lord Hardwicke, to keep down Fox,* his personal enemy, most ardently desired the advancement of Pitt, as soon as the obstacles in the closet could be removed; but that was really a work of much more difficulty than Pitt's impatience would believe. An attempt to force the King to it so early as he wished, after the death of Mr. Pelham, would have had no effect, (as I have frequently heard Lord Hardwicke say) but to drive his Majesty into the arms of Fox, who, with a very considerable number of the Whigs, was ready to support him against such a compulsion, and might probably have made his party good: Mr. Pitt's popularity not being yet acquired. Whereas, his Lordship made no doubt, that if Pitt would have been quiet and friendly to the Government, the King would have been persuaded to give him the seals before the end of the year. It was quite impossible for me, as a man of honour and integrity, to join in an opposition which, at the beginning of it, in the year 1754, and through the ensuing session of 1755, had not even the pretence of any public cause, but was purely personal against the

* Fox, in opposing the Chancellor's famous Marriage Act, had most unfairly and unwisely made a personal attack upon him.

Duke of Newcastle, to whom, at the desire of Mr. Pitt himself, I had given a pledge of my friendship, by receiving from him the honourable office of Cofferer a little before, and to whose brother, Mr. H. Pelham, I had greater obligations than to any other friend; he having, without any application to him from me, or in my behalf, refused to give the office of Treasurer of the Navy to Mr. Legge on Mr. Doddington's resignation, till after I had declined the offer of it from him, and having also, but just before his death, most strongly recommended me to the King for a peerage. Nor did I ever give the least hope, in any conversation with Mr. Pitt or his friends, after I was made Cofferer, that I would come into any measures to subvert the administration of the Duke of Newcastle, but, on the contrary, protested very warmly against it, as no less inconsistent with my political system, than with my obligations and engagements; because I thought it would tend to set up Fox; seeing that without him or the Duke of Newcastle for a colleague, it was not possible for Pitt to maintain himself long in power, as things then stood. In the session of parliament which began in November 1755, the main point of public business was the attack or defence of the treaties with Hesse, Hanover, and Brunswick, and with the Empress of Russia; all formed for the same end, to keep the war out of Germany. Mr. Pitt opposed the last as *offensive* against the King of Prussia, which had it really been, I also would have joined in that opposition; but it was purely *defensive*, and con- 1754.

1754. sidered as such by that sagacious Prince himself; who, therefore, acceded to it by a treaty of the same nature concluded with us the next year. The other treaties, before mentioned, Mr. Pitt declared against as *Hanover jobs*, because the chief object of them was to guard the Electorate against a French invasion; but to me it seemed, that if his Majesty's German dominions were attacked in a war purely British, wherein they had no interest or concern whatever, merely in revenge for what was done by the Elector of Hanover as King of Great Britain, our honour and interest were no less concerned in their defence, than in the defence of the territories of any other ally endangered for our safety. If this kingdom be drawn into quarrels on the Continent, from causes foreign to its own immediate interests and security, for the interests of his Majesty's German dominions, and to serve their ends, as in the quarrel with Sweden about Bremen and Verdun, *that* is truly and properly a *Hanover job;* but when those dominions are exposed to the fury of an enemy, who is only theirs from being ours, and because they are under the same prince; in such a case the defending of them is a truly *British measure*, and cannot with honour be refused, unless it appears that we are wholly incapable of doing it with effect. It might be indeed better for us if territories on the Continent were not under the same Prince; for which reason, when I had the favour and confidence of the late Prince of Wales, I strongly urged him to resign them to his brother, the Duke of Cumberland; but a separation of them at the time

when this question was agitated being impossible, 1754.
we were to consider how to act in that state of things. The suffering them to be conquered by France in the war, with a view to recover them again at the peace, was an idle proposition; because no English Minister would have dared to treat for the restoration of them by any cession of our rights and conquests in America, which would have been the only means of getting them restored: for though France would probably not have kept them herself, she might have parcelled them out to some of her German allies, and to Sweden; or, at best, have left them quite ruined. How widely Mr. Pitt departed afterwards from the language he held at this time to gain popularity, and distress the court he opposed, I need not observe. The wonder is, that in doing so, he did not lose that popularity; but this must chiefly be accounted for by his almost miraculous success in the war."

CHAPTER XII.

1754—1756.

RESIGNATION OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, AND ELEVATION OF LYTTELTON TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

[Hagley MSS.—Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, Posthumous History, vol. i.—Lord Mahon's History of England vol. iii.—Doddington's Diary—Waldegrave's Memoirs—Burke's first Letter on a Regicide Peace.]

1754. When Parliament met in November, the Duke of Newcastle, whose wretched jealousy had already disgusted and insulted Legge, his new Chancellor of the Exchequer, found that the most formidable opposition to his Government would emanate from his Paymaster and Secretary at War, whom he did not dare to dismiss from their offices. A common sense of having been deceived and ill-treated, united for the moment Pitt and Fox, and these members of the *Government* divided the duties of *opposition* between them. Pitt undertaking to quell the eloquent and gifted Murray, and Fox to torment Robinson till he resigned the place for which he was grotesquely incompetent.

On the 25th November that scene took place in the House of Commons, which H. Walpole has so admirably sketched, when Pitt rushed from the gallery

into the body of the House, and poured out a tremendous philippic on those who had made themselves merry on a question of bribery at an election, observing, that unless great efforts were made "*we should only sit to register the arbitrary edicts of once too powerful a subject.* This thunderbolt, (writes the author who was present at the scene) thrown in a sky so long serene, confounded the audience. Murray crouched silent and terrified. Legge scarce rose to say, with great humility, that he had been raised solely by the Whigs, and if he fell, sooner or later, he should pride himself in nothing but being a Whig." 1754.

On the 29th of November the breach between Lyttelton and Pitt, (which the latter had been preparing since the date of his last letter) was openly avowed: the immediate cause of it, was an unsuccessful attempt of Lyttelton to conciliate the Duke of Bedford. Horace Walpole tells the story in his own way; he seems to have first suggested the possibility of such reconciliation, and as it should seem from his own statement, chiefly for the sake of mischief. Newcastle gave Lyttelton *carte blanche* for the negotiation, which was "overset by his awkward (*Walpolicè* for honest) policy." The Duke of Bedford flatly refused all terms, sent for Pitt who conceived that he had been slighted, "and broke openly with Sir George."

The Parliament met in February. The session was memorable for the displays of extraordinary eloquence which now night after night disturbed the long slumber of the Senate, and struck terror into 1755.

1755. the heart of the Duke of Newcastle. He had sought in vain to soothe Pitt by offer of high place, and subordinate power. Lord Waldegrave says, "Terms being proposed, Pitt was very explicit and fairly let them know that he expected to be Secretary of State, and would not be content with any meaner employment. Neither was it his intention to be a Secretary merely to write letters according to order, or to talk in Parliament like a lawyer from a brief, but to be really a minister. He also declared against continental measures and against all treaties of subsidy; but as this declaration was reserved to the last, it seems possible it might have been totally forgot if the answer to the preceding articles had been satisfactory. * * * * The Duke of Newcastle was not sufficiently intimidated to make any man minister who had frankly told him he would not be directed."

Meanwhile the aspect of Foreign affairs was lowering. Ever since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, both in India and North America a war had been smouldering, indeed, every now and then had actually burst out into a flame, between the English and the French. Lately, a British force under General Braddock had been sent off. Sir Edward Hawke (afterwards so illustrious) had beaten several French merchantmen in the West Indian seas. At present, indeed, the French, "with folded arms, beheld these hostilities;"* and after letters of marque had been issued by our Admiralty (in August) released the man-of-war they had taken, which was conveying

* H. Walpole, i. 392.

William Lyttelton to his Government of South Carolina. But continental war was clearly at hand, and the King was determined to subsidise every power in Europe that would be subsidised for the preservation of Hanover. While in Hanover his Majesty concluded treaties for this purpose with Russia and Hesse; being subsidiary, they required the signature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but Legge, who had been writhing under the petulant insolence of Newcastle, and had become secretly leagued with Leicester House, refused to sign the Treasury Warrant for the first payment of the Russian troops, without the consent of Parliament. The Duke could not believe his eyes, and was at his wits end. It was clearly impossible that the Government should get through another session, large as their majority was, without some substitute for Robinson. Pitt having been supplicated in vain, and Murray still adhering to his resolution never to quit his profession, the Duke was obliged, however reluctantly, to dismiss Robinson, and to admit Fox on his own terms into the vacant office, and into the Cabinet. The Government acquired a great accession of strength; for Fox was not only the best debater (except perhaps Murray) in the House, but his boldness revived the drooping spirits of Murray, now Attorney-General, who "laid in wait to profit by any slips which Pitt might make during a debate,"* and more than once foiled his most vehement attacks. Pitt declared open irreconcileable war with Fox, joined himself with Legge, and through the all-powerful favourite of Leicester House, Lord Bute, with the 1755.

* H. Walpole, vol. i. p. 429.

1755. Princess Dowager and with the future George the Third*—who was early induced, by respect and affection for his mother, to intrigue against his grandfather —Pitt prepared his deadliest wrath for the new Secretary of State, and for the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was his old friend Lyttelton; "whose appointment," says Lord Waldegrave, "was resented with the greatest acrimony by the whole cousinhood."

On the 13th of November Parliament met, and the debate on the Treaties called forth, first the opposition of George Grenville, who † "in a fine pathetic speech drew a picture of the future bad peace, and made an encomium on the late cautious minister.‡ He was followed by Lyttelton. Sir George Lee, "the representative of the Princess's sentiments," spoke, and a variety of other members; and then Pitt burst forth "like a torrent long obstructed, with more commanding impetuosity. He and Legge§ opened their new opposition in the very spirit of their different characters. The one, humble, artful, affecting moderation, gliding to revenge. The other, haughty, defiant, conscious of injury, and supreme abilities." In the course of the debate, "half turning with an air of the greatest contempt to Sir George Lyttelton,

* Pitt said "he could not avoid turning from the venerable age of the King to his amiable posterity, *born among us*, yet given up by some unskilful Minister or Ministers," &c.—H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 438.

† H. Walpole, 409. ‡ Pelham.

§ There seems to be no ground for supposing this caricature to resemble the original.

he said, a gentleman near me has talked, too, of writers on the Law of Nations—Nature is the best writer, she will teach us to truckle to men and not to power." Then came his well-known comparison of the coalition of Fox and Newcastle to the junction of the Rhone and Saône at Lyons. He denounced the treaties as *un-British* measures, and said our proper force was our Navy, to which, in the last war, we had owed the restoration of the barrier and Flanders, because it had made us masters of Cape Breton. 1755.

On the 15th Fox received the seals. On the 20th Lord Holderness (Secretary for the Southern Department) wrote to Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville, that his Majesty had no further occasion for their services. Pitt is said to have written a submissive answer. James Grenville resigned the Board of Trade. Walpole ridicules the appointment of Lyttleton to the Exchequer, saying that "They turned an absent poet to the management of the revenue, and employed a man as visionary as Don Quixote to combat Demosthenes." This is, of course, a sacrifice of truth to antithesis; but undoubtedly Lyttelton's new office was one in which he was not calculated to shine, though there seems to be no reason for supposing that he ever neglected the duties of any office which he held, or that the legend in Nicholls's Literary Anecdotes of his inability to comprehend the easiest sum in arithmetic, is founded on fact. It was not without great pain, though with a perfect conviction of the uprightness and consistency of his conduct, that Lyttelton clung to the Pelham standard when his

1755. adherence to it separated him from those to whom personal as well as political friendship of many years had bound him; but, to use his own words, *it seemed to him a less evil to differ from them than from himself, and from all the rules which had hitherto guided his conduct.*

H. Walpole,* who idolized Pitt, and hated Lyttelton almost as much as Lord Temple, says,—"Pitt and Temple resented Lyttelton's negotiating for them, though it is certain he had used all his endeavours to serve them; but as they meant to have the sole power of serving—not to be served—they treated him as ill as if he had sold them." Lyttelton's conduct does not appear to me to need any defence in this matter. No one calmly reviewing the history of this time, the fact that Pitt had joined the Duke's administration, in which he was actually Paymaster when he delivered his memorable philippic—the language of his letters to Lyttelton before and after he had accepted the Coffership—and, above all, his subsequent adoption of the very subsidising measures against which he now thundered—can doubt that mortified personal ambition, and not patriotism, was, at *this particular period*, the spring of his actions. No one, even if they dissent to this position, can for a moment vindicate not merely the breach of long and true private friendship, but the bitter personal hostility into which the boiling haughtiness of his nature betrayed him for a season.

But Lyttelton, who in "the dazzling fence of rhetoric," and the energy of conception and purpose

* Vol. i. p. 359.

requisite for a statesman in the hour of trouble, was so far inferior to the Great Commoner, yielded to no one in jealous regard for his own honour and for steadiness of attachment to his friends. I find among the manuscripts the following :— 1755.

" Copy of part of a letter to a common friend on the occasion of my political quarrel with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple and his family, in the year 1755.*

" You express your concern at the coldness between me and some of my friends, which, you say, they impute to my having differed from them in my political conduct. I did, indeed, differ from them when they differed from others who were equally friends to them and me, and to whom I was bound by very great obligations, greater than I had received from them or any others. The difference gave me pain; but it seemed to me a less evil to differ from them, than from myself, and from all the rules which hitherto have guided my conduct. That has ever been perfectly consistent and uniform. From the time that I first went into the King's service, on Lord Granville's going out, I have lived in sincere and constant friendship with those Ministers whom I came in to support. I loved Mr. Pelham: I had great cause to love him; he honoured me with his friendship; he gave me such proofs of it, as my heart will ever feel with gratitude and pride. When I had the misfortune to lose him, I continued to live in the same connexion of friendship with his brother, the

* In Lyttelton's own handwriting.

1755. Duke of Newcastle, and his friend Lord Hardwicke. As a mark that I did so, I accepted a high office in the new settlement of the administration; but in taking this part, you well know, I was not single: I took it in conjunction with my friends and relations; I took it at their express desire. The only distinction between them and me is, that I have adhered to it, not seeing any cause to depart from my engagements, or alter my attachments: if they think they saw proper cause for altering theirs, I let them judge for themselves, and should not have thought it necessary, or expedient, or becoming, to break off our private friendship on that account, if they had not chosen to do it, very unwisely, I think. You know, Sir, how much I was their friend—a friend who on all occasions has ever set their interests above his own. Were Mr. Pelham alive he would testify this, and there are some living Ministers who could bear the same testimony; but I desire no witnesses to the truth of all I say except their own hearts. I was their friend, but I was not their retainer. I was not their bondslave. I was not obliged to follow wherever they led, against my own conscience, against what I thought and still continue to think, my honour and my duty required. That would not be friendship; it would be servility and baseness of mind. Every generous spirit must loath and disdain it. I do not believe any one of those gentlemen expected it from me: certain I am that I never gave them cause to conceive such a thought. I would not, for all the crown can give, serve the King on such terms. When I dislike the

measures of his Government, I will lay down my office and oppose them; but while I think them good and wise, founded on the same principles, and directed to the same ends as those I have approved, in concert with my friends and family, for many years past, let who will oppose them, I shall not be sorry, or ashamed to support them. 1755.

"A parasite or a sycophant, to make his court for a faction which appears very powerful, may abuse me for this, and call it (if he pleases) *deserting my friends;* but that no worthy man will think the worse of me for it, I dare be confident, and therefore willingly trust my cause to your judgment."

It does not appear to whom this letter was sent, but probably to General Conway, with whom Lyttelton had formed rather an intimate acquaintance. This gentleman, the brother of Lord Hertford, had been appointed Secretary to Ireland, to assist the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, in restoring tranquillity to that ever troubled kingdom He was a person of no mean endowments, both natural and acquired, and was in correspondence with Lyttelton at this time.

"Dublin Castle, December 12th, 1755.

"Dear Sir,

"I am much ashamed of the appearance of neglect you may have too much reason to think there is against me in not having taken an earlier opportunity of congratulating you on the new mark of his Majesty's

1555. favour you have received, and assuring you of my sincere satisfaction in everything that any way contributes to yours. I must not mix compliments of condolence for your predecessor with those of congratulations to you; but I believe we shall agree in wishing he had not been, or were not to be lost, as I doubt he will.

"I hear of nothing but your wars and battles in this fierce Parliamentary campaign, in which I rejoice to hear you have Providence and *le plus fort escadron* so much on your side: may it long continue! but if a certain ally on their side becomes a principal, as I apprehend, I fear their numbers will improve, though I hope not their fortune.

"Lady Ailesbury has been as idle as I have, but has not the excuse of being half so busy; in truth, never were two lives that past so much together so much unlike even of husbands and wives. She does nothing but what she likes, at least what she pleases, and I nothing I like from morning to night; being in a constant state of the most tormenting little business, for so the generality of it is, though I am naturally and *en titre d'office a gras*, statesman, and at once both Secretary at War, and Secretary of State: if some of your friends, or rather foes, have any of Cæsar's ambition, or Satan's, and think it enough to be in high station, be it when it will, I would most willingly resign my pre-eminence; as far, at least, as inclination goes; being heartily tired of it, for reasons I shall have more time to tell you one day or other.

"I can say little to you on the late melancholy

accident in my Lord Lieutenant's family: it was felt as sorely as you'll imagine, both by the Duke and the rest of them; in truth, to a degree very painful to those about them, and who love and honour that very singular affection that reigned among them. 1755.

"Adieu, dear Sir: I left a sentence unfinished above, in which I was going to say, that by our idleness we have heard less of you and Lady Lyttelton both than we wish. I believe you hate writing, and have little time for idle correspondencies, which, in truth, prevented my troubling you before, as I think, in such a state of banishment, it must be a mean correspondence indeed that is not worth purchasing at the rate of such a scrawl as this.

"Accept my best compliments to you both, and to the Governor, particularly in his new appointment, and believe me,

"Dear Sir,
"your most
"faithful and obedient servant,
"H. S. Conway."

Only a part of Lyttelton's answer is preserved.

"Dear Sir,

"I am as much ashamed of not having writ to you in so long a time as you say you are of not having writ to me; but we are both of us busier than we could wish, and can trust in each other's affection without having assurances of it under our

1755. hands. I need not tell you, to whom I am so well known, that I should have thought myself a much happier man if Legge had remained in his office, than in being his successor; but when he and his new allies had taken such a part, as made it impossible for him to continue Chancellor of the Exchequer, the offer of succeeding him was made to me in so very obliging and pressing a manner, not only from the Duke of Newcastle, but also from the King, that I could not in duty and honour refuse it; being, as I am, entirely convinced that the measures of Government are such as I ought in conscience to support, and that everything has been done that possibly could be done, to obtain the support of those who, for reasons I cannot approve, have put themselves at the head of the opposition made to them; an opposition from which I foresee many consequences, of very great detriment and danger to the republick. The storm rises high, and beats fiercely upon me; but God forbid that to shelter myself from its fury I should run into any harbour, while my friends think I can do them and my country any service by being at sea.

"I have this satisfaction, and a great one it is, that I find the publick in general approves of my promotion. The King is gracious to me beyond all my hopes, and I have all the marks I can desire of the most friendly and cordial regard and support from the whole administration." * * *

In December debates took place on a motion made 1755.
by the brilliant and eccentric George Townshend, for a committee to inquire into the laws relating to the militia. Pitt unfolded his own plans on them with "plain precision," and masterly clearness. H. Walpole, who tells us this, adds, "As it did not pass the Lords, I shall drop any further account of it till it came thither, except to mention some pretty homage which Sir George Lyttelton's awe made him pay to the genius of his offended friend Mr. Pitt:" (any one else would have praised Lyttelton's candour, a quality which was universally ascribed to him)—"after the latter's exposition of his plans, Sir George compared a militia to the longitude, necessary, but hitherto sought in vain. He had often, he said, heated his imagination with the topic, but his judgment had cooled it again. If soldiers assisted the plan, he should hope better of it. They might avoid the errors of civil men. That hints from Mr. Pitt were important advices—a sketch from him was almost a finished picture, but it ought to be finished, the lines ought to be very correct. The whole people would not betray the whole people, but sixty thousand might. The most material part of our affairs was our finances—if this institution would hurt them, it was not admissible. The smaller the number, the more practicable—yet there might be danger of another kind. He never wished to see foreigners, except when no other force was to be had—with ever so great a militia, you may want them—you cannot march militia abroad."

On the 10th and 12th of December fierce debates took

1755. place on the treaties. Hume Campbell (Lord Marchmont's brother) made a very powerful attack upon Pitt's system of invectives; but was annihilated in Pitt's reply, by a discharge from the weapon which he deprecated. "Sir George Lyttelton said he did not mean to restrain invectives—desired no man's mouth should be free from them but his own—urged that the treaty specified, if we were attacked ourselves, that we should not be obliged to furnish twelve ships to Muscovy: that if either treaty tended to war, or to provoke Prussia, they would deserve censure; but they were merely defensive:—the troops were not to move unless we required it—defence is not injury—provision is not provocation. The King of Prussia would have a higher esteem for our Government; he knows that whoever desires peace must prepare for war. Despair is the worst and weakest of councils. Fortitude and wisdom will find resources, as the Queen of Hungary did in 1741. We (were) not in so bad a situation by a thousand degrees. Had we then retained the Russians, the war had been prevented: hence there were no plans of partition. Unallied, we could make no diversion to France—France, unassisted, would not dare to disturb the peace of the empire. Would you have trusted to France for not violating the law of nations? *Cæsar ashamed! has he not seen Pharsalia?* Our trade would not be preserved if the balance of Europe overturned, nor that balance overturned without some assistance from hence. Subsidiary treaties must be struck at lucky moments when the occasion offers itself." Legge answered Lyttelton. Pitt made

a remarkable declaration in favour of Sir R. Walpole, 1755.
that both he and Lord Townshend "had withstood Hanover," that the former was "a truly English minister, and kept a strict hand on the closet—as soon as he was removed, the door was flung open." Ministers had a majority of 289 to 121. On bringing up the report, Pitt answered Murray, Dr. Hay, and Lord Egmont, "in a speech of most admirable and ready wit, that floated from him for the space of an hour and half." The Russian treaty was approved by 263 to 69, the Hessian by 259 to 72.

The Parliament then adjourned for the Christmas holidays; during the recess, sundry changes were settled in the administration. The Duke of Bedford was propitiated, by the appointment of his brother-in-law, Lord Gower, to the Privy Seal. Charles Townshend was dismissed; Doddington restored to his old place of lucre and jobbing, the Treasurership of the Navy. Other appointments were made, and pensions, places, and reversions lavished in the most unscrupulous manner, by the Duke of Newcastle, in the vain hope of securing to his "little petulant mechanic activity,"* a longer lease of power unshared by Pitt. H. Walpole follows up an enumeration of these abuses by a very striking picture of the House of Commons "in so rhetorical an age;" he says, "But if this traffic, for a partial revolution in a system still upheld, was scandalously inglorious, at least it called forth a display of abilities that revived the lustre of the House of

* Charles Townshend's description of the Duke, his great uncle. Vol. i. p. 468.

1756. Commons, and in the point of eloquence carried it to a height it perhaps had never known. After so long a close of genius, there at once appeared near thirty men, of whom one was undoubtedly a real orator, a few more most masterly, many very able, not one was a despicable speaker. Pitt, Fox, Murray, Hume Campbell, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Henry Conway, Legge, Sir George Lyttelton, Oswald, George Grenville, Lord Egmont, Nugent, Doddington, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Lord Strange, Beckford, Elliot, Lord Barrington, Sir George Lee, Martin, Dr. Hay, Northey, Potter, Ellis, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Duplin, and Sir Francis Dashwood: these men, perhaps, in their several degrees, comprehended all the various powers of eloquence, art, reasoning, satire, learning, persuasion, with business, spirit, and plain common sense. Eloquence, as an art, was but little studied, but by Pitt: the beauties of language were a little, and but a little more cultivated, except by him and his family; yet the grace and force of words were so natural to him, that when he avoided them, he almost lost all excellence." The writer proceeds with an elaborate criticism on Pitt's eloquence, rating it most highly, though admitting its great inferiority in point of argument to that of Murray especially, but also to that of Fox. He enters into detail of but few of the rest, but he observes "Sir George Lyttelton, and Legge were as opposite in their manners—the latter concise and pointed, the former diffuse and majestic—Legge's speeches seemed the

heads of chapters to Sir George Lyttelton's dissertations." 1756.

During the course of the winter, a treaty was made with the King of Prussia to prevent the introduction of foreign troops into the empire. The object was—under the plea of aiding the House of Austria—to prevent the Russians in our pay from attacking Frederic, the consequence was, that the Court of Vienna perceiving that it had no further chance of British assistance in recovering Silesia, made peace with the common enemy, France, and was joined by the Czarina, and the elector of Saxony. Then began the most memorable period of Frederic's glory, who struck the first blow on enemies yet unprepared. As to England, it was clear that a continental war, or the shameful desertion of her only ally was her sole alternative. Pitt saw his day could not be far distant.

Parliament met again in January, and still, for all accounts of what passed within its walls, we must rely chiefly upon Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second; bearing always in mind the necessity of carefully distinguishing between the *facts* related, and the comments of their narrator, discoloured by petty antipathies, and the constant sacrifice of truth to epigram. On the 23rd of January we are told,* "Sir George Lyttelton, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened the ways and means for the supplies of the year. The matter he unfolded well, but was strangely awkward and absent in reading the figures, and dis-

* Vol. ii. p. 3, 4.

1756. tinguishing the sums. Pitt ridiculed and beset him, yet he made a good reply, and told Pitt that truth was a better answer than eloquence; and having called him *his friend*, and correcting himself to say *the gentleman*, and the house laughing, Sir George said, "if he is not my friend, it is not *my* fault. Pitt was sore in his turn, and the dialogue continued with great professions of esteem from Lyttelton, of contempt from Pitt, who at last grew into good humour; but as with regard to the imputation of eloquence, said he found there were certain ways of annoying certain men." The same author, in his private letter to General Conway, says, "yesterday, our friend Sir George opened the budget; well enough in general, but was strangely bewildered in the figures. Pitt attacked him pretty warmly on negociating the sinking fund. Sir George kept up his spirit, and returned the attack on eloquence. It was entertaining enough, but ended in high compliments—and the division was 231 to 56." Then followed debates on employing foreign troops and foreign officers in America with certain English privileges, which the opposition contended, was a breach of the Act of Settlement.*

On February the 25th, Lyttelton "opened the plan of supplies and taxes for the current year. The first, a duty on wrought plate calculated to bring in £30,000. a year; another on bricks and tiles, and a double duty on cards and dice; the actual duty produced £10,000. a year, but as doubling the tax would not double the produce, the addition was estimated at only £7,000.

* Vol. ii. p. 24.

a year. 'This,' said Sir George, 'some will think a tax on *necessaries;* the legislature calls gaming a vice, but the legislators, who can best expound their own laws, seem by their practice to think otherwise.' Legge objected to either tax on plate or bricks, and shewed with singular art how much greater a master he was of the nature of the revenue and commerce, than his successor. Sir George seemed to repeat an oration on trade, that he had learned by rote; Legge talked on it like a merchant. He urged that plate was not a prejudicial commodity, but a dead treasure to be resorted to on emergency:—if sold, it would go abroad, if coined here, it did not increase the national stock. He shewed that bricks would be a partial tax, as many parts of the kingdom employ only stone." George Townshend, Murray, Lord Strange, Vyner, took part in the debate; the plate tax eventually passed, but the tax on bricks was exchanged for one on alehouses. It will be seen by Lyttelton's letters how nearly Government were defeated, and why. On the first reading of their bill on the third of March, came the report from the committee on the plate tax. Walpole's account of what ensued is very remarkable. "It was a day of total ignorance, Fox, Hume Campbell, and Pitt, all shewed how little they understood the subject. The shrewdness of the first, the assertions of the second, the diction of the latter were ridiculously employed on a topic that required only a common sense, and a little knowledge of business. Legge alone shone. He entered beyond his usual brevity into a detail of the nature of coin, exchange, gold, silver, 1756.

1756. premiums, and the mistaken or real advantage of those manufactures. He observed that this plate was not luxury, that this tax would cease where luxury began, for the greatest lords were not to pay beyond 2,000 ounces,* but a national way of hoarding," &c. He answered Locke's first treatise, and remarked on the uses which Louis XIV. and Charles I. had made of this resource.

On the second reading of the bill, Legge renewed, with greater vehemence, his attack upon the tax: he said, that if gathered loosely, it would not be worth having, and if strictly, it would amount to triple its estimate; that France would think us bankrupt for resorting to such a last resource, used only in such extremities as sieges and civil wars; that our silversmiths would go to France, and a manufacture paying labour alone £30,000. a year, be lost to the country; that it was our register of personal estate, and an invitation to the housebreaker. It will be seen that some of Legge's hints were adopted before the measure became law.

"Sir George Lyttelton remarked that Legge's arguments were against all inland duties in general, and that as little wealth ought to lie dead as possible. That on laying the coach tax, the coach makers came to the treasury, and complained that they should be ruined, yet the trade had increased since. If we took a galleon would it be advisable to lay up a treasure against a day of calamity? He defended the method of collecting this duty by excisemen; did not find that

* It was increased to 4,000; vide Lyttelton's letter.

excise was now so terrible. Sir Francis Dashwood had proposed an excise on meat, and he had not perceived that it had much shocked the house. 'In fact, no powers,' he said, 'were more gently exercised than those of excise,'—(with what satisfaction must Sir Robert Walpole's son have heard and noted down these words!)—'no complaint had been made on the coach tax; this was to be under the same regulation: our trade would not bear more customs, nor could we support the war but by a despotic mortgage of the whole sinking fund; his chief partiality to the plate tax arose from the poor being exempt from it.'" Lyttelton was followed by George Grenville, who spoke well against the tax, chiefly censuring it as a tax to be paid on honour. It was carried by 245 to 142. Fox, it is said, preventing Newcastle from abandoning it; its produce was £18,000. 1756.

It will be recollected, that Lyttelton's brother Charles was in holy orders; that Sir Richard continued in opposition with Pitt, and that William Henry had been appointed Governor of the South Carolinas, on his way to which he had been captured, but immediately set at liberty by the French.* He seems to have been Lyttelton's favourite brother: to him Lyttelton wrote a sort of journal of all the memorable events in the political world, till his return from America.†

These letters, written by one who had access to the best sources of information, form a very interesting portion of the MSS. at Hagley.

The first is as follows:—

* Pitt's Letters to Lord Camelford.

† Extending from 1756 to 1766.

1756. " Hill Street, April 28, 1756.

" My dear Billy,

" I have delayed writing to you some time, in order to tell you some news of importance. That which at present employs our thoughts most, is an intelligence we have just received that the Duc de Richelieu set sail for Minorca on the 12th of this month, at the head of an army of 16,000 men, escorted by a squadron which, according to the best accounts we can get, consists of eight capital ships of the line, two more armed *en flute* without their lower tier of guns, and two fifty-gun ships, besides three or four frigates. To oppose them, Bing and West are gone with a squadron of ten great ships of the line extremely well manned, so that the force is pretty near equal, exclusive of a small squadron under Commander Edgcombe, which is in Port Mahon Harbour. It was supposed that these would join Bing in the Bay of Gibraltar, but Edgcombe has thought proper (and Lord Anson says not unwisely) to remain in Port Mahon Harbour, and keeps his ships and seamen to be employed in the defence of the harbour and fort. It is, therefore, very probable that the French fleet will fight ours, as they are rather superior; and upon the success of that battle the fate of the peace may in great measure depend: because, if Bing be victorious, he will reinforce the garrison there with a regiment he has on board, and several officers, and putt the besieging army under great difficulties for want of provisions. You will ask why he was not sent out with more strength? I can make you

no answer but that Lord Anson thought he had no more to spare, and it was hoped he would arrive at Minorca before the French could get thither; and being joined with Commodore Edgecombe, who has two ships of the line, a fifty gun ship, and two frigates, would be more than a match for the Toulon squadron; but this hope has failed by a few days. In all probability the French got to Minorca by the 17th or 18th, and he could hardly be there till about a week after. Sir John Ligonier tells me he thinks that the fort, if reinforced by Byng, may hold out two months. Many here seem very confident it will not be taken, particularly Lord Tyrawley: but I cannot help thinking that Monsieur de Richelieu* would not have putt himself at the head of this enterprise if he had not in his own mind been sure of success. Blakeney and Edgecombe write with great spirit, and as if they feared nothing. The first is a good officer, but rather superannuated. The other a mettled young man, without much experience or knowledge. Sir Edward Hawke is cruizing off of Brest, with a fleet of sixteen ships of the line. Some say the French have as many there ready to sail: but Lord Anson does not believe it. However, it is certain they are not 1756.

* One of the very few inaccuracies in Lord Mahon's 4th Vol. of the History of England, is an assertion, (p. 104,) that, "up to this time (i.e. the defence of Minorca) Richelieu had gained no distinction in arms." That he had served with great gallantry at Fontenoy is recorded by Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XV., c. 15., and by Lord Mahon himself, in an earlier volume. I owe this, as well as many other valuable remarks, while preparing this volume for the press, to the kindness of Mr. William Wynn.

1756. much inferior, and they have also a squadron at Rochefort.

"Boscawen is going with eight large ships more to join Hawke and Holbourne; but it is supposed that when he arrives, some of Hawke's will come home, as they have been out a great while. Two are gone, and two more are going soon to America to escort Lord Loudon's forces. Lord Anson tells me he designs to send Smith to Jamaica, and speaks with much disgust of West's having desired not to go thither. Indeed, officers should not object to any employment in time of service, and so says our good brother* as well as his Lordship. Hetty and I went to see him last week, and were two days with him at Deal, which made him very happy. I think he seems better than ever I knew him. Our new regiments are completed by the assistance of the Lord Lieutenants in their several counties; and to add to our regular disciplined troops, the Parliament has not only approved of the requisition his Majesty had made of his Hessians, but advised him to bring over eight thousand Hannoverians, with their train of artillery, &c. in the room of the Dutch, whom we had very prudently declined to accept of, upon the conditions they offered to come. The Hessians, we hope, will be here in a few days, and the Hannoverians soon afterwards. The consequence of this is, that the Marshal Bellisle and the French Ministry are much out of humour with the Duke de Mirepoix,

* Admiral Smith was Lyttelton's illegitimate brother; he was President of the Court-Martial on Byng.

for having made them believe that the bringing over foreign troops, Hannoverians especially, at this time into England, was a measure that could not be carried in Parliament. They say the success of it has disconcerted their whole design, and they much doubt whether, at present, it will be practicable to attempt the invading this kingdom. When the address for the Hannover troops was moved in the House, Mr. Pitt was in the country with a swelled face, which it was thought he would gladly avail himself of to avoid that debate; but Lord Temple went down and hauled him to the House, with blisters behind his ears, and flannel over his cheeks. The Tories, his Lordship told him, were all to be gained by it. Sir Richard had made a great dinner for them, and this would confirm the treaty of alliance. But he was scarce seconded by any of them in the House of Commons; and when the question came into the House of Peers, every Tory Lord, to a man, staid away. Lord Temple maintained the debate almost single; and Lord Winchelsea, who that day was inspired with wit beyond his usual powers, lashed him and his friends with greater severity and more cruel ridicule than I think I ever heard upon any occasion. His Lordship replied, but made little of it, and the mortification of the day was complete. In all probability they will not long be the better with the Prince of Wales himself, for having opposed a measure so necessary and so desired by the nation for the security of the kingdom he is to inherit. But all their politicks are of a piece, taken up in a heat, or founded on false and 1756.

1756. groundless presumptions. Since you went we have had some scuffles in Parliament about the Plate Tax. Mr. Legge, having declared that he would not oppose it at the first reading, our friends did not attend, and some of his having divided the House on the question, we carried it but by two votes. This gave a great and unpleasant alarm; but we rallied our forces, and had a great debate on the second reading, in which, I am told, I gained some honour, and had the pleasure of carrying the question by a majority of more than a hundred. Mr. Pitt was not there, being confined by his cold and swelled face. Mr. Fox took his part very fairly and zealously upon the occasion. In order to remove the most weighty objections against the bill, it was thought proper to tax no plate below a hundred ounces, so to levy but five shillings on that, and advance by five shillings more on every hundred ounces as far as four thousand, which brings the highest sum to ten pounds as before, but makes the tax less unequal, and better proportioned. I was myself very desirous of making this alteration, to give greater ease to the lower sort of people, by whom alone this tax would be painfully felt. The only objection to it was, that it would lessen the revenue proposed to be raised by it; but as the licences were like to produce a considerable surplus, I was not much concerned at the loss. People in general were satisfied with it, and I flatter myself the opposition to the Plate Tax will not be more popular than that to the Prussian and Hessian Treaties.

"Besides the six millions for which we have provided,

there must soon be voted £500,000. for the Hessians, Hannoverians, and regiments brought from Ireland, since I opened my Budget. There must also be a vote of credit for a million, which, I suppose, will not go off without opposition. The sinking fund will produce the £500,000. besides what was wanting to raise the six millions, as it is to be hoped that our trade will not decrease much this year by the war, and there is now in the Exchequer £250,000. produced by it from Christmas to Lady Day last, which having no charge upon it, may be taken immediately to answer a part of our present demands. Four quarters more, I doubt not, will produce all the rest that we want, if some grievous calamity does not befall us. The loss of Port Mahon would be a bad stroke in our Mediterranean trade, and I am afraid the French squadron that is gone to America will take some rich prizes there, before we can send such a force to those parts as may protect our merchants, and even our islands. However, I hope it will not be very long before we shall be superior, both in those seas and the Mediterranean; for when our foreign troops are arrived, we shall not be obliged to keep so great a fleet for the defence of our coasts as we have been under the necessity of doing till now. I cannot learn where Commodore Keppel is gone—perhaps it is to America, or perhaps he may join Byng at Gibraltar. It is certainly better that the service he is upon is kept a secret than if it was known. I do not exactly know what force he has with him. 1756.

1756. "The fate of the Militia Bill is yet undetermined, but I believe it will pass the House of Commons, and be thrown out of the House of Lords. For my own part I must own I wish it success, more, I am sure, than those who brought it in, and meant nothing else by it than to hurt the administration by the unpopularity of throwing it out. There are many objections to it, and many great difficulties that will attend the execution of it, if it should pass; but I would have something attempted to putt this nation in a better and more permanent state of defence than our occasional armaments, when the danger is instant, than the uncertain resource of bringing over foreign troops can possibly give. Should France begin her next war against England (as she probably will) with a naval force not inferior to that of this kingdom, and no diversion in our favour can be made on the Continent, we may be invaded and ruined before such an augmentation of our land forces can be completed, or such an assistance brought over from Germany as would enable us to make any resistance.

"Now, my dear Billy, I have told you all I can concerning the present state of our publick affairs, everything else remaining much as you left it. As for my health, my journey to Deal has done me good. My wife is still very full of complaints, and I believe much out of order. All the rest of the family are very well.

* * * *

"We flatter ourselves that you are by this time arrived in your Government.

"All happiness and prosperity attend you there, my dear brother." 1756.

About this time a panic of the French invasion alluded to in these letters had seized Great Britain. It was a moment—a short moment, but one of memorable disgrace to this country. "I remember (says Mr. Burke) in the beginning of what has lately been called the seven years' war, that an elegant writer, and ingenious speculator, Dr. Browne,* upon some reverses which happened in the beginning of that war, published an elaborate philosophical discourse, to prove that the distinguishing features of the people of England had been totally changed, and that a frivolous effeminacy was become the national character. Nothing could be more popular than that work. It was thought a great consolation to us, the light people of this country, (who were and are light, but who were not and are not effeminate), that we had found the causes of our misfortunes in our vices. Pythagoras could not be more pleased with his leading discovery. But whilst in that splenetic mood we amused ourselves in a sour critical speculation, of which we were ourselves the objects, and in which every man lost his particular sense of the public disgrace in the epidemic nature of the distemper: whilst, as in the Alps *Goître* kept *Goître* in countenance; whilst we were thus abandoning ourselves to a direct confession of our inferi-

* See Davies' Life of Garrick, Vol. i. p. 197, and Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, for some accounts of this author and his writing, Vol. ii. p. 79.

1756. ority to France, and whilst many, very many, were ready to act upon a sense of that inferiority, a few months effected a total change in our variable minds. We emerged from the gulph of that speculative despondency, and were buoyed up to the highest point of practical vigour. Never did the masculine spirit of England display itself with more energy, nor ever did its genius soar with a prouder pre-eminence over France, than at the time when frivolity and effeminacy had been at least tacitly acknowledged as their national character by the good people of this kingdom."

Such is the remarkable language of Mr. Burke, describing the whole duration of the period of which we are now at the beginning. It was impossible that the people should feel confidence in a Government who sent for Hessians and Hanoverians to protect our shores. Pitt's voice, in spite of his blisters and flannels, was heard thundering, more powerfully than Lyttelton tells his brother, against such an acknowledgment of pusillanimity. "Were we to engage mercenaries because France did? She had not blood enough in her own veins for the purposes of universal monarchy. There was no administration. One was head of the treasury, one of the navy, one of the army; but when they were attacked they shifted and shuffled the charge from one to the other: the general said he was not the treasurer, the treasurer that he was not the admiral. From such an unaccording assemblage of separate and distinct powers with no system, a nullity resulted."

This declamation spoke the truth. But it must be admitted that the militia bill, the only substitute for a foreign sword, ill understood and conducted as it was, deserved Walpole's name of a "distant and forlorn *succedaneum*." A militia bill is not an army, Lyttelton observes in his fourth letter to his brother. Early in April it was discovered that the preparations of the French at Toulon had been intended for the invasion of defenceless Minorca. On May the 11th Fox delivered a message from the Crown upon this subject, and the treaty with Prussia. On the next day Lyttelton moved for a vote of credit for a million. It was much canvassed. The sums already lavished were enumerated; the incapacity of Newcastle was stated as the real cause of the lowering state of affairs, equally in America and the Mediterranean: might not common providence on the part of the minister have averted the perils which threatened us in both these quarters. Lyttelton replied that the money would be restricted and subjected. Were Government to be deserted on their first misfortune; or because one had happened were we not to guard against another? If indeed our coasts had been left insecure, ministers would be blameable; but it was their security which enabled the supplies to be raised, and when the foreign troops arrived our fleet would be at liberty. 1756.

"Pitt made a fine lamentation on the calamitous situation of affairs and the incapacity of the ministers." He asked for what the vote was intended.—"If Sir George could not say for what it was designed, would he at least peremptorily say for what it was *not* de-

1756. signed? Still, he was of so compounding a temper, that he would assent, though votes of credit had been so much abused." He alluded to Mr. Pelham, who, he said, had been dragged into foreign resources by one who had now got the treasury; compared the Duke of Newcastle to a child driving a go-cart to the edge of a precipice in which was the precious freight of the old king and his family; prayed God that the king might not have Minorca as well as Calais written on his heart; and concluded by proposing to take the words of the last vote of credit. "Sir George Lyttelton answered with great modesty, that the administration had not suffered by Mr. Pelham's death except by his advancement. Let it be considered who was at the head of the treasury, admiralty, chancery, &c.; could it be said that we had done nothing, when we had taken 8000 French seamen? Here he would rest the whole: no one calamity had happened yet." George Grenville followed; praised Lord Anson, and hinted that if his advice had been followed, forces would have been sent to the Mediterranean. It would appear, however, from Lyttelton's second letter that Anson was not without blame. Fox defended, it must have been a hard task to him, the delay. Then occurred the following scene.

"Pitt took little notice of Fox, only rising again to lash Sir George Lyttelton, who had called it an opposal of epithets: very little proper to come from him, said he, whose character is a composition of epithets. But what! did we meet as an academy of compliments? but Lyttelton had mistaken the day, for himself, he

said, had used no epithets that day. If Lyttelton would say he had no more resources, he would tell him he was incapable, and when he disclaimed having had any hand in drawing the words of the question, he saw Sir George was not at liberty to change them. Lyttleton, much hurt, but firm, cried, he says I am a thing made up of epithets; was not this the language of Billingsgate? The world complained that the house was turned into a bear-garden. He should not envy Mr. Pitt the character of being the Figg or Broughton of it; yet if he assumed fewer airs of superiority it would do him more honour. Pitt, redoubling contempt, said with a sneer, we once lived in a road of epithets together: Lord! that my friend, with whom I have taken sweet counsel of epithets, should now reproach me for using them! Lyttelton, he said, was a pretty poetical genius; with his pen in his hand nobody respected him more; but what! were not Billingsgate and Broughton epithets? He at once described Lyttelton as an *innocent*,* and would have fixed the use of invectives on him. Sir George terminated the altercation and debate by protesting it was not his fault if he did not still live in friendship with Mr. Pitt." 1756.

This seems to have been the last personal altercation between these two former and future friends. Reluctantly as Lyttelton was forced into these conflicts with an adversary so much more powerful and expert at his weapons, his bearing seems to have been

* Apparently a favourite phrase with the Great Commoner. See below his attack on Hume Campbell.

1756. always courageous and dignified. He never suffered himself to be crushed like Hume Campbell. Many under less provocation would have used that beautiful apostrophe—

> "Uncivil man,
> Here our long web of friendship I untwist."

But Lyttleton's great object was to discharge his public duty fearlessly and uprightly, though, if possible, in such a manner as not to preclude the possibility of a reconciliation with his earliest private friend. He might be "much hurt" by the unnecessary personalities of his old friend, but he was "firm" in maintaining his position — even according to Walpole. His own account will be seen below.

On May the 14th, Lyttelton opened the Prussian treaty to the house. It stipulated that the King of Prussia should pay £51,000 due on the Silesian loan. But admitted that £20,000 was due to him, which the Parliament was desired to grant. Pitt attacked a treaty which gave £20,000 to Frederick as compensation for ships which our Court of Admiralty had pronounced justly seized, and in vindication of which Murray and Lee had drawn up their famous unanswered memorial. Murray replied to Pitt with his utmost subtlety. The Committee, by a majority of 210 to 55, voted the money, and four days afterwards war was openly proclaimed with France.

We learn from Doddington's diary an anecdote as to the progress of the million voted in committee,

curiously illustrative of Lyttelton's character.* "May 17. I went to the Duke of Newcastle's. He would have talked about what had passed the day before in the House of Commons upon the committee of the Million Bill, which gives the Treasury the unlimited power of borrowing without limiting the rate of interest. Sir George Lyttelton's candour in opening it made him inform the House with this dangerous and unnecessary innovation, which produced a debate and division, when the Treasury rejected the limitation offered to be inserted by one voice only. None of us were acquainted with the innovation, or of Sir George's design to go into the committee that day, so that the numbers were but thirty-six and thirty-seven. I declined talking with his Grace on the subject, telling him it was too bad." It is strange that this incident should have escaped Walpole. 1756.

On the 27th of May the Parliament was prorogued. In June, the future George the Third attained the age prescribed for his majority. A circumstance that added to the embarrassments of the ministry; for the King was anxious to separate the Prince from his mother and Lord Bute, between whom a close and certainly suspicious intimacy existed; while the Prince, under their dictation, and aided by Legge and Pitt, respectfully, but firmly and successfully, resisted the attempt. The result was, that Lord Waldegrave, as honest a servant as ever Prince had, resigned his office of Governor to the Prince, and that Lord Bute

* Doddington's Diary, p. 386.

1756. was placed as Groom of the Stole to the new household.

On the 14th of July came the disgraceful tidings of the capture of Minorca by the French, an event to be rendered still more shameful to England by the judicial murder of Byng which followed it. Addresses poured in from every part of the country, and the terrified Duke of Newcastle so far prostituted his own high office, and the honour of the crown, as to make the King promise the city of London to screen no delinquent from justice.

Troubles fell like hail upon the perplexed Duke. At this time the death of Sir Dudley Rider left vacant the Lord Chief Justiceship. Murray demanded, "without a competitor, being above competition," the cherished object of his ambition. Unheard of offers, both as to pensions and places, mingled with abject entreaties, were made to him by the scared minister. Murray plainly told him, that if the Chief Justiceship were withheld, he would not remain Attorney-General, or give the slightest support to the Government. He was made Chief Justice and Lord Mansfield. Murray, (Walpole says) had been the Duke's buckler, both against his ally Fox, and against his antagonist Pitt.

Lyttelton's second letter to the Governor is in a very altered strain, but it contains a lively picture of the state of affairs in England, and in the Cabinet.

"Radway, August 8th, 1756. 1756.

"My Dear Billy,

"Or rather, (as you are now in your Government) may it please your Excellency, I heartily congratulate you upon your arrival in S. Carolina, and upon your finding all quiet there. How long the French will let you remain so, will, I presume, depend upon the success of our arms in the more northern parts. God send us better luck there than we have had in Europe, or this unhappy war will be our undoing. In my last letter, which I hope you have by this time received, I told you that we had sent a squadron of ten ships of the line to the Mediterranean under Admirals Byng and West. When they came to Gibraltar they were joined by Commodore Edgecombe with three more ships of the line, and four frigates, the Commodore having left Port Mahon Harbour upon the first notice of the French having landed at Citadella in Minorca. Byng had positive orders to do all he could to destroy the French fleet, and relieve Minorca. How he executed these orders you will see by the public papers, which I understand are sent over to you, and still better by the inclosed copy of a letter from Captain Young, which I send you as the most particular of any I have seen. I will only add to that account this aggravating circumstance, that had he destroyed the French fleet, as it evidently was in his power to do, there is the greatest reason to think their army would have raised the siege of St Philip: but having afterwards received a

1756. reinforcement from France of seven battalions, and all the artillery-stores and provisions they wanted, they made a desperate attack on all the outworks at once, sword-in-hand; and having carried three of them, and taken Colonel Jefferies, who was the second in command under Blakeney, the consequence was that the garrison, intimidated and despairing of any relief from our fleet, which they had seen retire from an inferior, or, at most, equal force of the enemy, surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. Sir John Ligonier says that he knows but one instance of a town having been taken by such an assault, and that was Valenciennes by Louis XIV. in the height of his glory; that if Blakeney had expected it, in all probability it would not have succeeded, or at least it must have cost the French a great many more men; and that he does not think the success of it would have made Blakeney surrender the fort, as the body of the place was still entire, if he and his garrison had not been disheartened by Byng's shameful retreat, and by their despair of any assistance. You will see by the papers that the Governor of Gibraltar had disobeyed the King's orders to send another regiment aboard of Byng's squadron besides what he took with him, or a detachment equal to it, for which he has since been recalled, and will soon be tried by a court-martial; but had the Admiral only landed that one in the fort, and beat off the French fleet from the coasts of Minorca, he would have done the great business for which he was sent, and probably changed the whole face of the war. To what his abominable behaviour

was owing it is hard to conceive; a sudden panic must have seized him, though he never was reckoned a coward before, or, as some people think, he must have been bribed by the French; but I rather impute it to an impression of terror which came over him on seeing the French fleet somewhat stronger than he had expected, for Edgecombe had told him, that when they came to Citadella there were but eight ships of the line, and four frigates. Whatever was the cause, the effect has been fatal, and should he die by the sentence of the court-martial which is going to sit upon him, (as he probably will, or by the hands of the mob if he should be acquitted) his death will make a poor satisfaction to his country for the mischief he has done it. Admiral West's behaviour has done him great honour, and he has been very graciously received by the King, though upon the first accounts that we had of the action, it had been thought necessary to send for him home as well as Byng. His evidence must be taken in the trial of the latter, and then, I believe, he will be made a Vice-Admiral, and sent out to another and higher command, unless the influence of the Grenvilles over his mind should make him quit the King's service and enter into theirs, as it possibly may. His son, who was with him, behaved like a hero, and shewed he had in him the blood of old Balchin. His father would have had him go into a frigate, but he begged with tears to stay in his ship, fought like a dragon, and when he was wounded in the thigh by a cannon ball, said to his father, who saw him fall, "*I* 1756.

1756. *believe I am killed, but pray don't mind me,*" and after the action, when his father lamented that he had not gone into the frigate, as he had desired him, his answer was, "*I had rather be wounded as much as I am, and worse, than not have been in the battle.*" It is hoped he will recover so as not to be a cripple. You know the temper of the nation too well to suppose that their anger for the loss of Minorca will be confined to Admiral Byng. All arts are used to inflame them against the Administration, and particularly against the Duke of Newcastle. His old friends, and worst enemies, are trying their utmost to make him responsible for this misfortune. The sum of their charge against his Grace, I take to be this:—Why was not a fleet yet stronger than this sent into the Mediterranean a month or two sooner? The answer is—because my Lord Anson and the whole Cabinet Council were unanimously of opinion that it could not be done with any security to the coasts of Great Britain. Lord Granville declared he thought it unsafe even to send this squadron so soon. The reason is, that the French designed to invade us, that they had a squadron at Brest, and at Rochefort, little inferior to ours in the Channel; that we had no defence but our ships to which we could trust; that we had lost a great number of our seamen by sickness; that as many were in hospital as aboard of our fleet, and that the enemy knew the state we were in as well as we ourselves. Upon the whole, as our shield was not broad enough to cover the whole body, it was

better to expose our limbs than our heart. This is the defence of the Cabinet Council, and they add besides, that if Byng had done his duty, the force they did send would have come time enough, and have been fully sufficient to relieve Port Mahon. There is truth and sense in all this, but truth and sense may not be able to prevail against clamour in an affair of this nature. However, I wish that there was no danger but to the Administration, in consequence of this blow. The worst evil is, that the nation is engaged in a ruinous war: the loss of Minorca will render it still more difficult for us to make a peace, and France will draw great advantages from it during the war; but the greatest danger of all is, that the firmness of Spain to her friendship with England may possibly yield to so great a temptation offered by France, as the restoring to her this island. Yet hitherto, God be thanked, the good faith of that nation, and the honour and virtue of the King of Spain have most nobly resisted those solicitations, and our ministry seem to rely with a great deal of security on the assurances given by our friend Mr. Wall, that his court will inviolably preserve their neutrality. Sweden, I hope, is too much taken up with domestic dissensions, of which you will see an account in the papers, to interfere in this foreign war; but we are under some apprehensions that Denmark may send a fleet into these seas, to protect their illicit commerce with France, which may draw us into a naval war with that kingdom. There is, however, less danger 1756.

1756. of this, as they will not now be assisted by Sweden, with whom they designed to act in conjunction. But on the other hand, the friendship of Russia to us, which was the strong curb both on Denmark and Sweden, may be cooled by the alienation of the Court of Vienna, who have taken such offence at our treaty with Prussia, though not in the least offensive to them, as to enter into a close connection with France. This most unnatural and absurd conduct in them, has produced such an alteration in the system of Europe, that the King of Prussia is now our surest ally, and our greatest apprehensions of mischief on the continent are from our old friends. As the ship which carries this letter may possibly be taken in her passage, I dare not write to you so fully and freely upon either our foreign or domestic affairs as I should otherwise do. I will only add that at home all remains as it was, but still more embroiled. Passion governs some persons instead of reason; and it is said that even the principal counsellors there, or he who expected to be the principal counsellor, and cannot even endure to be less, has expressed much disgust, and lost much of his credit on that account. The Queen of Hungary and he have acted much the same part, leaving their old and best friends from causeless suspicions and causeless resentments, and concerting with those whom they cannot go on with in any true friendship without undoing themselves.

"The French threaten us still with a great invasion, but we are now so prepared to resist them, that I hope

they will suffer by the attempt, or see the folly of it, and give it up. 1756.

" My health is much better since the Parliament rose, and I hope to lay in a good stock of strength for the winter campaign. Mr. Murray will be made soon Chief Justice and a Peer, so the whole stress of the battle will fall every day on Fox and me. I fear we shall have difficulty enough to sustain it, *junctis umbonibus.* The last session concluded with a warm combat between Pitt and me. *Stetimus tela aspera contra contulimus que manus,** and if I may believe the whole voice of the publick, it ended with still more advantage to me than the former, which happened while you were in England. The Duke of Newcastle made his report of it to the King in these words, " Sir George Lyttelton answered Mr. Pitt's arguments and repelled his abuse, with the judgment of a minister, the force and wit of an orator, and the spirit of a gentleman." The King seemed much pleased, and asked Mr. Fox, who also confirmed his Grace's report, whether the House appeared to be on my side; Fox told him truly that it was very much so, at which he was so good as to express great satisfaction; nevertheless, you will believe me, when I say that I felt more pain in the contest, than pleasure in the success, and always shall avoid the having any with him, as far as I can; but if I were struck by Hercules, I should strike again.

" Adieu, my dear Billy, I am glad that the weather

* Afterwards applied by Mr. Canning to Mr. Brougham.

1756. was so temperate at your landing. When the great heat of the climate comes on, I hope you will stand it as well, and as stoutly as you would a French fire, if there should be occasion. I am going to Hagley, where I purpose to stay till the end of this month. My wife is complaining, but all the rest of the family, and all our friends are well. I am ever,

" My dear Billy,

" Your most affectionate brother,

" G. LYTTELTON."

The next letter to the Governor, contains the history of our disasters in North America, the continued panic of a French invasion, and an emphatic account of the amazement and admiration with which the exploits of the King of Prussia, whom England regarded as her last hope, filled Europe; and yet the writer does not seem to foresee the approaching dissolution of the Cabinet of which he was a member.

" London, Oct. 6th, 1756.

"MY DEAR BILLY,

" I HAVE just received your letter of the 19th of July, which gave me great pleasure in every particular, except the account that you give of your health. I don't like to hear of your having had indigestions and cholics; but as, notwithstanding the extraordinary heat and extraordinary business which you have gone through, you are still pretty well, I flatter myself the danger is over, and that you will be inured and seasoned to the climate, which will now mend upon

you every day. I pray God that the winter may not bring on other perils, which neither you nor your Colony may be able to resist. We hear Oswego is taken by surprise, and from the accounts Lord Loudon sends of the condition and readiness in which he finds the American forces, I expect little good from this autumn's campaign, and apprehend a great deal of danger from the attempts that the French may make in the winter against our Southern Colonies, if it be true (as I hear) that they have stole over a considerable force of regular troops into Louisiana. However, I hope that all possible care will be taken by us here to prevent their designs. And the grants your Assembly has very wisely made for building the fort so much desired and wanted by your Indian allies, as well as fortifying Charles Town, may be of great use to secure you against them in all events. I have talked with Lord Anson about the convoy you ask, and though I am afraid we have no ships to spare, yet I think that his Lordship will pay such a regard to my solicitations, as well as to the importance of the Carolina trade, that it will be done to your satisfaction. He told me he would order an answer to be sent by the first ship, in which he would explain to you the most proper manner of protecting that trade, and give you all the strength he possibly could. I pressed him to go beyond the usual proportion, assuring him that I would think it a very great favour done to myself. He exprest a very hearty desire to oblige both you and me, and I hope the effects will make good those professions. I wrote to you lately a very long letter by the

1756.

1756. 'Charming Nancy,' Captain White. I hope she will escape the French in her passage, and deliver it safe; for though I wrote with some reserve, I should be sorry to have it miscarry. This, I think, comes to you by a safe hand, and I will write somewhat more freely, as he has promised me to throw it overboard if the ship should be taken. Our domestic affairs are mended so much since I wrote to you last, that the two Courts are come to a good understanding. The Prince of Wales is to have his family settled to his own satisfaction, Lord Bute being to be made his Groom of the Stole, which was the condition, *sine quâ non*, of this treaty; and he is also to stay with the Princess his mother. In return they are to make the proper returns of gratitude and duty and union with the King. Whether in consequence of this Mr. Pitt and his brothers will accede to the Government, I cannot tell, nor even if the Government will offer such terms to them as they can accept, or any terms at all. But the difficulty of the times and the temper of the Ministry incline me to think that they would be treated with now, if they were in tractable dispositions. Their dispositions, I suppose, will be sounded; much will depend on the credit they think they shall preserve at Leicester House, after this accommodation. Legge, it is thought, has the chief credit there; perhaps he may be treated with easier than they. If they remain still in opposition, it may possibly be opposition for life. One difficulty they will have in coming in now, is the intemperate language talked by Pitt the last session. Strong declarations against any support to

the German dominions in any event, and violent abuse of the whole Administration with whom he must act, if he comes into Government, will be unpleasant impediments in his way, and not forgotten by the House of Commons. Affairs abroad have taken a very strange turn. The King of Prussia having had clear and undeniable proofs of a league formed against him by the Courts of Vienna, Petersburg; Dresden, and France, which was to be executed next year, and intended no less than his utter destruction, resolved to repel the blow, and fall on his enemies before they were ready to attack him. His resolution was executed with a celerity that no power in Europe can act with but he. At the head of an army of 60,000 men he marched into Saxony, and possessed himself of that country without any resistance in a very short time. But the King is retired to a very strong fort, under the Castle of Koningstein, with about 116,000 men. This is an obstacle in the way of his Prussian Majesty; but it is supposed that before this he has either forced the King of Poland to an accommodation, or attacked him in his camp. In the meanwhile he has sent two armies into Bohemia, where General Brown has drawn some forces together which will be probably put between two fires. The Russians will not be ready this year to come into the Empire, and it is a doubt whether France can or will give any speedy and effectual assistance to her new friend in the present conjuncture. The King of Prussia writes to his Minister here with the utmost confidence of success in this vigorous enterprise. A very short time will shew whether that

1756.

1756. confidence is well or ill founded. If the King of Poland submits, and Brown is beat, probably the Queen of Hungary will be forced to give up her unnatural French alliance, for all her Ministry are against it, Count Kaunitz excepted, and will gladly avail themselves of any events that can disgust her of it and break it. But if the Prussian arms receive any check, she will obstinately adhere to the part she has taken, and the consequences next year may be fatal to Prussia, as the Russians may then break into that Duchy, and the French not only succour the Queen in Bohemia, but make themselves masters of Cleves, and from thence invade Hanover, which is the great object they have in view. Against that danger we must necessarily make some provision, an unpleasant thing in our circumstances, and not very easy to be done so effectually as we could wish, if the King of Prussia should meet with any misfortune. But our situation would still have been worse if we had joined with the Queen of Hungary to attack him; and that we would not do so is the sole cause of her having gone into these with France. Had we complied with her madness, and bought her friendship upon those terms, France would then have united with Prussia; and as he was apprized of all her designs, they would have probably been defeated this year before we could have brought the Russians to act in the Empire against him. We should have then been most justly accused of having lighted up a Continental war, against the faith of treaties, in conjunction with an ally whose slowness and weakness had almost undone us in the last war; and to

gratify passions which had been before indulged a great deal too much. It would have been said that the treaty with Russia was (as the opposition declared it), offensive; that it had thrown the King of Prussia into the arms of France, and brought on all the calamities so eloquently predicted by Mr. Pitt. Whereas now, whoever shall blame the conduct of England, must say that we ought to have joined the Queen of Hungary in an offensive league against Prussia, for the recovery of Silesia to her, against our own express guarantee; and it would be curious to hear those gentlemen take that language next session, who declared so loudly in the last for a union with Prussia, as the only means of salvation to England, and painted the danger and mischief of any quarrel with him in such horrible colours. I will say no more on this subject, but that in all probability, the spirit of Popery has helped to drive the very bigotted Court of Vienna into these schemes, and that the oppression of the Protestant Religion in Germany, is at the heart of the Empress, as well as the recovery of Silesia, in the alliance contracted with France. The same spirit has alienated her from our friendship, and may possibly draw other Catholick Powers into a League with France against England. But the celerity of the King of Prussia may stop all these projects before they are matured, and preserve us as well as himself. God send him success, *for there is no other that fighteth for us*, and I am sure we have need of some help. The bearer of this, Mr. Lockwood, has an appeal to your Excellency, and your Court, and desires me to 1756.

1756. recommend him to your protection, so far as the justice of his cause will permit. By his own account great wrong has been done him ; he seems a modest, discreet and sensible man. I add that all the family are well, except my wife, who is still ailing. I go to Hagley to-morrow for a week. Adieu, my dear Billy, Heaven protect and bless you. I am ever from my soul,

" Your most affectionate brother,

" G. LYTTELTON."

" Considering the character of the King of Prussia, it is not impossible that he may make peace with the Empress this year, and leave us in the lurch; but the danger is greater, if he should be defeated. For if he succeeds, it is most probable that he will chuse to make peace for us, as well as himself, in order to preserve the friendship of England, which might be of great use to him in future occasions. I can hardly believe that France will desire to have Silesia restored to the Empress. For in all permanent views, it is against her true interest. I have shewn the Duke of Newcastle your letters. He is much pleased with your conduct, and will support very strongly your request to Lord Anson. So will Lord Hallifax, whom I saw this morning. His Lordship also expressed very great satisfaction in what you had done, and great good will to you. He is much as he was with the Ministry, but he seems very friendly to me."

Fox, sick of Newcastle's treacherous dealings with him, knowing that the King had not forgiven him for supplanting Robinson, and having no fancy for

defending the loss of Minorca against Pitt, resigned about the middle of October. The Duke's position was desperate; after some abortive writhings to retain power, and attempts, haughtily repulsed, to negotiate with Pitt, seeing the terrific storm which was darkening all around, and his "nudum remigio latus," he at last actually resigned. "He was followed (says Lord Waldegrave) by his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, who resigned the Great Seal, much to the regret of all dispassionate men, and indeed of the nation in general." One of the last acts of this Government was to create Lyttelton (who also resigned his office) a Peer, by the title of Baron Lyttelton of Frankley in the County of Worcester. 1756.

It was obvious that Pitt alone could form the new ministry. With Newcastle or Fox he steadily refused to act, much to the discomfiture of both. He chose the Foreign Secretaryship for himself, made Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Temple first Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Devonshire became first Lord of the Treasury, and the Duke of Bedford Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The two following letters from Lyttelton to his brother the Governor, give a full account of all that passed in the political world upon Pitt's advent to power.

"Hill Street, Nov. 25th, 1756.

"My dear Governour,

"If you are not killed, or taken prisoner by the French (as you may if some news I have heard should be true) this is to inform you, that since I wrote to you last, Mr. Fox having determined

1756. to lay down the seals, because, as he said, he had not support, or power enough to carry on the King's business in the House of Commons, considering the great difficulties that would attend it this Session, an offer was made of them to Mr. Pitt; but he refused to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, who, he said, as Prime Minister, was answerable for the misfortunes and misconduct of the war; and that to *reassure and reanimate the people of England*, another head of the Administration was absolutely necessary; and he pointed out the Duke of Devonshire to be that head, in a conversation with Lady Yarmouth, whom he then made a visit to for the first time in his life, though the negotiation with him had been opened by my Lord Chancellor, and his first answer went through his Lordship to the King. In consequence of his refusal to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, his Grace thought it prudent, and for the King's service, to resign his employment, and my Lord Chancellor declared he would also lay down. All the world then expected that Pitt and Fox would have run into each other's arms, as it was thought that neither of them could form any strong and lasting Administration without the help of the other, and as Mr. Fox, when he declared his design to lay down, advised that the seals should be given to Pitt. But to his surprise, and that of all others, Pitt refused to admit him into any share of power. He seemed inclined to be Paymaster, but even that was denied. He is therefore gone out of all employment. Pitt will be Secretary of State as soon as the gout, of which he has

lately had a sharp fit, will give him leave to kiss the King's hand. Lord Temple is First Commissioner of the Admiralty, G. Grenville Treasurer of the Navy, the Duke of Devonshire First Commissioner of the Treasury, Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer. These are the Ministers. The rest of the Temple family are taken good care of, and Potter is joint Paymaster with my Lord Dupplin, whom they have been graciously pleased to continue in his office. Some other friends of the Duke of Newcastle stay in, even in considerable offices; and Fox has many friends advanced and promoted. If you ask who is first minister, I cannot inform you. I saw yesterday an intimate friend of Mr. Pitt's, who said he was; but the same day, an intimate friend of the Duke of Devonshire assured me, that title belonged to his Grace. Mr. Fox's friends think he is out of employment, but not out of power, or at least will not be so long; and the Duke of Newcastle has been more visited, and had greater professions of attachment made to him, than when at the head of the Treasury. Men of ordinary capacity think it very strange, that if Mr. Pitt was determined, from his own inclinations, or those of Leicester House, to set Mr. Fox and his friends at defiance, he did not unite to the Duke of Newcastle, and keep together that strength by which alone such a faction could be kept down for any long time; but great genius is not conducted by the rules of common prudence. Fox, too, seems to have erred in not better knowing what would be the consequence of his own act; but he is now very skilfully availing himself of his adversary's

1756.

1756. errors. In the meanwhile, you may judge what has been and what is still the state of the publick. For a month past there has not been even the form and appearance of an Administration. How much more there is now than appearance and form, is matter of doubt; but it seems to be clear, that if it not much strengthened it will not hold long. For my own part, I wish it may, as such frequent changes in times of such danger are hurtful to the publick, and may be fatal. One great difficulty in the new Ministry, will be how to lay, or how to direct the storm they have raised. Enquiries are promised. The nation demands them; but the conduct of those in Parliament is no easy matter. In the addresses for enquiries, a Jacobite spirit has mixed itself very strongly with the discontent infused or encouraged by the late opposition. How is that spirit to be satisfied or suppressed? A new Parliament is demanded—a Parliament chose without any corruption; a law for triennial Parliaments, and other such propositions. Mr. Pitt is said to have promised these things, particularly the first. The foreign troops are to be also sent away, and eight thousand men to be sent to America. What will remain for the defence of the kingdom? The Militia Bill is to pass; but will the bill be an army? Will it supply the void of these regular troops before a man is disciplined by it, or even raised? Another declaration is, that we are to pay no subsidies to any foreign Prince. What will become of the King of Prussia next year? What will become of Hanover? I only sketch out these things, because I don't know into

what hands my letter may fall. Many particulars I could wish to inform you of, but it would not be proper. I shall therefore add no more than what relates to myself. My good friends were pleased to say they would *annihilate* me; but my *annihilation* is a Peerage* given me by the King, with the most gracious expressions of favour, esteem, and approbation of my services, that my heart could desire. I have also the satisfaction to find, by many sure marks, that I go out of employment with as good a reputation, and even a better, than I came in. No publick misfortunes are imputed to me. My conduct in my late office is generally approved of, and all those whose esteem I value the most, have taken this occasion to declare it, in terms very honourable to me, and beyond my deserts. In short, I am as happy in this revolution, as my concern for my country, and some domestic uneasinesses, will allow me to be. I wish you may gain by it. The Dean says, he hears it is likely you will. Nothing could give me more satisfaction. Lord Hallifax (who, by the bye, is not of the present Ministry, but better than ever with the Duke of Newcastle), gives you great praise for your conduct in your Government. He mentioned to me a circumstance which does you great honour, and which I had not heard from yourself,—your having refused a present offered you by the Assembly, and which had been usually taken by your predecessors—*macte tuâ virtute.* I shewed 1756.

* Pitt, who had sat for Aldeborough in Yorkshire, a Pelham Borough, was now returned for Oakhampton, so long represented, and now vacated by Lyttelton. See above, p. 64.

1756. him your last letter, in which you say you shall want more presents for the Indians. He said he would give it the proper attention; and in my present situation I must leave it to his Lordship. Upon looking over my accounts, I find a year's annuity due to your Excellency out of my estate, at Michaelmas last, half a year at 2*s*, and half a year at 4*s* in the pound, amounting together to £277. 10*s*, which I desire to borrow of you for Hagley House, at 4 per cent. from the time it was due, and the next year in the same manner. I would also beg you to let me have your salary here on the same terms; but Sir Richard tells me you have engaged to pay him with that the £1400. for which I was bound.

"I wrote to you lately by a young man who promised to deliver my letter safe into your hands, if he got to South Carolina without meeting the French, but to throw it into the sea, if his ship was taken. This goes by Mr. Shubrick's care in the usual manner. I have sent you the best of the political pamphlets that have been writt since you left us, and with them the King of Prussia's vindication of his conduct. I wish His Majesty could as easily insure success to his cause, as he has proved the justice of it, and the bad faith of his enemies. But those enemies are so strong, that if they remain united, and jointly attack him next spring, one can hardly conceive how he can find strength to resist them. The Gazettes, which I suppose are sent over to you, will have informed you of his victory on the frontiers of Bohemia, and extraordinary operations in Saxony; but though he has done ably, and justly,

and gained much glory in his valour and conduct, his army was detained so long in besieging the Saxon camp, that he has failed of establishing himself in Bohemia, as he hoped to have done, before the winter came on; and all his difficulties will increase by every delay. Surprising things may be done by such a Prince at the head of such troops; and perhaps the Czarina may be shewn how dishonourably she has been imposed upon by the Courts of Vienna and Dresden, and may be brought to resent it; by which means the most dangerous part of the storm which threatens the King of Prussia may be diverted. Adieu, my dear Governor. Heaven bless and protect you, and the good people under your care. I wish this country had a prospect of being as well governed as South Carolina. But you will say, *perhaps those damned French may come and take away my Government from me.* I answer, perhaps they may take this country too, if we don't soon see an end of our factions. Nevertheless, I will trust in God, and in the genius of England, that never yet has crouched under that of France. In all chances and changes,

1756.

"I am ever
"your most affectionate
"Brother, Friend, and Servant,
"LYTTELTON."

"Hill Street, Dec. 9th, 1756.

"Since I wrote the foregoing letter, some things have happened that are well worth the mentioning to you. The King's speech, as you will see, men-

1756. tions the determination of sending away the Hanover forces. A clause is inserted in the address of the Lords, thanking the King for having brought them over pursuant to the advice of both Houses. This was thought a proper return of gratitude and acknowledgment on the part of the House, and necessary to vindicate His Majesty's honour, which had been aspersed in many infamous libels, and even some addresses, as if he had brought them over of his own accord, without the desire or consent of the Parliament. But in the address of the House of Commons, this clause of thanks was not inserted; and to the great surprise of the Lords, as soon as the motion for the address was made in their House, and had been seconded, and thirded, up got Lord Temple, and with great vehemence opposed that clause. He said, (as was true,) that he was but just recovering of a fever, and had scarce strength to say a few words to their Lordships; but he must say them, in order to express his dissent to that clause: that he desired union as much as any man in the kingdom, but that clause was not calculated to produce union. That he had opposed the bringing over the Hanoverians last year, and therefore he could not thank the King for it now. But (what was of much more importance) a great majority of the nation had disapproved of their coming, and therefore this would prevent unanimity in the nation, which was of much more consequence than unanimity in that House. That he would sooner have cut off his hand, than have put any words into the address to blame the bringing them over, be-

cause he did not desire, or think it expedient, to revive 1756.
that question now; but why an approbation of it should be put in, he could not conceive. He hinted, too, at its being omitted in the address of the Commons; and concluded with saying, that he would not be satisfied without entering his protest against it in the manner he had done; and then immedately walked out of the House.

"The Duke of Bedford, taking no notice of his being gone out, replied with great strength, that whatever respect might be due to that Lord, the House was to consider what was their own Act, and what, thereupon, it became them to do; that his Lordship's consent, and every single Lord's, was included in the address for bringing over those troops, which the House had agreed to; that as the King had been graciously pleased to comply with the desire and advice of the House, they certainly ought to return him their thanks for that condescension, which was always esteemed a favour and grace, whatever reasons there might be at present for sending them back; and that no Lord had any right to complain of their doing what was so highly their duty, because he had differed from them in his personal capacity, and while the question was yet in debate. Lord Stanhope said a few words in support of Lord Temple, and then the debate ended without any division. You may imagine the observations and discourse of the world upon this event. In all the journals of Parliament, there never was any instance of a Cabinet counsellor having opposed any part of the address in return to the King's speech at the opening

1756. of a session, unless he was understood to be just going out. Lord Temple is just come in, and people naturally ask one another, did he not see the address which always is settled at the Cabinet Council? why did he not then oppose this clause? Or, if he did, how came it about that his opposition had no effect? And why did he not choose to keep his own secret, rather than tell the House of Lords, that he had no credit in the administration? What surprised every body still more, was, that in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt had declared the same day, that the bringing the Hanoverians into England, *was not a Court measure, but the measure of Parliament.* I am now informed that Lord Temple, being ill of a fever, was not at the Cabinet Council the day that these words were inserted; that having notice of it in the evening, he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, to desire his Grace that they might be left out. That his Grace did not comply, though he likewise was talked to by Mr. Pitt, upon which my Lord Temple resolved to take the part that he did in the House, but whether with, or without Mr. Pitt's approbation, I cannot learn. This morning there was a talk of a motion in the House of Commons to re-commit the address, and add a clause to the same purpose as that in the address of the Lords. But Mr. Pitt, who had not yet received the seals, declared he would not take them if that was done; upon which it was stopped. You see, my dear Billy, what a blessed union there is among these great men! It is a new married couple who fall out, and fight on their wedding day. In the House of Com-

mons, Pitt's speech was moderate and discreet. He 1756.
would blame nobody before an inquiry was made, nor even till it was ended. He owned the loss of the Hanoverians would make a dangerous gap in our force at home; but that gap must be supplied. He owned we had no ships to spare, and that the French fleet was very dangerously strong. He poured cold water on the head of Alderman Beckford, who had vaunted in his usual style on the grand strength of England, &c.; in short, he spoke like a minister, and unsaid almost all he had said in opposition. Beckford praised Fox and him; and assured him, in the name of all the Tories, but without any authority from them, of his, and their most cordial support. He grossly abused the Duke of Newcastle, who was defended with a great deal of spirit by the Marquis of Granby, and by Sir Thomas Robinson. Lord G. Sackville said, when he knew how Mr. Pitt would fill up the gap which would be made by the Hanoverians being sent back, *effectually* and *immediately*, he would say what he thought of the sending them back at this juncture of time. These were the principal events of the day. The King's speech was drawn by Mr. Pitt. It is in an high style *ad Populum*, and seems to promise great things. But there is certainly enough of *Germany* in it, and it by no means agrees with the publick declarations made by Lord Temple of no *foreign subsidies*, much less with the language talkt the last year. Adieu, my dear brother, I have writt till I am quite tired.

"I have just seen a letter from your excellency to

1756. *Mr. Pickering*, dated the 7th of September, which gives me the pleasure of knowing that you were well, and under no apprehensions except from the Creoles. But I wish the greater danger may not be from the French Regulars at the Mississippi. *The loss* of Oswego is so fatal a misfortune, that I fear the effects of it may extend even to you, if, in consequence of it, the Six Nations should waver in their alliance with us, which would make it impossible for Lord Loudon to succour our more southern provinces, if they should be attacked. If your new fort is finished, it will be a good barrier to the Province that way, but I doubt whether it can in so short a time; and if you are attacked, I supppose it will be before that is completed. I shall be glad to hear you got safe through the month of October, for then I presume there will be no danger till the next spring.

Our affairs at Bewdley (I should rather say *yours*, for if I keep the Borough it will be for you) stand much as they did, only that old Tom Moysey is dead. He has left a debt to the Government for licences, not accounted for, of above £200., which I am to pay as being one of his sureties, and the other being insolvent. His effects, altogether, are not worth above £20. Sir Richard was offered the White Stick as controller, (a very honourable office,) but being forced to decline it, because it required a man that can *walk*, he has now, after some difficulties, got the Jewel Office; Lord Breadalbin having taken Lord Sands's place, who is made speaker of the House of Lords, it being his destiny to be a speaker. Charles

Townsend has also accepted the office of Treasurer of the Chambers, in the room of Lord Hillsborough, who is made an English Peer. He does not appear to be satisfied with it, as it is not an office of business, or power; nor did he think it worth having at the price of a contested election at Yarmouth, but he is to be brought in at another place. 1756.

"The public papers will give you all the other promotions, or the Dean, who is a good supplement to their defects. Mr. Pitt is again laid up with the gout. Mr. Fox is gone out of town, and says he does not intend to return these six weeks, though the adjournment is but for a week.

"This declaration is pretty extraordinary, as indeed are all the events of this time.

"Adieu, my dear Governor, you shall hear from me again as soon as they ripen into any decision.

"I can't help adding that the Duke of Newcastle has acted with great dignity, prudence, and moderation in this revolution."

CHAPTER XIII.

LITERARY HISTORY, 1756, TO THE DEATH OF LYTTELTON, 1773.

[Hagley MSS.—Campbell's Notices of the Wartons and Gray in Specimens of British Poetry—Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann, vols. ii. and iii. first series, vol. i. concluding series—Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, vol. i. p. 213, &c.—Schlosser's Geschichte, vol. iii. Literatur und Bildung Englands.—Wool's Life of Warton—Davies' Life of Garrick, vol. i.—Boswell's Life of Johnson, vols. i. and ii.—Chalmers' Life of Mickle—Forbes' Life of Beattie.]

1756-73. It was in the year 1755 that Bower had good reason to congratulate himself on having acquired the friendship of one who had deserved the name of "Lyttelton, the friend." About this period, Bower printed his "Motives of Conversion from Popery to Protestantism;" the work was criticised by Dr. Douglas, in a publication* which was generally† considered to contain a complete detection of

* See page 334.

† "Here Douglas retires from his toils to relax,
The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks:
Come all ye quack bards, and ye quacking divines,
Come and dance on the spot where your tyrant reclines,
When satire and censure encircled his throne,
I feared for your safety, I feared for my own:"
"But now he is gone, and we want a detector."

Goldsmith's Retaliation.

Bower as an impostor. Among other persons, Gar- 1756-73.
rick openly discussed this question in society. Bower stood his ground, however, and in a summary of his case appended to one of the volumes of his History of the Popes, severely attacked both Garrick and one of his friends. Garrick determined on taking his revenge in his own line by bringing the character of Bower upon the stage,in the character of *the mock convert.* Being however on intimate terms with Lyttelton, whose protection of the intended victim was well known to him, he announced to this common friend his intention. Lyttelton wrote so strong a dissuasive, that Garrick, though reluctantly, forewent his revenge.

Lyttelton seems fully to have shared the admiration of his contemporaries, for this wonderful actor,* who

* Lyttelton and Pitt became first acquainted with him in 1743. One of the happiest efforts of the licentious and gifted Churchill, is his description of Garrick in the Rosciad.

" The judges as the several parties came,
With temper heard, with judgment weighed each claim,
And in their sentence happily agreed,
In name of both great Shakespeare thus decreed—
'If manly sense, if nature linked with art,
If thorough knowledge of the human heart,
If powers of acting, vast and unconfin'd,
If fewest faults with greatest beauties join'd,
If strong expression and strange powers which lie
Within the magic circle of the eye,
If feelings which few hearts like his can know,
And which as few so well as his can shew
Deserve the preference—Garrick ! take the chair,
Nor quit it till thou place an equal there !' "

1756-73. was occasionally a guest at Hagley, and whose house was a favourite resort (his biographer tells us), "of the learned, the elegant, the polite, and the accomplished in all arts and sciences"—"so, (he adds), that he was continually drawing from the great fountains of wisdom and knowledge—from Warburton and Hurd, from Camden and Mansfield, from the Earl of Chesterfield and George Lord Lyttelton, from Dr. S. Johnson and Edmund Burke, from Sir J. Reynolds and Sir W. Chambers, from Dr. Warton and his brother, from Mr. Berenger and Topham Beauclerc, from Mr. Paul and Mr. William Whitehead, from Mr. Cambridge and Mr. Colman, from Dr. Douglas and the Dean of Carlisle, from Dr. Robertson and Mr. Wedderburne, and from all that was eminent for their worth or distinguished by their genius." To this list might be added the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Chatham.

The only letter from Garrick in the Hagley MSS. is the following :—

"London, October 15th.

"My very dear Lord,

"The letter I had the honour of receiving from you yesterday, gave me at once the most exquisite pleasure and the most disagreeable sensations. It is my utmost pride and ambition to deserve the kind thoughts of the great and good, and my wishes are completely fulfilled in your letter. Your affectionate declaration to me is felt in my heart of

heart, as Shakespear feelingly calls it, and I flatter 1756 73.
myself, though you will find greater qualities in your other friends, you will never experience more sincerity, warmth, and true attachment than in your humble servant.

" Since I revell'd in delight upon the hills at Hagley, I have had a drawback with some attacks of my old disorder to make me sensible of my mortal condition, I am now, as I may say, well again, and I have put my philosophy to the trial—I drink no wine, eat but one thing, and don't so much as smell at supper. This regulation with a spoonfull of Castor oyl every night and a moderate use of honey and barley-water, will I am persuaded, make me whole again. I have produced no less than two or three small stones* with very little pain for many days. The Faculty have given me spirits by assuring me that I shall get rid of small ones. To any heart but your own, my Lord, all this would be impertinence, but I know something of character and I am assur'd that you wish to hear all about me. May Lord Valentia† prosper in Ireland; I most devoutly wish it, because I sincerely believe that his Lordship's cause is a just one; exclusive of that, whatever gives Lord Lyttelton pain or pleasure will and shall glance upon me, and I glory to have my share of both.

" That your Lordship has any object for the exercise

* He died in 1779 of this painful disorder.

† He married Lyttelton's daughter Lucy.

1756-73. of your resignation and patience, most truly affects me. If you had not these stops in the course of your life, your change from this world to a better would not have sufficient contrast—to enjoy a good share of health, the good wishes of all good men, and be the praise of all parties, with a circle of friends whose taste, knowledge, and genius, can enjoy yours—these are blessings few can boast of, and I hope I may morally pray God, that you may long enjoy them, and survive all the objects of your patience and resignation. Mrs. Vesey is a most agreeable woman, Mrs. Montagu is *herself alone.* Were they eighteen, and I an Adonis of twenty-one, I should love one and adore the other—I would kiss the hands of the Sylph, but fall at the feet of the Minerva. Such are my feelings about them, and if your Lordship can work up a little jealousy out of this declaration, I beg you will make the best of it. You deserve a small portion of mischief at my hands, for raising the vanity of Pid-pad to such a height, that all my assum'd dignity cannot lower her. I must not scold, and find fault, but she throws your Lordship at my head; and in short, for I begin to grow angry, if you and Pid-pad grow as fashionable as other folks, I must have satisfaction, and to have the most full and complete satisfaction, I shall desire your Lordship to meet me in Hagley Park.

"Most devotedly your Lordship's

"D. GARRICK.

"Pid-pad sends her love."

Among the MSS. I find in Lyttelton's handwriting 1756-73.
the following verses:—"Pid-pad"* is probably the enchantress of the second stanza:—

"Garrick, behold the Fairy King,
To you my choicest gifts I bring,
To you whose power surpasses mine,
This wand, (my sceptre) I resign.
You can all forms assume with ease,
Secure in every form to please,
I can the elements controul,
But you command the human soul.

Yet one there is whose gentle sway,
Ev'n you with all your spells obey,
Whose magic binds in pleasing chains
Your heart, and there triumphant reigns;
To whom each sister Grace imparts,
Her sweetest charms, her finest arts!
Oft may she tread this hallowed green,
And she shall be the Fairy Queen."

The house of Garrick had in fact succeeded to the villa of Pope. Here—in the drawing-rooms of Mrs. Vesey—sometimes of Mrs. Thrale—and often, at a later period, of Mrs. Montague, Lyttelton frequented that kind of society which subsisted on literary gossip; and which, except when Johnson sat enthroned, was too often a poor imitation of French manners, as the works of the day were, with some very considerable exceptions, feeble copies of that French style, thought, and expression, which the writings of Bolingbroke and Voltaire had made generally fashionable.

In the enumeration of places to which Lyttelton

* Mrs. Garrick had been a celebrated dancer.

1756-73. dedicated his social hours, the Palace at Lambeth must not be forgotten. Here probably he found the society most congenial to his disposition ; and to the curious and excellent library which it contains he appears to have had frequent recourse during the composition of his History. The learned and excellent Secker succeeded Shelton in the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1758, and Lambeth seems to have been open to all men of letters and fair character. It was much frequented, as was Montague House, both by Lord Bath and Lyttelton. Here it was that he became acquainted with Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the translatress of Epictetus, a lady who united a sincere piety to accomplishments of no mean order. A charitable occasion first brought Lyttelton into communication with her. In 1755 she wrote to him, whom she did not then know, on behalf of the children of a poor woman. He immediately sent her twenty pounds; and again, in 1756, desired her, if her wants should be pressing, to draw upon him for a specified sum of money, while he exerted himself to procure for her a pension at the Treasury. Nobody appears to have better appreciated Lyttelton's character, or more sincerely lamented his death, than Mrs. Carter.* I should mention here that it does not appear that Lyttelton was ever enrolled among the members of that celebrated society which existed for some time without name, but which at Mr. Garrick's funeral, became distinguished by the title of the Literary Club.

* She died herself in 1806, having been born in 1717.

One of Lyttelton's first acts on the acquisition of his peerage was to offer the elder Warton (Joseph) his Chaplainship. "I shall think it an honour to my scarf if you will wear it," he writes. The offer was gladly accepted. With both the Wartons (Joseph and Thomas) Lyttelton seems to have lived in habits of great intimacy. Our literature is considerably indebted to these brothers, who were perhaps the most finished scholars of the time. 1756-73.

About this time Lyttelton published his Dialogues of the Dead. They were reprinted in 1765, when four new dialogues were added, the "chief design of which was," as he tells us in the preface,* "the illustrating of certain *principles* and certain *characters* of importance, by bringing in persons who have acted upon different systems to defend their own conduct, or to explain their own notions by free discourse with each other, and in manner conformable to the turn of their minds, as they have been represented to us by the best authors." These Dialogues, of which three were "by a different hand,"† were written in avowed imitation of Lucian, Fenelon, and Fontenelle. In truth, like the Persian Letters, they were framed, according to the fashion of the day, on an entirely French model. Some of them are ingenious and amusing, as well as instructive. The style is always clear, and sometimes eloquent.

* See Preface to the edition of 1765.

† Dialogue 26, Cadmus and Hercules.—Dialogue 27, Mercury and a modern fine Lord.—Dialogue 28, Plutarch, Charon, and a modern Bookseller.

1756-73. Dr. Johnson's dislike of Lyttelton has been often mentioned, and it is visible in his criticism on this work.—"That man (he said) sat down to write a book to tell the world what the world had all his life been telling him." Must not this be the case with most books which are the fruit of reading, meditation, and experience of life?—and in what lies the intended sting of this remark? Horace Walpole writes the following characteristic criticism in a letter to Sir H. Mann:—"Along with the machine I have sent you some new books—Lord George's Trial, Lord Ferrers's, and the account of him—a fashionable thing called Tristram Shandy, and my Lord Lyttelton's new Dialogues of the Dead, or rather *Dead* Dialogues. * * * * For the other noble author, Lord Lyttelton, you will find his work paltry enough; the style a mixture of bombast, poetry, and vulgarisms—nothing new, except making people talk out of character is so. Then he loves changing sides so much that he makes Lord Falkland and Hampden cross over and figure in like people in a country dance—not to mention their guardian angels, who deserve to be hanged for murder. He is angry, too, at Swift, Lucian, and Rabelais, as if they had laughed at him of all men living, and he seems to wish that we would read the last's Dissertation on Hippocratis instead of his History of Portugal. But I blame him most when he was satirising too free writers for praising the King of Prussia's poetry, to which anything of Royle is harmless. I like best the Dialogue between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Angus, and the character of his own first wife under that of Penelope. I need not tell you that

Pericles is Mr. Pitt." The blame ascribed to Pericles by Cosmo, who admits his many virtues and abilities, is that of trusting solely to his personal influence, without acting upon, or preferring, any system of Government—like an architect, whose only care was that the building should last the term of the owner's life. 1756-73.

The Dialogues between Swift and Addison, Christina and Oxenstiern, Pope* and Boileau, which contain a good deal of criticism on English and French writers generally, will well repay perusal.

In the last dialogue is introduced a criticism on Voltaire: it conveyed some censure upon his writings, but which certainly did not err on the side of severity, nevertheless it irritated this philosoper (who was one of the many examples of the truth of Moliere's well-known satire upon Philosophers, in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme;*) and in 1761 he wrote to Lyttelton as follows.

LETTER OF MR. VOLTAIRE TO LORD LYTTELTON.

"I HAVE read the ingenious *Dialogues of the Dead*, I find (page 134) that I am an *exile*, and guilty

* Boileau reproaches Pope with having wasted his genius in editing Shakspeare. Pope replies: —

"The principal cause of my undertaking that task was zeal for the honour of Shakspeare: and if you knew all his beauties as well as I, you would not wonder at this zeal. No other author had ever so copious, so bold, so creative an imagination, with so perfect a knowledge of the passions, the humours and sentiments of mankind. He painted all characters, from kings down to peasants, with equal truth and equal force. If human nature were destroyed, and no monument were left of it except his work, other beings might know *what man was* from those writings."

1756-73. of some excesses in writing. I am obliged (and perhaps for the honour of my country) to say I am not an exile, because I have not committed the excesses the author of the Dialogues imputes to me.

"No body rais'd his voice higher than mine in favour of the rights of human kind; yet I have not exceeded in that virtue. I am not settled in Switzerland as he believes I live in my own lands in France. Retreat is becoming to old age, and more becoming in one's own possessions. If I enjoy a little country-house near Geneva, my mannors and my castles are in Burgundy; and if my King has been pleased to confirm the privileges of my lands, which are free from all tributes, I am the more addicted to my King.

"If I was an exile I had not obtained from my court many a passeport for English noblemen. The service I rendered to them intitles me to the justice I expect from the noble author.

As to Religion, I think, and I hope he thinks with me, that God is neither a Presbiterian, nor a Lutherian, nor of the lower Church, nor of the high church, but God is the father of all mankind, the father of the noble author and mine.

"I am with respect,

"His most humble servant,

"VOLTAIRE."

"Gentleman of the King's Chamber.

"At my Castle of Ferney in Burgundy."

Lyttelton's answer was as follows:—

"SIR, 1756-73.

"I HAVE receiv'd the honour of your letter dated from your Castle of Ferney in Burgundy, by which I find I was guilty of an error in calling your retirement an *exile*. When another edition shall be made of my Dialogues, either in English or French, I will take care that this error shall be corrected; and I am very sorry I was not apprised of it sooner, that I might have corrected it in the first edition of a French translation of them just published under my inspection in London.

"To *do you justice* is a duty I owe to truth, and myself; and you have a much better title to it, than from the *Passeports* you say you have procured for English noblemen; you are entitled to it, Sir, by the high sentiments of respect I have for you, which are not paid to the privileges you tell me your king has confirmed to your lands, but to the noble talents God has given you, and the superior rank you hold in the Republic of Letters. The favours done you by your Sovereign are an honour to him; but add little lustre to the name of Voltaire.

"I entirely agree with you that God is the Father of all mankind; and should think it blasphemy to confine his goodness to a sect, nor do I believe that any of his creatures are good in his sight, if they do not extend their benevolence to all his creation. These opinions I rejoice to see in your works, and shall be very glad to be convinced, that the liberty of your thoughts and your pen upon subjects of philosophy and religion never exceeded the bounds of this gene-

1756-73. rous principle, which is authorised by revelation as much as by reason; or that you disapproved in your hours of sober reflexion any irregular sallies of fancy, which cannot be justified, though they may be *excused* by the vivacity and fire of a great genius.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"LYTTELTON."

Soon afterwards came another letter from the same quarter:

"Au Chateau de Ferney, par Geneve,
"19 Juillet, 1761.

"MY LORD,

"MY esteem for you is so great, that j presume the name of Corneille shall be honour'd with your name. J dare sai such an attonement for the little displeasure you had caus'd to me, is a favour which j'll ressent great deal more than my little pain.

"Je suis avec bien du respect,
"My Lord,
"Votre tres humble et tres
"obeissant serviteur,
"VOLTAIRE."

The object of this unintelligible letter was to procure Lyttelton's name and subscription to an edition of Corneille, which Voltaire was preparing, and the profits of which were to be devoted to the benefit of that distinguished person's* great niece. Voltaire wrote to Pitt on the same day, begging to place his name at the head of the subscribers. Mr. Stanley,

* The work was published in 1764, in 12 volumes, 8vo.

writing to Pitt on the 26th of August, says, "I have received the enclosed letter from Voltaire, whom I never saw, on my subscribing to an edition of Corneille. You will judge whether I have got off as well as my Lord Lyttelton." 1756-73.

I may mention in this place that in the same year I find among the Hagley MSS. a document endorsed in Lyttelton's handwriting—

"Draft of my letter to the King of Prussia's Secretary, on his sending me the Book of Poems published by his Master."

It is written in good French, but contains only the compliments usual in such cases.

Horace Walpole writes to Sir H. Mann—

"Voltaire has been charmingly absurd. He who laughed at Congreve for despising the rank of author and affecting the gentleman, set out post for a hovel he has in France to write from thence and style himself *Gentleman of the Bedchamber*, to Lord Lyttelton, who in his Dialogues of the Dead, had called him an exile. He writes in English and not a sentence is tolerable English. The answer is very civil and sensible."

The following letter to Lyttelton from Mr. Phelps is on the same subject, and contains a curious account of Voltaire's character from an eye-witness.

"Blandford, 9th March, 1791.

"My Lord,

"Having been from quarters some few days on account of my health I had not an opportunity of seeing Mr. Voltaire's letter to your Lordship, and the

1756-73. answer till yesterday. The frequent opportunities I had of conversing with that great genius, during my last stay abroad, gave me a thorough insight into his character; and I remember it was not without that sensible pleasure with which I read all your Lordship's writings, that I observ'd with how much delicacy you treated him in your Dialogues of the Dead.

" I find that he is much hurt at the name of exile, and yet that voluntary banishment which he now chuses to call his retreat in Suisse, was always consider'd by the sensible people of that country as the effect of prudence rather than of choice.

" He had taken a house at Lausanne on a lease of nine years; he had paid the rent for the whole term in advance, and had expended a very large sum, in fitting it up according to his own taste and convenience. It was at this time, that I was first known to him, was with him frequently in his hours of gaiety, and those of a very different complexion. His favourite theme in all humours, was, Je ne sais pas Français, except when his vanity prompted him to read us the accounts which he regularly received of real or imaginary victories gained by his countrymen. He was upon these occasions as arrant a Frenchman as the most illiterate of his nation, and received the most glaring political absurdities upon trust. He was the most inconsistent, whenever he talked of the King of Prussia; and I remember when we first heard that the united Imperial and French army, was marching down to drive the King of Prussia out of Saxony, that I saw a billet which M. Voltaire wrote to a gentleman who

lived in the next street, exprest in these terms, " Ce 1756-73.
Monsieur de Brandenbourg qui a fait presenter quatre bayonettes au ventre de ma nièce en a quatre vingt milles en arrêt contre lui." This alluded to his niece being refused admittance to him, when he was under arrest at Francfort. Some few days after, we were informed of the French defeat at Rosbach. M. Voltaire's billet was much changed ; " J'admire le Roy de Prusse, je plains les Français, et je me tais. He was as consistent too with respect to the English ; sometimes we were Islanders fit for the element that surrounded us, without taste of life, or sense of manner ; at other times, Monsieur, vous êtes Anglais, Grand Dieu ! que je vondrais l'etre. He indeed did us the honour in his hours of dislike, to treat us with hatred rather than with contempt. Such was the Voltaire that I left in Suisse about three years ago, when I went into Italy, and such I found him upon my return last year, but the limits of his retreat were then much confined. He had during my stay in Italy, acted a very unhandsome part, with regard to some of the Clergy at Lausanne, and his behaviour had been resented, as it ought. The quitting his house in that place was the necessary consequence. He was therefore last year endeavouring to extend his limits on the side of Geneva, which however it is hardly possible for him to do, without touching upon the territories of his own King. He might then perhaps apply to his great patron the Duke of Richelieu, and might easily obtain the privileges he talks of, in those outskirts of France, however

1756-73. obnoxious he may have rendered himself at home. He had bought lands on that side, and was even building upon them, when I was in that country about last Easter. Their distance was not very great from his little country house near Geneva, and I am apt to suspect that these are the Manours and Castles of which he talks in his letter to your Lordship. Wherever these Manours and Castles are, they make but little difference as to M. Voltaire's letters, except that I think the ridicule would be a little heightened. * * I am in one respect pleas'd with M. Voltaire's letter, as it gives me his real portrait, and as much as I dislike national reflections, I cannot help saying, that I see too in it a strong characteristic of his country.

"The last four years which I pass'd abroad, have made me often wish, that we took a little more pains to conciliate people to us by our pens. The learned in all countries know how to do us justice, but I would not have it totally confined to them. The French insinuate themselves into the opinion of foreign nations, by keeping up a good correspondence, with almost all the writers employed in conveying intelligence. I think they carry it too far, but do not we, my Lord, neglect this article a little too much? I wish to see Voltaire's letter circulate wherever English and French are read, there is in it the true character of the author, and the genuine complexion of his country. I would fain flatter myself too, that whilst foreigners do justice to your Lordship, they will at the same time discover some strong *national* features in your Lordship's

noble reply. I have the honour to be with all possible respect, 1756-73.

" My Lord,
" Your Lordship's most obedient,
" and most humble servant,
" Richard Phelps."

In 1757 appeared two poems, whose genius and lyrical fire, startled the feeble versifiers of the time. These were Gray's two odes, " The Progress of Poesy," and " The Bard." In vain did Johnson's monstrous criticism strive to destroy by clumsy ridicule, what it had no power to appreciate. They will never lose their place in English literature.* Horace Walpole's criticism on them is conveyed in the following letter to Lyttelton.

" Strawberry Hill, August 25, 1757.

" My Lord,

" It is a satisfaction one can't often receive, to show a thing of great merit to a man of great taste. Your Lordship's approbation is conclusive, and it stamps a disgrace on the age, who have not given themselves the trouble to see any beauties in these odes of Mr. Gray. They have cast their eyes over them, found them obscure, and looked no further, yet perhaps no composition ever had more sublime beauties than are in each. I agree with your Lordship in preferring the last upon the whole; the three first stanzas and half, down to *agonizing king*, are in my opinion, equal to anything in any language I understand. Yet

* See Mr. Campbell's admirable criticism in his Specimens of British Poets.

1756-73. the three last of the first ode please me very near as much. The description of Shakespeare, is worthy Shakespeare: the account of Milton's blindness, though perhaps not strictly defensible, is very majestic. The character of Dryden's Poetry, is as animated as what it paints. I can even like the epithet *Orient;* as the East is the Empire of fancy and poesy, I would allow its livery to be erected into a colour. I think *blue eyed Pleasures* as allowable; when Homer gave eyes of what hue he pleased to his Queen-Goddesses, sure Mr. Gray may tinge those of their handmaids.

" In answer to your Lordship's objection to *many twinkling,* in that beautiful Epode, I will quote authority to which you will yield. As Greek as the expression is, it struck Mrs. Garrick,* and she says on that whole picture, that Mr. Gray is the only Poet who ever understood dancing.†

" These faults I think I can defend, and can excuse others, even the general obscurity of the latter, for I do not see it in the first; the subject of it has been taken for music, it is the power and progress of harmonious poetry. I think his objection to prefixing a title to it was wrong—that Mr. Cooke published an ode with such a title. If the *Louis the great,* whom Voltaire has discovered in Hungary, had not disappeared

* Pid-Pad, see Garrick's letter above.

† The classical reader will remember the beautiful passage in the Odyssey.

ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦροι
Πρωθῆβαι ἵσταντο, δαήμονες ὀρχηθμοῖο
Πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσὶν ἀνταρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θάυμαζε δὲ θυμῷ.—Θ. 262—5.

from history of himself, would not Louis Quatorze have annihilated him? I was aware that the second would at first have darknesses, and prevailed for the insertion of what notes there are, and would have had more; Mr. Gray said, whatever wanted explanation, did not deserve it, but that sentence was never so far from being an axiom, as in the present case. Not to mention how he had shackled himself with Strophe, Antistrophe and Epode, (yet acquitting himself nobly), the nature of prophecy forbade his naming his Kings. To me they are apparent enough—yet I am far from thinking either piece perfect, though with what faults they have, I hold them in the first rank of genius and poetry. The second strophe of the first ode is inexcusable, nor do I wonder your Lordship blames it; even when one does understand it, perhaps the last line is too turgid. I am not fond of the Antistrophe that follows. In the second ode he made some corrections for the worse. *Brave* Urion was originally *stern: brave* is insipid and common-place. In the third Antistrophe, *leave me unblessed, unpitied*, stood at first, *leave your despairing Caradoc.* But the capital faults in my opinion are these—What punishment was it to Edward the First to hear that his grandson would conquer France? or is so common an event as Edward the Third being deserted on his death-bed, worthy of being made part of a curse that was to avenge a nation. I can't cast my eye here, without crying out on those beautiful lines that follow, *Fair smiles the morn!* Though the images are extremely complicated, what

1756-73.

1756-73. painting in the whirlwind, liken'd to a lion lying in ambush for his evening prey, *in grim repose!* Thirst and Hunger mocking Richard II., appear to me too ludicrously like the devils in the Tempest, that whisk away the banquet from the shipwrecked Dukes. From thence to the conclusion of Queen Elizabeth's portrait, which he has faithfully copied from Speed, in the passage where she mumbled the Polish Ambassador, I admire, I can even allow that Image of Rapture hovering like an ancient grotesque, though it strictly has little meaning, but there I take my leave; the last stanza has no beauties for me. I even think its obscurity fortunate, for the allusions to Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton are not only weak, but the two last returning again, after appearing so gloriously in the first ode, and with so much fainter colours, enervate the whole conclusion.

"Your Lordship sees that I am no enthusiast to Mr. Gray, his great lustre hath not dazzled me, as his obscurity seems to have blinded his cotemporaries. Indeed, I do not think that they ever admired him except in his churchyard, though the Eton ode was far its superior, and is certainly not obscure. The Eton ode is perfect: these of more masterly execution, have defects, yet not to admire them is total want of taste. I have an aversion to tame poetry, at best perhaps the art is the sublimest of the *difficiles nugæ;* —to measure or rhyme prose, is trifling without being difficult.

"I am sensible that encouraged by your Lordship's

criticism, I have indulged myself in it too much, and 1756-73.
I would as willingly keep silence on the melancholy situation of our country, sunk—whither! but there is to me a private part of it, now become a public one, and one that should, and I will trust in God, may yet be reserved for the public in a happier light, on whom I cannot keep silence, dear Mr. Conway. Your Lordship asks my opinion—alas! my Lord, you have spoken my opinion—is France so invulnerable? Can we afford to risk our best officers, our best ships, our best soldiers? what if they perish! Is our danger so remote, that we must send for it, mark its route with our own best blood! I tremble as an Englishman, and more as a friend—what must poor Lady Ailesbury* do, who sees the most reasonable system of happiness, and the most perfect in every shape that ever existed, exposed to such imminent peril! My heart bleeds for her. Adieu! my Lord, this is a theme that cuts short all other reflections! My best compliments to my Lady and the Dean; I grieve for the ill health of the former. There is a question I must still ask; how does King Henry? I ask this as a reader, not as a printer; not as Elzevir Horace, as Mr. Conway calls me, but as

"Your Lordship's admirer,

"and obedient humble servant,

"HORACE WALPOLE."

* Whose second husband was General Conway, then employed with Sir John Mordaunt in the useless attack on Rochefort.

1756-73. About 1760, Lyttelton entered into correspondence with an unknown person, apparently endowed with considerable genius, and struggling with severe distress,—William Julius Mickle, the translator of the Lusiad, the author of Syr Martin, and of the popular and well known song, "There's nae luck about the House," and of the affecting ballad of Cumnor Hall, known to most English readers, since it became the basis of Walter Scott's Kenilworth. He had been brought up in a brewing establishment, at Edinburgh, but had early shewn an enthusiastic love for poetry. He submitted several of his early poems, and among them "Providence," to Lyttelton's supervision. Lyttelton seems to have treated him with the greatest kindness, both by letter, and in a personal interview, when having been surety for an insolvent friend, who became bankrupt, he came to London in 1764. He had previously written to Lyttelton, under the assumed name of William More, describing himself "as a young man friendless and unknown," begging to be allowed to dedicate to him a second edition of "Providence," and that an answer might be sent to him at a Coffee House in Holborn. Before the answer could arrive there, the utter derangement of his affairs had driven him from his home, and he had reached London in the greatest distress. While in this perplexity, he received a cheering letter from Lyttelton, warmly commending his genius, but containing several criticisms on his poems, urging him to acquire greater harmony of versification, to take care

that his diction did not *loiter into prose*, or become harsh by new phrases or words unauthorised by the usage of good authors. Mickle took in good part this and other criticisms, from which he always professed to have derived considerable advantage. When he thought of seeking his fortune in Jamaica, Lyttelton gave him a letter of recommendation to his brother, who was at that time governor of the island. He afterwards obtained the office of corrector of the Clarendon Press at Oxford; and in 1780, was appointed joint agent at Lisbon for certain valuable naval prizes. He realized a small sum of money, and died in 1788. 1756-73.

In July, 1759, Lyttelton received a letter from Lord Hardwicke, which, as it concerned chiefly political matters, will be found in the ensuing chapter; a portion of it, however, related to the progress of Lyttelton's great literary labour, to which he answered as follows:—

"I thank your Lordship for your obliging concern about my health. It is much better since I came into the country, and I hope will be quite re-established by the exercise and amusement of a tour I am going to make into North Wales. At my return from thence, I intend to resume the task of my history, encouraged very much by the favourable opinion your Lordship has of it; but I do not hope to complete it in less than two or three yeare. The *Collationis Mora et Tædium*, which Cicero says, deterred him from writing the history of his country, is what makes me so slow

1756-73. in finishing mine; for I know the critical spirit of my countrymen, who would not forgive an inaccuracy in a fact, or a date, if I could write with the eloquence of Cicero himself; and I am particularly unfortunate in the many subjects of controversy that occur during the period contained in my work: but if I can make it deserve your Lordship's approbation, I shall think no labour too great."

An account of the tour in North Wales, referred to in this letter, was written in two letters to Mr. Bower, and is published in the last volume of Lyttelton's works.

The history of Henry the Second had been the labour of the greater part of Lyttelton's life. Interrupted as that labour had been by his official and parliamentary avocations, it had never been wholly laid aside, though the expectation, which he mentioned in his letter to Pope,* in 1741, of finishing his work within two or three years, had been completely frustrated. Many of his letters, it has been seen, refer to this darling project, the ambition† of his early, and the religion‡ of his matured years, conspired to render this undertaking a labour of love to him. Lyttelton's regard to the critical accuracy of his countrymen, mentioned in the extract from his answer to Lord Hardwicke, induced him to make alterations in the press, which are said to have cost a thousand pounds; and also to adopt a precaution, which was extraordinary, and unhappily unavailing. A person

* See above, p. 184. † See Letter to Pope, p. 184.

‡ See Letters to Doddridge, chap. x.

of the name of Andrew Reid, persuaded Lyttelton 1756-73.
that he possessed the secret of correct punctuation, and was employed by him at a great price to point the pages of Henry the Second. Johnson scoffed at the idea, that "another man could point his sense better than himself." "It may be doubted, (observes Mr. Croker,*) whether Johnson's dislike of Lord Lyttelton did not here lead him into an error. Persons not so habituated with the details of printing as he was, may have been less expert at these conventional signs. Lord Byron wrote to Mr. Murray, 'Do you know any one that can *stop?* I mean *point*, *commas* and so forth, for I am, I fear, a sad hand at your punctuation."† Unfortunately, Reid died, and Saunders who took his place, appended to his edition a list of errors occupying nineteen pages.

Not many years before the publication of Lyttelton's work, Dr. Johnson‡ had observed, that it was a charge often brought against England, that though she had produced many authors eminent for almost every species of literary excellence, she had been hitherto remarkably barren of *historical* genius. The truth of this charge Johnson questions, instancing Raleigh, Clarendon, and most especially Knolles, the historian of the Turks. His estimate§ of the qualifications

* Croker's edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson.

† Moore's Life of Byron, vol. i. p. 417.

‡ In 1751. See 122nd Number of the Rambler.

§ Dryden, in his admirable preface to the translation of Plutarch, after enumerating several ancient and modern continental historians,

1756-73. requisite for an historian was extremely low, confining them, it should seem, to industry in searching traditionary records, clearness of narrative, (which however he admits to be a rare and difficult attainment,) and skilfulness of arrangement. The application of philosophy to this department of human knowledge finds no place in his catalogue, though it is difficult to conceive such an omission by one acquainted with the writings of Thucydides, Tacitus, and of Clarendon. At the time, however, when Johnson thus wrote, the works of our illustrious countrymen who clothed history with a different character—Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon,*—had not appeared. Since the Revolution, the demand

says, "I am sorry that I cannot find in our own nation, though it has produced some commendable historians, any proper to be ranked with these. Buchanan, indeed, for the purity of his Latin, and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to a historian, might be placed amongst the greatest if he had not too much leaned to prejudice," &c. But greatly did Dryden differ from Johnson in his estimate of history and historians. According to the former, "History is an argument formed from many particular examples or deductions;" again, "All history is only the precepts of moral philosophy reduced into examples, &c.

* Gibbon however was present, and silent, when Johnson said, "We must consider how very little history there is; I mean real authenticated history; that certain kings reigned, that certain battles were fought we can defend as true; but all the colouring, all the philosophy of history is conjecture."—Boswell's Johnson, vol. ii. p. 318, 8vo. edition. Again, "Great abilities are not requisite for an historian; for in historical compositions all the greatest powers of the human mind are quiescent." See, too, the Essay in the Rambler cited above.

for national annals produced the compilations of Bishop Kennet, Rapin, and the great labours of Carte. In 1754, Hume published his reigns of James and Charles the First. His second volume appeared in 1757, his third and fourth in 1759, and his two last in 1762. The ill reception of the first volumes being forgotten in the blaze of success which covered the later publications. In 1759, Robertson gave to the world his History of Scotland; and in the preceding year, Smollett had published, in four quarto volumes, that history of England which was destined to show how dull and bad a history might flow from the pen of a very clever novelist. It was in this state of historical writing, that Lyttelton, who had begun to print in 1755, produced three volumes in 1764; a second edition of them afterwards in 1767, a third edition in 1768, and the conclusion in 1771. The work was entitled, "The History of the Life of Henry the Second, and of the age in which he lived, in five books; to which is prefixed, a History of the Revolutions of England, from the death of Edward the Confessor, to the birth of Henry the Second." It was most favourably received at the time of its publication. In our day, the number of its volumes, and the remote period of which it treats, deter the mere general reader of history from its perusal; but the vast extent, and careful accuracy of the information which it contains, have secured to its writer a lasting place among the historians of his country. I observe, that there is no author to whom Mr. Hallam, in the 1756-73.

1756-73. chapter on the "Constitution of England," in the "History of Europe during the Middle Ages," refers more frequently, or apparently with greater confidence. Lyttelton's own opinion of his work may be seen in the following letter to Dr. Wharton.*

"Hagley, Aug. 15th, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,

"As you know how much I value your approbation as a critic, I need not tell you that your letters give me great pleasure. It particularly pleases me that you distinguish that part I laboured most—the account of laws, manners, arts, learning, &c. during the times of which I write. I could have made it more amusing if I would have treated it more superficially; but if the historic muse will search for truth among the ruins and cells of Gothic antiquity, some dust and cobwebs will stick to her, and she will not look so fine as if she had been only gathering flowers or straining cream. The most entertaining period of my history is still to come, viz.—that which contains Earl Strongbow's achievements in Ireland—the conquest of the island by King Henry the Second, or (to speak more accurately) the submission of it to him—the revolt of his wife and children—his victory over the rebels—the King of Scotland's captivity, and the subjection of his kingdom to the sovereignty of England in consequence of that event—the relapse of

* Wool's Life. Letter 72.

Henry's eldest son into another rebellion, and his death-bed repentance—the loss of the Holy Land, and the Crusade for the recovery of it against the great Saladin—and lastly, the new treasons of Henry's children against him, which caused his death.* 1756-73.

"These bright parts of my subject, which will be comprehended in the last volume, admit of more eloquence, and a higher dignity of style than any of the foregoing; and if God grants me health and leisure, I hope I shall finish that volume to your satisfaction in about a twelvemonth from this time. The greatest delay will be from what I have yet to write concerning the Courts of Justice and the Criminal Law of that age at the end of my Fourth Book. The investigation of these matters is tedious and difficult, but I must go through it or leave the work incomplete. The favourable judgment you pass on what is already published will not a little animate me to proceed in my task.

"I hope your brother is well, and shall be proud if his suffrage agrees with yours; for he too is a critic

* Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, vol. v. p. 67.—sails to Ireland, p. 82—his exploits there, pp. 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 103, 242, 243, 341, 342—his death, vol. vi. p. 30. The revolt of Eleanor and his children, vol. v. p. 136—defeat of the rebels, pp. 161. Captivity of the King of Scotland, p. 191—homage done for Scotland, pp. 234, 235. Relapse of Henry's eldest son into rebellion, vol. vi. p. 172—his death, pp. 180, 181. Great council for the relief of the Holy Land, p. 214. New treasons of Richard, p. 333—of John, p. 345. Henry II.'s death, pp. 346, 377.—8vo. edition.

1756-73. of whose approbation I am very ambitious, either for my verse or prose. But I give notice to you both, that you will find some inaccuracies, not only of the press, but the style in the first edition, corrected in the second, which I hope will soon come out. I am, with great truth and esteem, Dear Sir,

"Your most obed. humble servant,

"LYTTELTON."

Horace Walpole, to whom Lyttelton appears to have lent a printed volume of his history, but before its publication, wrote as follows:—

"Strawberry Hill, June 20th, 1758.

"MY LORD,

"I WAS unluckily at Park-place when your Lordship sent to my house in town; and I more unluckily still left Park-place the very day your Lordship was expected there. I twice waited on you in Hill Street, to thank you for the great favour of lending me your History, which I am sorry I kept longer than you intended; but you must not wonder. I read it with as great attention as pleasure: it is not a book to skim, but to learn by heart, if one means to learn anything of England – you call it the history of Henry 2nd. It is literally the History of our Constitution, and will last much longer than I fear the latter will; for, alas! my Lord, your style, which will fix and preserve our language, cannot do what language cannot do, reform the nature of man. I beg to know whither I shall send this book, too valuable

to be left in a careless manner with a servant. I repeat my warmest thanks, and am, my Lord, 1756-73.

"Your Lordship's much obliged, and
"most obedient humble servant,
"HOR. WALPOLE."

I find also among the Hagley MSS. a card with the following inscription:—

"Lord Chesterfield sends his compliments to Lord Lyttelton, with many thanks for the pleasure that his History gave him, and begs of him to finish immediately his third volume, which he hungers after, the two former volumes having disgusted him of most other historys."

Bishop Warburton wrote as follows:—

"Prior Park, Jan. 22, 1768.

"MY LORD,

"I HAVE this morning been honoured with your Lordship's favour of the 20th, accompanied with the notice of a still greater—a copy of your noble work—a morsel, at last, of Ancient English History, full both of sublime entertainment and sage instruction, after the famine of an age in our historic world; for so long, I think, it is since Lord Chancellor Hyde wrote. What hath been since given us to stay our stomachs hath been so much after this island-dressing, that our polite neighbours (even in their highest encomiums on English Literature) have given up the

1756-73. district of History, as a soil lying yet waste and uncultivated. Yet our history is read; for History must be read, for, as Pliny the younger says, 'Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat; homines, naturâ curiosi, nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur.' How much, then, is the world indebted to historians like your Lordship, who not content to gratify their *curiosity* with *naked facts*, store the mind with that useful wisdom to be collected only from an investigation of humanity, which detects all the hidden causes of our actions.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obliged and
"Obedient humble servant,
"W. GLOUCESTER."

In the course of the dialogue between George the Third and Dr. Johnson, recorded by Boswell, his Majesty "asked him what he thought of Lord Lyttelton's History which had been just published.—Johnson said, he thought his style pretty good, but that he had blamed Henry the Second rather too much.—Why, said the King, they seldom do these things by halves.—No, Sir, answered Johnson, not to Kings." And on another occasion, when Boswell remarked that "Toryism prevailed in this reign," Johnson answered, "I know not why you should think so, Sir. You see your friend, Lord Lyttelton, a nobleman, is obliged in his history to write the most vulgar Whiggism." A very opposite opinion of the treatment Henry the Second met with from Lyttelton

was formed by a contemporary, who had the reputation of a scholar, and ranked among the literary persons of his day. Mr. Godwyn, a Fellow of Baliol College, writing in August 1767, to a correspondent from that place, says,—"Lord Lyttelton's history is generally read, and highly esteemed, by the lawyers. It contains a great deal of law antiquity, the antient constitution of the kingdom upon which much of our present law is founded. The composition is good, and the facts related with a great deal of good sense; but yet, three large volumes in quarto, with a fourth which is to be added some time hence, will be likely to tire the reader. I think, too, that the author says too much in praise of his hero—Henry the Second—speaking of his amour with Rosamond, he calls it 'the amiable extravagance of a good heart.'"* 1756-73.

Lyttleton's acquaintance with Burke has been already noticed; it probably began soon after the publication of the Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, in 1757. I should not omit to mention that Hume, in his correspondence with Adam Smith, cites more than once Lyttelton's authority as an historian. Among the literary MSS. before me is a correspondence with Lord Monboddo,† but as it turns almost entirely upon a dispute as to whether an Ourang-Outang be a man in his most degraded state, or the connecting link between man and animal, and as this question may

* See Nicholls' Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii. p. 238, 248.

† His Essay on the Origin and Progress of Language appeared in 1772.

1756-73. be said to have fairly survived any interest it ever excited, I forbear to insert the letters. In the year 1767, Lyttelton introduced himself to Lardner,* the author of the well known work on the Credibility of Gospel History, for the sake of thanking him for the pleasure he had derived from its perusal. Lardner being quite deaf, Lyttelton carried on his conversation with him on paper, during the course of which he maintained his firm belief in Bower's innocence, but complained of Bower's having cited inaccurately his account of Becket.† His last literary acquaintance was with Beattie, who is now more deservedly esteemed for his "Minstrel"‡ than for the Essay on Truth,§ which procured him more popularity at the time, though it was soon seen that even the advantage of a better cause made him no match for Hume against whom his Essay was directed. In a letter which Lyttelton wrote to Beattie,‖ after bestowing very high praise on his Essay, he said:—

"It has often given me great pain to see Bishop Berkeley, a most pious and learned man, overturn the main foundations of all religion and all knowledge, by the most extravagant scepticism concerning the real existence of matter in some of his writings; and then

* Born 1684, died 1768.

† Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 60, part 1, p. 194.

‡ First part appeared in 1771; second, in 1774

§ His Essay on the Immutability of Truth in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism, appeared in 1770.

‖ Lord Lyttelton to Dr. Beattie; Letter 39, Forbes' Life of Beattie.

fancy, that in others he could, by any force of argu- 1756-73.
ment, establish the evidences of Christianity, which are a perpetual appeal to the truth of our senses, and grounded on a supposition, that they cannot deceive us in those things which are the proper and natural objects of them, within their due limits. Can one wonder that the sceptics should lay hold of the former in answer to the latter? And can any more useful service be done to Christianity, than to shew the fallacy of such whimsies as would make the body of Christ, which his disciples saw and felt, no body at all? and the proof of his resurrection, from that testimony of their senses, a mere delusive idea?

"Berkeley certainly was not sensible of the consequences of these doctrines, no more than Locke of those you reprehend in his Essay; but whatever respect may be due to the persons of authors, their writings must be censured, when they deserve censure, and especially on such subjects. This the friends of Mr. Hume have no more right to complain of than those of Berkeley or Locke. Nor can the censure of systems, which attempt to shake the great pillars both of natural and revealed religion, be delivered by a believer in terms as cool as if only a speculation on the nature of electricity or the causes of an aurora borealis were in question. Mr. Hume, as a man, from his probity, candour, and the humanity of his manners, deserves esteem and respect; but the more authority he draws from his personal character, or from the merit of his other books, the more care should be taken to prevent the ill impressions

1756-73. which his sceptical writings may make on a number of readers, who, having been used to admire him, and trust in his judgment, are disposed to let him also judge for them in these points, where the being misled must be fatal."

In March, 1771, Mrs. Montagu sent the Minstrel to Lyttelton, "it seemed to me," (he wrote to her), "that my once beloved Minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the exercise of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature, and the finest feelings of virtue, not with human but with angelic strains."

How highly Beattie estimated Lyttelton's virtues and talents will be seen at the close of these memoirs.

CHAPTER XIV.

1757—1760.

BEGINNING OF MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

[Hagley MSS.—Parl. History, vol. xv.—Annual Register, beginning 1758.—Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iv.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs—Doddington's Diary—Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole—Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii.

THE correspondence of Lyttelton with his brother, the Governor of South Carolina brings us back to the events of the political world. The penultimate chapter, it will be remembered, ended with the formation of a new government under Pitt, Devonshire, Temple, and Legge, to the exclusion of Newcastle, Fox, Lyttelton, and Anson. 1757.

FROM LYTTELTON TO HIS BROTHER WILLIAM.

"Hill Street, Jan. 30th, 1757.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOUR,

"I stopt a packet I designed to have sent to you some time ago, till I could let you know the fate of Admiral Byng, which it was thought would have been decided much sooner, but remains yet undecided,

1757. though sentence of death is now past upon him, the Court-Martial who past it, having recommended him to the King's mercy. The reason they give for that recommendation you will see in the sentence and letter to the Admiralty, of which I send you a copy, with some observations of my own on those reasons. It reduces the King to a painful dilemma. The nation in their addresses have desired strict justice against all who have occasioned the loss of Minorca by any failure or breach of their duty; and now a Court-Martial recommends very strongly to his Majesty's mercy, one whom they themselves have unanimously found guilty of not having done what he could, and what he ought to have done to relieve it. Under the difficulty, what the King will think proper to do, is uncertain: I am very glad I am not to be his adviser. I have sent you all the good political papers that have come out since the forming of the new Administration, you will see by them that Mr. Pitt is accused of a coalition with the Tories; and certain it is that he has become the Cocoa-Tree Toast, from being the object of their aversion last year. What has caused the change is hard to say. He denies any promise of advantage to them; but the alarm has been taken so strong by the Whigs that if the Duke of Newcastle and my Lord Hardwicke would have joined with Mr. Fox to turn him out, it is certain they might have done it before this time, and may do it to-morrow. Perhaps you will ask me why they did not?—I answer, that, besides the difficulty of that union, they are too wise, and too honest to pull down the Ministry at such a time of publick danger

without being sure that another will form itself, able 1757
to carry on the publick affairs. The present Ministers have undoubtedly talents sufficient to disturb and confound a Government they oppose, and they have shewn they will do so, if they are not employed. It is, therefore, best for the publick that they should try their talents in government rather than opposition, unless they act so as to make it impossible for any Whigs to support them. But they have made their bottom so narrow that they will find a great difficulty to carry the Government with their own strength alone, and if they are to be maintained by Tory assistance, they must pay such a price for it as will undo them. How they will extricate themselves out of this labyrinth time only can shew; much will depend on the events of the war, but to hope they will prove very favourable to us, is to be very sanguine.

"Among other difficulties, Mr. Pitt has his own bad health to contend with. Since he has been Minister he has been able to go but twice to the King, and is still indisposed and wrapt up in his flannels. The Bishop of St. Asaph* says, *he must go out soon, he can't stay in.*

"The Duke of Newcastle was attackt in the House of Commons last week, by Alderman Beckford, as First Commissioner of the Treasury, for encouraging smuggling. But it turned out even upon the evidence the Alderman brought, and by the testimony of those he appealed to, that no man at the head of the Trea-

* Dr. H. Drummond.

1757. sury Board had done so much to discourage smuggling as the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Legge himself, as in justice bound, gave testimony for him with regard to some facts that Beckford had mentioned, and Sir G. Lee made a very warm speech in his honour, and against calumnies upon hearsay. But the Alderman said it was notorious to every body that his Grace was at the head of a smuggling county, and he had done him a service to give him an opportunity of clearing his character in that respect—an admirable plea for all false accusations! I will venture to foretell that, when the enquiry is over, his Grace will be found to have just as much guilt in the loss of Minorca as he has in the Sussex smuggling, and I hope his accusers will justify themselves for charging him with it, by the Alderman's argument.

"An attempt has been made to assassinate the King of France. He was stabbed in the breast with a knife going into his coach; but the wound proved not mortal, and he now goes abroad. The assassin has been a servant in several families and it is said he has been guilty of robbing some of his masters. He did not try to escape but gave himself up very calmly, and seems a mad enthusiast, but of what sect, (that is, whether of the Jesuit or Jansenist party) I cannot yet learn. If of the former, no reason appears for his killing the King, who had just exiled the Parliament to please the Church; if of the latter, it was of no use to their cause unless he had killed the Dauphin too, who hates the Jansenists worse than his Father, and is a much greater bigot. Some say, he declared

that there was a design against the Dauphin too, even before he was tortured;* but it seems very improbable, that he should give him such warning when the torture could not make him confess his accomplices. I rather suppose he has none, but is a single madman. However, the wretch will be tortured much more before he dies. If, indeed, he was set on either by the Church or the Jansenists, it may produce great confusion in France and do us some good. I am glad to hear by your letter to Sir Richard, of December the 6th, that you have prepared for war in all events. You say nothing there of your health; so I hope you are well. I and all the family are so, but my wife; who is still confined at Hagley, by her ill health, *malade de corps et d'esprit.* * * * * * *

1757.

"Adieu, my dear Governour, I am ever,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON."

Lyttelton wrote to Admiral Smith, the President of the Court Martial, as follows:

"Hill Street, Jan. 31st, 1757.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

"IF you and the other gentlemen of the Court Martial have any reasons to give in favour of Mr. Byng, which you have not given in your sentence, and in your letter to the Admiralty, you ought to

* "The lifted axe, the agonising wheel,
Luke's iron crown and *Damien's* bed of steel."
Goldsmith's Traveller.

1757. transmit them forthwith to the Admiralty, that their Lordships may lay them before the King. Upon those you have given, I will only observe to you, that his not having shewn any symptoms of fear, *when he was in scarce any danger*, will not be sufficient to acquit him of cowardice in the sense of the law. His *not going into danger*, when he ought to have done so, is that criminal *negligence* which the law has made capital. You seem to think that law too severe; but it was the intention of the legislature to make it severe, and, till they repeal it, the judges of a Court Martial must act in a strict conformity to it; and you know the whole nation has called on the King to let the law have its course against any offender who shall be found, by a breach or neglect of his duty, to have occasioned the loss of Minorca, which petition His Majesty has promised to grant.

"You know my heart is inclined to compassion; but though I dare say, had I been one of his judges, my eyes would have been no dryer than yours when sentence was passed upon Mr. Byng, I cannot say that, without stronger reasons than those you have mentioned in the latter part of your sentence or letter to the Admiralty, I should have thought my *conscience* concerned in his being saved from the penalty contained in that sentence. If, then, you have stronger reasons to urge, for God's sake lose no time, but write them to the Admiralty that they may be laid before the King. My influence can do nothing, if my opinion were ever so clear; but the King's heart is inclined to mercy, and it is the duty of the Admiralty

to lay before him those grounds on which you desire it upon this occasion. 1757.

"I am heartily sorry for the very painful task you have had to go through, but hear with great satisfaction the honour you have done yourself in the discharge of it with so much humanity, justice, and dignity of behaviour. Believe me ever,

"My dear Admiral,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON."

"If you mean that the Admiral's neglect of his duty was only an innocent error of judgment, you ought to show some probable reasons that could mislead his judgment so much, where the rule of his duty was so clear and plain. Otherwise, a wrong judgment may always be pleaded to excuse bad behaviour."

To the reasons conveyed in this letter, Lyttelton added in his comments on the back of the copy of the Court Martial, the following:—"If they had found upon evidence any impediment, or justifiable cause that hindered Admiral Byng from doing his duty in attacking the French, assisting his own ships, or endeavouring to relieve St. Philip's Castle, they should have acquitted him." And again, if there were "probable reasons" for shewing that his had been "an innocent error in judgment," they were not tied down by the words of the law to condemn him to death, for the law could mean only a criminal negligence, and an error in judgment on probable

1757. grounds may be fairly distinguished from such a *construction.*"

Lord Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty, signed most reluctantly the warrant for executing the sentence of which he disapproved. Some doubts he raised were overruled by the judges; his representations to the Crown, in favour of Byng were fruitless, as were those of Pitt, and the Duke of Bedford; and after some strange inconsistent proceedings on the part of several of the members of the Court Martial, the Admiral was consigned to his fate. No man ever met death with greater intrepidity.* The King had been for some time disgusted with Temple, and retained undiminished aversion to Pitt. The wretched business of Byng embroiled these ministers still more with the King; and the Duke of Cumberland murmured against commanding the Electoral army in Hanover under the control of Pitt. In April, Temple, Pitt, and Legge were dismissed; then followed what Walpole calls an *interministerium*, lasting between two and three months. In the labyrinth of negotiations in which this period is involved, the characters of the principal actors were fully displayed. The meanness and love of power of Newcastle, the haughtiness and magical popularity of Pitt, the obstinacy of the King, the intriguing ambition of the Princess Dowager, the profligate avarice of Fox.† The dexterity and

* Walpole, speaking of his failure at Minorca, says cleverly and truly, "he was a coward of his glory."

† "The more we consider the dissensions, and political intrigues that followed the death of Mr. Pelham, and lasted till the formation

talent of Chesterfield, produced a coalition of these discordant materials. The result was the renowned administration of Pitt and Newcastle; when the mighty genius of the former animating with his own greatness of purpose and energy of action, the fallen spirits of his countrymen, raised the glory of Great Britain to its highest pitch. 1757.

In the following letter from Lord Hardwicke, some account is given of the new Government. It will be seen that Lyttelton expected to have been a member of it.

"Powis House, July 4th, 1757.

"My dear Lord,

"Though I was much mortified by being deprived of the pleasure of waiting on your Lordship the day before you left the town, yet I was extremely obliged to you for your very kind letter of that night. It

of the Pitt and Newcastle Administration in 1757, the more plainly does it appear, that, though they originated from the Duke of Newcastle's love of power, they were prolonged by the ambition of the Princess Dowager, and her jealousy of the Duke of Cumberland. It was the connection of Fox with His Royal Highness, that made him the object of aversion at Leicester House. It was Pitt's "aiming at the reversion," when he became sensible of the hollowness and insincerity of the Duke of Newcastle's professions, that dissolved his incipient friendship with Fox, and prevented the two great leaders of the House of Commons from forming a permanent coalition. The Duke of Newcastle, false, timid, and ambitious, feared both, and cared for neither. For a time, he held the balance, and seemed to hesitate between the two rivals; but the rising star of Leicester-house prevailed, and determined him in his preference of Pitt."—*Edin. Rev.* Vol. 39, No. 33.

1757. breathes all that generosity of public-spiritedness which has been so remarkable in your Lordship's conduct, however uncommon it may be in the present times. The merit which your partiality gives me, I have not the vanity to ascribe to myself, though in all respect and friendship to your Lordship, I have not, nor shall ever fail. At the same time, I cannot help feeling much concern at the impression which you seem to retain of some neglect in the Duke of Newcastle towards your Lordship. How the case stood in the beginning of last November, I have formerly acquainted your Lordship with great truth and exactness; and in justice to His Grace, beg leave now to inform you with equal truth, that, in the new arrangement lately made, it was not in his power to include you. I am intimately acquainted with the high value and esteem which my Lord Duke has for your Lordship; but, to my certain knowledge, there were not employments enough to satisfy such demands, as were necessary to be complied with, in order to come to any settlement, and, consequently, none in any degree agreeable to your Lordship's rank could be made practicable. Time and opportunity may afford new openings, wherein I hope what is now amiss will be corrected. In the interim, the candour, indulgence, and confidence of our friends must be hoped for, and relied upon. I rejoice to find your Lordship so clear in your opinion, that this administration is the best that could be framed in our present circumstances. As to the share I have had in the transaction, I never directly interposed till I had

the King's positive orders from his own mouth; and ever since that time I have anxiously laboured to procure some quiet to His Majesty, and some settlement for the public. How far my part has been wise or politic I will not pretend to judge; but sure I am, it has been honest and disinterested. I have thrown aside every private concern or partiality of my own; for, as to the restitution of Lord Anson, it was the King's own option, and one of his three points *sine quibus non*. I gave up for my son Charles a point of professional honour, by letting Mr. Pratt be put before him as Attorney-General, in order to finish, and to prevent things training into a length which the circumstances of the King's affairs would not endure. This has been brought about by the disposition of the Great Seal, which I believe was the only thing in the arrangement not settled when you went out of town. My Lord Mansfield, and the Master of the Rolls, were too prudent to listen to it in the present situation; the King would not give Peerage with it, which put my Lord C. J. Willis out of the case, so that it has fallen into Sir Robert Henley's hands, with the style of Lord Keeper. In other parts of the terms, the King has been very gracious to him, for he has granted the reversion of a Teller's Place to his son for life; and given him a pension of £1500. per annum on Ireland, to commence and become payable *only* in the case of his being *removed* from the Great Seal, before the Teller's place falls in possession to his son, and to be absolutely determined whensoever that place shall come into possession. I 1757.

1757. look upon this as the best disposition that could be made at present, and much better approved in Westminster Hall than a Commission, which is always disliked, and should never be continued long. Sir Robert Henley has abilities and law, and I hope will do very well, if his health admits of it. One thing I am sorry for, which is, that your countryman, and my friend, my Lord Sandys, seems to be much dissatisfied with it, especially as no place has been yet found for him, which he says he was promised. But his Lordship knew his commission to be only temporary and provisional, hardly to be expected to continue so long; and I hope any promise, which was then made him (though I was not privy to it) will be made good to him.

"This disposition of the Great Seal, not only made way for Mr. Pratt, but also for another favourite object of Mr. Pitt's, in representing the city of Bath, whereof he was very ambitious. In order to it, he has taken that little stewardship, which you see in the votes, to vacate his seat; for no new Secretary of State having been appointed in his room, nor his commission revoked, he found himself in the case of Mr. Pelham, upon the resignations of 1745, and could not have a new patent.

"Thus things are settled for the present, and some calm and better humour restored. Happy it is that they were settled before the bad news came of the King of Prussia's defeat, which I only refer to, and cannot bear to enlarge upon. Had the King then remained without any ministry at all, it would have

vastly increased his inquietudes, and caused the greatest confusion; and besides, I fear the terms of the new settlement might have been greatly raised. Indeed, the fear of some bad success, was one material ingredient with me to hasten to a conclusion; and I was further of opinion, that it was necessary for His Majesty's service to constitute his administration of such persons, and to put so much of the popular mixture into it, as might be able to sustain some bad success, at least for the present. I say for the present, for what is unsuccessful can never be long popular. 1757.

"I hope to hear that the air and exercise, and amusements of Hagley, have re-established your Lordship's health; and that the history of Henry II. will receive its completion this summer. I was so delighted with the last, which your goodness indulged me with, that I eagerly long to be entertained with the entire piece.

"I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient,

"and faithful humble servant,

"HARDWICKE."

Lyttelton answered at some length, speaking in the highest terms of praise of Lord Hardwicke, expressing his despair (as Chesterfield and H. Walpole did at this time) as to the foreign prospects of the country, and expresses "his particular satisfaction at Lord Anson's being so honourably restored to an office which no

1758. other man in the kingdom is capable of filling with equal ability, and from which he had been removed by the clamour of faction and the madness of the times."

To the Governor, Lyttelton writes as follows:—

"Park Place, January the 23rd, 1758.

"My dear Governour,

"So many Carolina ships have been taken that I have not received any letters from you since that of January the 1st, in which you say you shall draw upon me for £118. 6s. 3d. nor has Mr. Pinkney. However, I paid him that sum last week. In my last letter I told you that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were not only ministers but the favourites of the people, particularly of the Tories, which favour and honour has since been confirmed to them in a most glorious manner by their receiving the freedom of the City of London, and several towns and boroughs, particularly of the most loyal City of Worcester, in gold or silver boxes. But it is hard to be at once the favourites of the people and of the King. Lord Temple's behaviour to the King in his closet gave so much offence, that his Majesty declared he never had been so treated by any servant or subject since his accession, and that he would rather give his crown to my Lord than live with him another month. In consequence of this, upon the Duke's going abroad his Royal Highness persuaded the King to turn him out. It was supposed that Mr. Pitt and the whole Grenville connection would immediately have resigned, but as they did not, a day or two afterwards Pitt was dismissed, and then the rest followed.

Lord Winchelsea was put at the head of the admin- 1758.
istration, but the question was who should fill the other employments. I must tell you, that if the Duke of Newcastle would have joined Fox, Pitt and Company might have been safely turned out before Christmas, or any day throughout the session, for the majority was plainly against them, and they carried questions only by the Duke of Newcastle's assistance. His Grace refused to join Fox for very wise and good reasons, and continued firm in that resolution, with his good friend, my Lord Harkwicke, when the Duke of Cambridge had too precipitately determined the King to turn out the Pitt faction without knowing whom to employ in their stead. By this means we have been for some time without any administration. Treaties were carried on to form one by a junction of the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt, Mr. Fox desiring only to be Paymaster under them. At first Pitt's terms were so high that the Duke of Newcastle was forced to break off the negotiation, but as he did not go any nearer to Fox, it came on again by the mediation of friends, particularly Lord Bute, and they agreed on conditions to which his Grace acquiesced. But they appeared to the King so dishonourable to him that he would not endure them, and having endeavoured in vain to bring the Duke of Newcastle to accept of the ministry without Pitt and *his friends*, he resolved to try to form one without his Grace. Last Saturday was se'nnight, Fox was to have kissed hands as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Exchequer Seal was brought to the King by Lord Mansfield, in whose custody it had

1758. been. But his Majesty having asked his Lordship's opinion upon what he was doing, was told *it was impracticable*, it could not hold. The day before, Lord Holderness had resigned his seals as a testimony of his disapproving the measure then taken, and other resignations were talked of at Court. Fox was disgraced in the House of Commons, by losing a question, which though of no consequence in itself was thought a mark of his weakness, very few dividing with him, and much ridicule ensuing thereupon. All this stopped the King, he sent my Lord Mansfield to the Duke of Newcastle, to my Lord Hardwicke, with orders to renew the negotiation with Pitt. The issue is at last, that Pitt is Secretary of State; Lord Temple, Privy Seal; the Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Legge *his* Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Anson, First Commissioner of the Admiralty; G. Grenville, Treasurer of the Navy, Mr. Fox, Paymaster. Thus, *amende honorable* has been made to the Ministry which was displaced by Pitt's opposition. The clamour of that opposition was all against the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Anson and Fox. They are all in office again, two of them in the same that they were in before, and Pitt must either say, that when he called them in the House (as he did often last session) *Destroyers of their country*, bad heads or bad hearts, incapable ministers, *children in go-carts*, and other such appellations he wronged them extremely, or that he can serve with knaves and fools, without scruple or shame, when he and his family have carried the points they have at heart. He finds, indeed, that he and his family

are not able to govern the country *alone* as he sup- 1758.
posed at first that they could, and so denounced war against Fox and the Pelhams, with no allies but the Tories. That error he has seen, but how will he now deserve the gold boxes which were sent him for having turned out those vile ministers? I suppose he will have thanks from the same deep politicians, for having now brought them in, especially as by this time they may begin to perceive that while he was in, he did nothing else but tread in their steps and pursue the same measures they had pursued. Lord Hardwicke was pressed again to take the Great Seals, but desired to serve his Majesty out of employment; though he has been a principal agent of this reconciliation. And, he has done in it, as he always does, like a wise and honest man. He said, that if the Royal Family remained disunited no ministry could stand upon solid foundations, or have strength enough to carry on the war we are engaged in, or make the peace that we want in any event. The present plan reconciles all, unites all, and will give all the strength to the Government that can be brought together in the nature of things.

"How long it will *hold together* is the great question; but if it holds no more than one year, it gives us some chance of saving our country. I, therefore, rejoice at it very sincerely, though I desired myself for many reasons to be *out of the scramble.* The only misfortune of any importance in this new arrangement is, that Lord Hallifax has been disgusted and resigned his Board of Trade. Dupplin, I hear, will be in his

1758. place. I am glad you will have so good a friend there, and I hope Mr. Pitt will co-operate with him in all things for your service. We are in hourly expectation to hear of a battle between the Duke and the French. They have 50,000 men, we but 30,000 ; perilous odds, but he is encamped in a strong fort. Some think he will quit that camp and repass the water, but he cannot easily do so as the French are so near. The Gazettes will tell you as well as I can what situation the King of Prussia is in before Prague. His bombardment of the town may destroy it, but will not make Prince Charles and his army surrender either that or themselves. Famine may force them to both, if they are not relieved very soon. I hope the thousand men that Lord Sandon had orders to send you, have saved you and your colony from the intended attack of the French. God send us some luck in our American war; but I fear our fleet will come late, and perhaps not strong enough to overpower the French, if they have sent a strength in those parts as we hear."

* * * * * *

"We have had a sad blow by the loss of Calcutta in the East Indies, which has been taken and pillaged by a Nabob. It was entirely owing to the bad management of the Company in not fortifying their place as they ought to have done, and the scoundrel and negligent behaviour of the Governor. The damage of the Company and private men is computed at £3,000,000. sterling; but we hope that the place will soon be retaken, and that Watson will be able to make himself master of the French fort adjoining,

as he is at present superior to the French in those parts, Captain Clive,* our hero, is marched from Coromandel to Calcutta upon this event." 1758.

The next letter from Lyttelton to his brother was dated Jan. 30, 1758.

"My dear Governour,

"I have received no letter from you since one that was dated 12th of July, but have heard of some packets from you directed to me being thrown overboard; and by a letter which Hetty has just received I know you are well.

"That you *do well* is the unanimous voice of the Province of S. Carolina, Planters, and Merchants, and the Board of Trade are as well satisfied with you as they. Lord Hallifax told me lately, *he could find no words strong enough to express his approbation of your whole conduct*, and added that he would have made you Governour of Jamaica, if during the interval of the last summer, when he looked on himself as *out of the Board of Trade*, and did not *act* there, the Duke of Newcastle had not appointed Mr. Halden, which appointment he thought he could not overturn

* According to one of Horace Walpole's animated sketches of his speeches, when Parliament met in December, 1758, Pitt "burst "out into an eastern panegyric. There he found Watson, Pococke, "and Clive—what astonishing success had Watson with only three "ships, &c. He was supported by Clive—that man not born for a "desk—*that heaven-born general*, whose magnanimity, resolution, "determination, and execution would alarm a King of Prussia, "and whose presence of mind astonished the Indies."

1758. upon his reconciliation without offence to that gentleman and to the Duke."

He then gives an account of the failure of the attack on Rochefort—one of those expeditions against the French coast, on which Pitt wasted so much blood and treasure, even though it be allowed that they diverted a portion of the French army from attacking Prince Ferdinand. He mentions the popular outcry against Sir J. Mordaunt and General Conway, the conductors of the expedition, and its injustice with respect to the latter. He continues:—

"I shall only add here that Legge and Pitt have not been the dear friends that they were—but that the former has been forced to submit, and has ruined himself in that place where he desired and hoped to ruin the other. Sir Richard can tell you more of this matter. You ask if I have had any occasion to speak since I came into the House of Lords? Never but once, and that quite extempore upon a clause in the Militia Bill. Lord Talbot and I had a sparring, and my reply to him drew out some arguments upon the nature of the Bill, which Lord Hardwicke did me the honour to take notice of the next day, as being of very great weight, and the Duke of Newcastle was loud in praise of the whole speech. But I shall not seek, and don't believe I shall find any occasion of speaking this year. I write my history but lazily, and without much of the spirit of an author upon me. I begin to grow old, my dear Billy, and am willing enough to *let my life sleep and learn to love its end.* However, I

will not forsake the Muses entirely till they forsake me, nor more serious affairs when I think I can do any good to my country, or credit to myself by acting a busy part. * * * *

1758.

"Adieu, my dear Governour. *Macte tua virtute.* I shall never need to give you any other advice. They tell me you grow fat, in spite of all your cares: continue to do so; for my part I am lean in spite of my leisure."

Enclosed in this letter was one from General Huske to a friend, who, happening to be acquainted with Lyttelton, forwarded it to him. The picture which it exhibits of the mode in which patronage was bestowed in the Colonies at this time, as well as its testimony to Governor Lyttelton's character, made me think it fit to be inserted here.

"I am sorry I was not at home when you called. A few days ago I saw a gentleman of good sense and close attention to American affairs, who lately arrived from South Carolina. He tells me that of all the Governors he ever knew in America, where he resided for many years, and has been more than once through the whole Continent, none has governed with so much dignity, spirit and propriety as Governor Lyttelton; which has given the whole people under his government entire satisfaction, and procured him their highest respect and deference. He has very carefully avoided patronizing any party, and manifested the utmost indignation against dirty lucrative jobs and the projectors of them. And he is not less regardful of the

1758. people's rights and privileges, than he is jealous of the prerogative of the Crown. In short, he bids fair to rival all American Governors in the art of governing without offence to his superiors at home, or dissatisfaction to the people of the province, which will not only do honour to himself and his family, but to his Majesty's Ministry that sent him; who, with sorrow I speak it, have been so careless for many years past of the characters and abilities of the civil officers appointed for America, that most of the places in the gift of the Crown have been filled with broken Members of Par———t, of bad, if any, principles, pimps, valet de chambres, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery servants. In one word, America has been for many years made the hospital of Great Britain for her decayed courtiers and abandoned worn-out dependants. I can point you out a Chief Justice of a province appointed from home, for no other reason than publicly prostituting his honour and conscience at an election. A livery servant that is secretary of a province, appointed from hence. A pimp, collector of a whole province, who got this place of the man in power for prostituting his handsome wife to his embraces, and procuring him other means of gratifying his lust. Innumerable are instances of this sort in places of great trust, and would be of great honour if properly filled. Which, added to the great number of non-resident officers, who employ the man to do their business who will do it cheapest, is one of the principal causes of the weak and wicked management of our colonies, and of the weakening the authority and superintendency of the mother country.

"I can't gratify your other request, for I hear no news. Call upon me when you come this way again, and believe me to be, 1758.

"Your most faithful humble servant,

"HUSKE."

"Mr. Stevens gave me the above account of Governor Lyttelton, and mentioned to me several instances of fine conduct.

"Governor Reynolds is just returned from Georgia, where he behaved in such a manner as to become the object of contempt and ridicule to the whole people. You may remember I told you this would be the case, for I hardly ever knew it otherwise with a man bred in the navy and made a Governor. There would have been just as much propriety in making an Indian Sachem, Captain of a man-of-war, as Reynolds a Governor of a Province."

"Hill Street, May 5th, 1758.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOUR,

"I am desired by Lady Fanny Shirley to recommend Mr. Cooper, the bearer of this, to your Excellency's protection. She is still so fair a lady, that you owe a respect to her recommendation, on that account; and you know I have always been her admirer.

"Since my last, by Mr. Pickering, I have no news to tell you of our foreign affairs, but that the Magazine of last month will inform you of. The King of Prussia is in motion, and a battle is expected soon between him and the Austrians. Mr. Osborne's success

1758. in the Mediterranean, and Sir Edward Hawke's having stopt the French squadron at Rochefort, will give Boscawen *beau jeu*, in the enterprise against Louisbourg and all his operations in the American seas; for though a small squadron is since sailed from Brest, his force will be so superior to that of the French, as to make their going thither rather desirable to us, because it is probable they may be taken by him; and the Brest squadron is weakened by their departure, so that it will hardly be able to oppose our designs against them this year, if we form any in Europe (as by a great encampment which we are going to make in the Isle of Wight, it is supposed we shall do.) There is certainly great activity and spirit in Government, and it has a great force to act with both by sea and land, so that we have reason to hope some success from the operations we are commencing. I only wish we had a General in America more equal to the extent and importance of the command. The Duke of Marlborough, (quod felix faust umque sit) is to command the troops in the Isle of Wight; if Mr. Conway was employed under his Grace, as he wished and desired to be, I should think nothing would be wanting in that command, but the same reasons that made Mr. Pitt and his faction refuse him in America, have also prevailed to exclude him from any employment in Europe, which I fear will be, *magno reipublicæ detrimento.* God knows we have not more good Generals than we want, and none better than he. In our domestick affairs the most memorable event since I writ to you last was a speech of Mr. Pitt, in which he attacked, with a great deal of con-

tempt, the Treasury plan of taxes this year, and even adopted against it a wild idea, thrown out by Alderman Beckford, to the great surprise of the House and embarrassment of the good cities and boroughs of England, who had sent so many gold boxes to Legge in conjunction with him, and supposed them brothers in politicks, as well as in administration. You will naturally think, that after this attack, either Legge must go out or Pitt, but both will stay in, and the Duke of Newcastle is very easy about it. In truth, Pitt meant no more than to vent his ill-humour against Legge in this speech, which he should have kept in for his own sake; but his tongue is ruled by his passions, not by his reason. He is also engaged in another affair not very prudent for a minister, an attempt to extend the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act,* in cases of private 1758.

* The act of Charles II, referred only to cases where a criminal offence was charged. Pitt's and Pratt's proposal was to extend it to all cases of confinement. The measure, as amended by a suggestion made in this debate by Lord Hardwicke, was carried in 1816.

The opinions of the Judges were taken. "But," says Horace Walpole, "they were discordant and inconclusive, and so little was gained by the delivery of their opinions, that Lord Temple now pleaded for the Bill on the disagreement of the Judges, and moved a long question – the purport of which was, that an affidavit of confinement ought to be a probable cause for the Judges to grant the writ. Lord Lyttelton saying that in any other place, that question would be a defamatory libel on the Judges, Lord Temple started up and said, 'This is impertinence I will not bear.' This occasioned much confusion. Lord Lyttelton explained himself handsomely, saying, he had applied words to words—not to persons: he was sorry if he had given offence; he had meant less offence to Lord Temple than to any body: he revered the manes of

1758. confinement, and oblige the Judge, under the penalties prescribed by that act, to grant the writ on a bare affidavit of actual confinement, against the opinion of the twelve Judges, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Keeper, who say it will be productive of the greatest inconveniences, and full of absurdities beyond imagination. He has no lawyer of eminence with him but Mr. Pratt, his own Attorney-General; however, he has carried the Bill through the House of Commons, but it will be thrown out in the House of Lords. In the debates he treated the lawyers with as little respect as Fox did on the Marriage Bill, and as you know he treats every body who dares to differ from him in any opinion. But his chief battery was levelled against my Lord Mansfield,† who will never forget or forgive that ill

their former friendship: he hoped the ashes were not extinguished past return. To all this Lord Temple said nothing: and when the House insisted on their giving their words that it should proceed no further, Lord Temple sullenly endeavoured to avoid it by shifting the asking of pardon on Lord Lyttelton. The latter engaged with frankness to drop it, always the most sensible way when words have passed in public, which are sure of being prevented from further discussion. Lord Lyttelton was known to want no spirit: Lord Temple had been miserably deficient."

* Horace Walpole gives the following vivid picture of Lord Mansfield's speech on this occasion. "The fate of the Bill which could not be procured by the sanction of the Judges, Lord Mansfield was forced to take on himself. He spoke for two hours and a half; his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiæ of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of the oration. Perhaps it

usage, and an attempt was made in the City by some of Mr. Pitt's faction to raise a popular storm on him there, with so little foundation, that the agents in it were forced let drop the charge with disgrace and confusion. The story is too long to write, but it appears to me one of the blackest and most infamous practices that ever I heard of in all the history of our factions. These things will be treasured up against the *day of wrath*, which will come sooner or later, according to the success we meet with in the war. Pitt's conduct is the more strange, because I find he does all his business with the King by the Duke of Newcastle, and at the same time that he attacked the Treasury scheme in the House of Commons, and acts so offensively against Lord Mansfield, and with so little management for Lord Hardwicke. I took the occasion of the late treaty with Prussia, to shew the House of Lords *the fearful consistency* of the King's measures in foreign affairs, since the first apprehension of an attack upon Hanover in consequence of a war between us and France; which, shewing the *inconsistency* of the opposition then made to those measures, with the support given to them now by our patriot Ministers, provoked Lord Temple to a rude but silly answer to me. Both my speech and my 1758.

was the only speech, that in my time at least, had real effect; that is, convinced many persons. Nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found I was not one of the number staggered by that speech. I took as many notes of it as I possibly could; and prolix as they would be, I would give them to the reader, if it would not be injustice to Lord Mansfield to curtail and mangle, as I should by the want of connection, so beautiful a thread of argumentation."

1758. reply were received with greater applause than any that I ever made in my life. The praises given me upon both, not only by all my friends, but by people to whom I was a stranger, and by many of other connections were so high and so warm, that I can impute them to nothing but a detestation in mankind of Lord Temple's pride, and a conviction of the truth of all that I said; I may add, too, a desire to have that truth freely spoken. I told the Duke of Newcastle it was well for him, that there was *one* friend of his who durst defend all his measures, past as well as present, and would not embarrass his Grace by so doing, with his new allies. He smiled at my compliment, and I know was not at all displeased in his heart. Lord Hardwicke expressed the highest approbation both of the matter and manner of my speech and reply. I kept my temper in both, and the decorum that suits and pleases the House of Lords. Temple did not, and had no wit to atone for the want of decorum. You will laugh when I tell you that the report to Sir Richard was, that his Lordship, by his reply, *had cut me to pieces.** So their cabal goes on—flattering them-

* "Lord Lyttelton spoke well, distinguishing between two parts of administration, and too ridiculously ascribing whatever had been done well to the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Temple answered him with vehement abuse, and applied to him a passage out of Tully, which Lord Lyttelton had formerly inscribed on a temple at Stowe—the gentle conclusion of it was to call him 'hominem detestabilem imbecillum.' Lord Lyttelton, as usual, replied with firmness, but with too little asperity considering how unrelenting towards him was the nature of that faction."—Walpole's Mem. of G. II. p. 294.

selves and scarce hearing the sense of the world upon their behaviour. By this time, I imagine, they will know the truth, and perhaps, will revenge themselves upon me by the infamous pen of some pamphleteer, for in Parliament I don't see what revenge they can take. But that kind of attack will, I think, do more harm to themselves than to me. If they are so mean as to take it, I shall go on to support all their measures, while they pursue the same principles upon which I have acted, and will continue to treat their persons and characters with proper respect: but I will defend my own conduct whenever I see a proper occasion, and if they call *that* hostility, I cannot help it. However, I believe that few occasions will arise of doing this any more, nor do I desire that there should, for all that I wish is *otium cum dignitate*. The troops encamped in the Isle of Wight will be about four thousand, but whether all will be sent upon this expedition that seems to be designed by the Ministry, is not yet known, no more than the object of that expedition. Some conjecture that it is only a feint to amuse and keep the French alarmed on their coast; but I have good reason to believe that much more is meant by it, and that it may have more than one object. God send us better success than in our secret expedition last year, and those we have usually met with from such undertakings. If I am rightly informed, we are building some flat-bottomed vessels which may be of great service in making descent. 1758.

"All my family are doing well, little Tom is at Eton and very happy there. His sister is in town, but goes to Ebrington soon: she is a good girl, and does not want

1758. understanding, *mais peu de Genie point de Graces.* Her face and figure I believe will turn out very well, if awkward tricks do not spoil them. Perhaps time may improve her in many respects, but it will never make her a *large fortune.* From Tom I hope all that a parent's heart can desire, if God gives him life, and he continues to improve as he has done hitherto.

" Adieu, my dear Governour, may heaven prosper your endeavours for the good of your colony, and give you a long life to enjoy the reputation you are acquiring. I am proud of my *eléve*, and flatter myself that Carolina is obliged to me in some measure for the virtues they admire in you, as well as for sending you to them at a time when they wanted those virtues so much.

" Pitt has a very bad fitt of the gout. Some physicians, who know his constitution, declare that if he continues a Minister, he will not live long."

The British navy, which, in spite of the calamitous beginning of the war, was destined under Hawke, Rodney, Boscawen, Saunders, and Keppel, to triumph in every quarter of the globe, was even now beginning to sustain her ancient renown. The French seem to have seriously meditated an invasion. At Havre, Toulon, Brest, Dunkirk, preparations were made on a large scale. Admiral George Rodney was sent to bombard Havre, and Sir Edward Hawke, Brest. Pitt had called out the militia, and with it the public spirit of his countrymen, who at this time did all but worship him. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had, at the recommendation of the King of Prussia, succeeded to the

command of the Hanoverian army. On the 13th of July, Lord Egremont* wrote to Lyttelton:— 1759.

"I fear Admiral Rodney's bombarding expedition will scarce turn out to be worth the powder and shot fired away. If we have no invasion, I shall never imagine it was prevented by his setting fire to one magazine, and if we have one, perhaps the bombardment may exasperate our enemies, and make them still more mischievous. His letter in the Gazette, puts me in mind of Earl Poulett's shooting with bow and arrows at geese. Being interrogated how many he had slain, his Lordship's answer was, 'None killed, not one, but I put them all into the utmost consternation.' I rejoyced at your Lordship's account of Saunders being sailed in good health. I hope and believe he will do his business, but how Prince Ferdinand will get out of his present situation, or how we shall get out of the situation the ruin of his army and the losses in Lower Saxony would put us into, God only knows. I am afraid to think about it. If my remains of gout let me come to town, before your Lordship sets out for the north, I shall wait upon you, if not, I wish you a pleasant and good journey. Lady Egremont† charges me with her sincerest compliments. I am, my dear

* His sister married Mr. Grenville; they were children of Sir W. Wyndham, who died 1740.—See p. 148.

† Lyttelton wrote some verses on Lady Egremont—in a dialogue between Fame and Virtue—the latter says,

"I know the best of wives and mothers;
Who never pass'd an useless day
In scandal, gossiping or play:
Whose modest wit, chastis'd by sense,
Is lively, cheerful innocence;

1759. Lord, with the greatest respect, and most unalterable truth,

" Your Lordship's most obedient
" and most faithful servant,
" EGREMONT.

" Petworth, July 13, 1759."

Soon afterwards Lyttelton wrote again to his brother.

" Hill Street, July 20, 1759.

" I am just setting out for the Highlands of Scotland. My old house being down, and my new one not yet quite fit to inhabit, I take this time for a northern tour, which will entertain me very agreeably, if while I am amusing myself in the north, the French don't land in the south, as they threaten to do. Their preparations to invade us, are greater than any that have been made, since the Spanish Armada."

Then follows an account at great length of the bombardment of Havre (which will be found below in Rodney's own letter)—of the King of Prussia's movements—of the probable death of the King of Spain,—and of the delight Lyttelton took in the promise afforded by the opening talents of his son—it continues—

" We have had, and still have, the finest summer here,

Whose heart nor envy knows, nor spite,
Whose duty is her sole delight ;
Nor rul'd by whim, nor slave to fashion,
Her parent's joy, her husband's passion.
* * * * *
'Tis princely Petworth's noble dame ;
'Tis Egremont—go, tell it, Fame."

Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii. p. 169.

Upon these verses Lord Hardwicke wrote some extempore lines in praise of Lyttelton.—ibid.

that ever was known. Adieu, my dear Governor, God 1759.
prosper you and your Government, and may you find England at your return triumphant over France. The Petits Maitres at Paris talk of nothing now but the conquest of it by their Grand Monarque, *nous croquerons l'Angleterre*, is the *Word à la Mode, le bon ton.* But I hope the rascals will find it a very tough morsel, and that it will stick in their throats and choak them.

"You are advised to send me the following seeds:—Great and small Magnolia; Umbrella Tree; Red Accacia; Purple Berrice Bay. I must also renew my petition for wood ducks, the French having taken and *eat* those you sent."

The two next letters are from Admiral Rodney to Lyttelton.

"Deal, October 20th, 1759.

"My Lord,—This day I had the honour to be favoured with your most obliging letter, with one enclosed from Mr. William Hawes, which I would answer, if I knew his direction, his account of Havre is exactly the same as I have received from the masters of many neutral vessels that have come from that port. Your Lordship may please to remember that I foretold the strength of the enemy; but what will in some measure surprise you is, that after all my waiting, I was sent on the second attack, with only three mortars of 13 inch, and two mortars of 10 inch, when the enemy had increased their strength, with the addition of upwards of fifty mortars, several new batteries on shore, beside three large floating batteries on the sands, and 13 armed galleys, and vessels with oars—each with a heavy cannon in their prow. Had the enemy concealed their

1759. strength till I had placed the bombs, they might have had ample revenge, but their own eagerness to convince me they had not been idle during my absence, prevented his Majesty's arms receiving that disgrace that must have ensued, had I persisted in the bombardment; as the bombs must have been exposed to all the fire of the galleys and batteries without a possibility of covering them with the ships, the water being so shoal. However I have kept them in continual apprehension, have blocked up the Port, and permitted nothing to enter the river, till the late very hard gale at south-west, dispersed my squadron, and drove me into the Downs, where my stay will be very short. I have one pleasure since being here, that the wind has blown very hard upon the French coast, and must have prevented any embarkation of troops, not but what I must as a friend tell your Lordship, if the danger to England is to proceed from Havre, I have not half sufficient strength to destroy them, should they come out, viz. one ship of fifty guns and three frigates all very foul, and of course sail bad. I have represented this to my masters, and desired some heavy ships; by their answer, I conclude they think no danger can ensue from thence, as they inform me they will send me a reinforcement when they can spare ships from more important services. I own this letter gave me comfort, as I imagined their intelligence must be good, for I own to your Lordship that I thought all the danger that threatened England was from Havre, as I knew they had 300 flat bottom boats, *of two or three hundred tons each*, with a large army in their neighbourhood, ready to embark.

"However, let what will be the consequence, I shall do my duty, and endeavour to destroy all that's possible; but as a friend, I cannot help suggesting to your Lordship, that if they had the spirit of men, the enemy would venture out the beginning of a dark night with a southerly wind; if by chance they should get the start of us, before discovered, with fifty or one hundred of their boats in the rear, which would make a battery of so many heavy cannon if they kept close together, they might greatly annoy us before we could possibly get up with them, and in all probability might dismast some of the ships. For this reason, if your Lordship pleases to recollect, I proposed having another squadron off Beachy, to intercept the enemy if by chance they should escape the vigilance of the squadron off Havre. If I had a sufficient force, I should station them in such a manner, as to have the enemy between two fires should they venture out, and as Thurot is now sailed, (if there is any danger), I suppose Havre will be more attended to. I know your Lordship too well to think you will look upon this letter in any other light than as my private sentiments to one whom I esteem it as an honour to call my friend; I do assure you I have not wrote in this style to any other person or made the least complaint, and therefore hope you will not communicate its contents to any person, but my old dear friend the Admiral, to whom I beg your Lordship will pay my best respects. 1758.

"Give me leave again, my Lord, to beg your assistance in an epitaph; the Admiral, who knew her, will tell you her character, 'tis what my heart is set on, and

1759. the greatest obligation you can possibly confer on him, who is, with the utmost sincerity and respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient,

"and most humble servant,

"G. R. RODNEY."

"P. S. Pardon the incoherencies in this letter and remember I am a sailor."

The next letter is dated—

"In the Road of Havre, Nov. 3rd, 1759.

"MY LORD,

"I believe I may now congratulate you, on the invasion from this Port being suspended for this winter, the Duke de Harcourt, and all the troops (two battalions excepted), having left the town, and marched into the country, all their encampments being likewise broke up, and the flat bottom boats continuing at Rouen. Had the enemy really intended to make their embarkation from hence, they never could have had a more favourable opportunity than has offered for these ten days past, and which in all probability will not return again in many months. The wind has been between the south and east, with light airs, hazy weather, and remarkable smooth water: had they come out, it would have been impossible for my little squadron who were becalmed for three days, to have intercepted them. However, I have been for several days past at an anchor before the town, and shall so continue while the weather is favourable, though this advanced season will soon oblige me to retire, it being impossible to keep this station in bad weather, which at

the same time that it drives me off, will prevent the enemy's putting to sea. 1759.

"My friend the Admiral (to whom I beg my best respects), knows full well the anxiety I have endured for some time past; however, if it has answered the desired effect, and kept the enemy in awe, I submit to it with pleasure.

"Your Lordship will do me but justice in being assured that I have the honour to be with real regard and respect,

"Your most obliged,
"and most obedient humble servant,
"G. R. RODNEY."

W. Lyttelton was made Governor of Jamaica about this time. Our victories in the East and West Indies, and the conquest of Canada, had changed the desponding tone of his brother's correspondence into one continued song of triumph.

"Hill Street, Dec. 4, 1759.

"ALL joy to you, my dear Billy—joy of your recovery, joy of your new Government, joy of all the very prosperous events of this year, in which it is hard to say whether we owe more to the fortune of our army, or the valour of our troops. Never was there such a series of happy and glorious events!—Guadaloupe conquered, just before a reinforcement arrived; our East Indies saved when the Company themselves had despaired of their safety; the battle of Minden won, when the King expected nothing but

1759. that the French would be master of his Electorate; the King of Prussia on the point of repelling all his enemies, and regaining all Saxony, after having been brought by his battle with the Russians to the very brink of destruction; the French and Canadian army beat, and Quebec taken by Wolf, when he himself had just writt to the Government here in a style so desponding that all hopes of success in that quarter were given up for this year; Roscommon meeting with and beating Le Clerc after his squadron had gott through the Straits, and so preventing their junction with the Brest fleet; and lastly, Sir Edward Hawke defeating that fleet by a change of the wind, which brought him out of Torbay, where, if he had been detained three days longer, Marshall Conflans would have conveyed an army of 14,000 men into Ireland, and Thurot would have probably landed in another part of it with 1500 more. There was, indeed, some ill-luck in the stormy weather and darkness which prevented Sir Edward Hawke from entirely destroying all the French fleet; but even as it is, their Marine has received such a blow as it cannot recover during this war:—their schemes of invasion are defeated, their reputation at sea is quite sunk, and the spirit of the nation must be sunk too by the ignominious behaviour of their fleet in an action upon which they seemed to have placed all their hopes, and staked all their credit. I send you no particulars, because you will see them in the publick Papers, which I know are sent to you by Mr. Wright. Just before our sea-victory, his Majesty and the King of Prussia had declared to

all the belligerent powers that they are ready to send Plenipotentiaries to the place which shall be thought most proper, in order to treat conjointly of a general peace. The first view of this overture was to shew our moderation; but being followed by our success in Quiberon Bay, it may possibly produce some offers from France, which may bring on a beginning of negotiation. If the war lasts another year I think the French will turn their whole strength against Hanover, and let out their men-of-war to their merchants for privateers, as they did in Queen Anne's time, to prey on our trade, and make our merchants desirous of peace. Their finances are in the utmost disorder; their credit is destroyed; their government and even their army full of faction and discord. Yet I think they will be able to hold out a twelvemonth; and if they can get the Russians back, all Germany may yet undo the King of Prussia, and make Hanover pay for Quebec. Indeed, it is not yet certain that his Prussian Majesty will be able to recover Dresden this winter. Thank God we have perfect union* at home, which is both the cause and the consequence of our success, and our credit is as high as can be desired; yet the eight millions which are to be raised the next year will be a terrible burthen upon us, and it will be hard 1759.

* "*Punch*—Who is that? *Luckless*—That is an Orator, Master Punch. *Punch*—An Orator!—what is that? *Luckless*—Why an Orator is—egad, I can't tell what:—he is a man that nobody dares dispute with."—*Fielding's Pleasures of the Town.* H. Walpole's motto to the Year 1758.—Vol. ii. Memoirs of George the Second.

1759. to find specie to answer so much paper. This, my dear Billy, is our general political state: private politicks I reserve till I have the pleasure to see you; and indeed I trouble myself but little about them. I come now to what regards only yourself. The Government of Jamaica will, I hope, be as agreeable as profitable to you, if the prepossession which your new subjects have in your favour can be preserved, and by your prudence I hope it will, though they are a very factious people, and hard to rule. All the chief planters here, except the great Beckford,* have been to compliment me upon your being their Governor, and exprest the highest satisfaction on that account. Mr. Pitt, I suppose, will make Beckford your friend, or at least keep him quiet; but he is a strange fellow. I am afraid you will lose a great deal of money by coming to England, and the gentlemen of the island say you ought to be there for the publick service at present; but as Lord Hallifax has a mind you should come to receive his instructions, and you seem yourself to desire it, I cannot oppose it. * * * *
I shall, therefore, have the pleasure of your company at Hagley in the first opening of my new house, and a great joy it is to me that you will be a partaker in the jollity of that day. My house, my dear Billy, is now my own again, and consequently yours. I past the last summer most agreeably in a tour through the North of England and Scotland, as far as Inverary. The weather was the finest I ever saw in my life, and

* Famous for his wealth—his influence in the city—his devotion to Pitt, and for being the father of the author of Vathek.

I had as great honours done me by the nobility and 1759.
the principal cities in Scotland, as if I had been a first minister, or the head of a faction. But much the greatest pleasure I had in my tour was from the company of my son, whom I carried along with me, and from the approbation (I might say admiration) which his figure, behaviour, and parts drew from all sorts of people wherever we went. Indeed his mother has given him her *don de plaisir*, and he joins to an excellent understanding the best of hearts, and more discretion and judgment than ever I observed in any young man, except in you.

"As Brigadier Townsend has brought over from Canada a young savage boy for his friend, Lord G. Sackville, I think you should bring a young savage girl for your friend my Lord Hallifax. You will say we have *wild girls* enough in this country.

"I must tell you a story of G. Townsend's boy. When the bonfires were lighted here for Sir Edward Hawke's victory, he concluded that they were kindled to roast him alive, *a-la-mode de Canada*, and begun to sing *his death song* with a very dismal face, till means were found to explain to him what the cause of them was, and that no harm was intended to him."

In a note to page 27 of vol. ii. of Walpole's Memoirs of George the *Third*, the Editor makes the following remarks:—

"The accomplishments of Lord Lyttelton were undeniable. Unfortunately they were overshadowed by an infirmity of judgment that materially lessened the

1759. dignity of his character. He seems to have been the easy dupe of Archibald Bower. There was often much misplaced sentiment in his conversation. His letters teem with foolish conceits, and the extravagant notions he entertained of parental authority made him so severe and injudicious a father, as to afford some excuse for the gross misconduct of his son, a young nobleman whose brilliant abilities he was almost the only person unwilling or unable to appreciate. His public and private life had been irreproachable."

Now I believe this account to be most erroneous as to his conversation—his letters—and his conduct to his son. His conversation was esteemed by contemporaries who were no mean critics—not one of the many letters before me betrays any foolish conceit—and many of them show, like the last, that so far from "being unwilling or unable to appreciate" the abilities of his gifted and unhappy son, he took the utmost pride and pleasure in witnessing their development. They contain also abundant evidence of the warmth of affection and lenity of temper which induced him to forgive, while he strove to correct those failings and vices which impaired the fortune, and embittered the declining years of his life. I had not intended to have touched again upon this painful subject, but I thought this vindication due to the memory of Lord Lyttelton.

In the Hagley MS. of this year are letters from Lord Marchmont, and the Duke of Newcastle, but not sufficiently interesting to be printed, The following letter from Rodney to a friend is worthy of perusal.

"A storm drove me in here, and still detains me. 1759.
I suppose you have heard of the five flat bottom boats, loaded with cannon and shot, that I drove on shore, and destroyed at Port Bassin; as likewise of the ten others, that, with great difficulty, escaped into the River Orne, leading to Caen. The enemy had the confidence to sail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, and making all the parade possible, while the hills on each side the river, and the walls of Havre, were covered with spectators, who were astonished that the English squadron made no motion whatever. I feared it would be to no purpose till the vessels had passed the river Orne, as they had it in their power to take shelter in several small ports. However, I kept my eye constantly on them, and had given directions to my squadron to have all ready the moment I made signal to chase. When the enemy got the length of Caen River, they kept standing backward and forward upon the shoals, and I plainly perceived intended to push for it after dark; thereupon, I gave directions to my small vessels, the moment it was dark, to make all the sail possible for the mouth of the river Orne, to cut off the enemy's retreat; and with my other ships, made the utmost dispatch, without signal or light, for the steep coast of Port Bassin. This had the desired effect. The enemy were met by two of my squadron, disguised like Dutchmen off Point Percée, who turned them; when, perceiving their retreat cut off, they run ashore, and met the fate I have told you. They are remarkably fine vessels, upwards of one hundred

1759. feet long, and capable to contain from three to five hundred men for a night's run. This success has had the desired effect, the enemy having unloaded a hundred others that were ready to sail, and sent them all up again to Rouen. I forgot to tell you each vessel carries two eighteen pounders; and as they were scuttled when run ashore, we could not get them off, especially as the enemy's troops appeared numerous, and were entrenched so as to flank the landing. Many thanks to you for your intelligence, and believe me to be

"Your obliged and obedient
"humble servant,
"G. R. RODNEY."

CHAPTER XV.

1760—1766.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE CLOSE OF THE ROCKINGHAM ADMINISTRATION.

[Hagley MSS.—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, vols. i. & ii. —Chatham's Correspondence, vols. ii. iii.—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. — Parliamentary History, vols. xv. xvi., Annual Register for each year—Adolphus' History of England, vol. i. ed. 1841—Burke's Observations on a late state of the Nation, and Thoughts on the present Discontent.]

"In times full of doubt and danger to his person, and family, George the Second maintained the dignity of his crown connected with the liberty of his people, not only unimpaired but improved for the space of thirty-three years. He overcame a dangerous rebellion abetted by foreign force and raging in the heart of his kingdoms, and thereby destroyed the seeds of all future rebellion that could arise upon the same principle. He carried the glory, the power, the commerce of England to a height unknown even in this renowned nation in the times of its greatest prosperity, and he left his succession resting on the true, and only true, foundations of all national and all regal greatness—affection at home, reputation abroad, trust in allies, terror in rival nations." Such is part of the magnificent panegyric of Mr. Burke upon the reign we have just closed; but those who look back from the eminence of nearly a century since those words 1760.

1760. were written—those who consider the state of the criminal law and the almost entire neglect of the education of the people, at the time when science devoted to the production of physical comfort, was daily calling into existence that enormous manufacturing population* at which our age stands aghast, as at a phenomenon with which it is as yet but imperfectly acquainted—those who agree in the opinion I have ventured to express about the state of the church† and the general tone of society, will hesitate before they adopt the glowing conclusion of this panegyric. "The most ardent lover of his country cannot wish for Great Britain a happier fate than to continue as she was then left—a people emulous as we are in affection to our present sovereign, know not how to form a prayer to Heaven for a greater blessing upon his virtues or a higher state of felicity and glory than that he should live and should reign, and when Providence ordains it, should die like his illustrious predecessor." But whatever difference of opinion may exist upon this matter there will be none as to the fact, that few kings ever ascended the throne in a brighter sunshine of popularity than George the Third. "A passionate, domineering woman," says Sir R. Walpole,

* Arnold's VII. Lecture has some admirable remarks on the evils incident to a state "where the Church seemed to have, but had not, the whole nation within its pale," and where "the popular party took no care that liberty should be the mother of virtue," while "the antipopular party restrained without educating." It is instructive to compare the deep wisdom of these pages with the shallow remarks of Schlosser.—(See Vol. ii. p. 193, Geschichte des actzehnten Jahrhunderts.)

† Chapter x.

" and a favourite without talents soon drew a cloud over this shining prospect." It must I think be admitted that Lord Bute was the immediate instrument, whatever might be the remoter causes, of bringing the constitution of this country into great jeopardy; but for me it remains only to notice those events in the next twelve years in which the subject of these memoirs was more immediately concerned. 1761.

Soon after the accession of the young monarch, Pitt found himself perpetually thwarted by a secret influence in the Cabinet - and his was not a spirit to brook such treatment. Pursuing his scheme for humbling the House of Bourbon he discovered the famous Family Compact between France and Spain, and demanded that our ambassador should be recalled from Madrid, and war immediately declared against Spain—this demand being overruled by the majority of the Cabinet, he and Lord Temple resigned on the 5th of October, 1761. So ended the first administration of Mr. Pitt—and looking to the suddenness of the change from despair to triumph, effected by it in the minds of the people—to the rapidity, variety, and extent of the conquests achieved, pregnant with results yet imperfectly developed, but affecting the destinies of half the globe—to its uninterrupted course of brilliant success—to the homage paid during its existence to the British name throughout the globe—looking to these things, it is difficult to deny that no War Minister of these realms had ever so brilliant a career.

On the 17th of this month Lord Hardwicke wrote to Lyttelton :—

"Grosvenor Square, Oct. 17th, 1761.

1761.

"My dear Lord,

"Under the greatest* afflictions, it is some degree of consolation to be kindly remembered by our most valuable friends at a distance. In this light I consider the honour your Lordship has done me by your most obliging letter, which demands my best thanks. I am too sensible how little pretence I have to any of those great qualities, which your partiality gives me; but I have learned, both as a man and a Christian, to submit with humble resignation to the wise dispensations of Providence, however severe and trying—*resigno quæ dedit;* though I cannot forget my own melancholy situation kept me for some time out of the world, factious and disagreeable as it is. The *extraordinary* events which your Lordship mentions, have happened since my strictest confinement was over: and when I see your Lordship (a pleasure which I perceive is not far off) I will acquaint you with such circumstances as have come to my knowledge, too long, and some of them not quite so proper for a letter by the post. The world is surprised at the last scene; since which I have had a conversation with Mr. Pitt, who talks with much temper and moderation. I hope that temper will be preserved, and am persuaded that, when he accepted these graces from the King, it was his intention, *servetur ad imum*, though I find that begins to be doubted of.

"It is no news to you that Lord Egremont has the Seals of the southern province. You know how much I esteem and honour that noble Lord, and I fear nothing in his case but his precarious health. I heartily

* This alludes to the death of his wife.

wish that this addition of one friend more of yours to the administration, may turn out as it ought to your Lordship's advantage;—I should have added to that of the public, and of your humble servant. The Duke of Newcastle is much flattered by your obliging remembrance of him; makes no doubt of the sincerity of your good wishes; and hopes you do not distrust his. 1762.

"As Mr. G. Grenville is to have the conduct of business in the House of Commons, Mr. Prowse* is the person thought of for Speaker. In this dearth of objects for the chair, I am very creditably assured that this is not at all disagreeable to the Whigs; but, whether he will accept or not I have not yet heard.

"I hope your Lordship enjoys good health,—happy amidst the beauties of Hagley,—*inter Sylvas reptare salubres, curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est.*

"I am always, with the utmost truth and esteem, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"HARDWICKE."

The Duke of Newcastle deserted Pitt, hoping to be considered the head of the administration he had left, but his treachery was unrewarded, and his own resignation but for a short time delayed. Lord Bute was considered first minister. About this time began Mr. Pitt's quarrel with Mr. Grenville, which made a severe breach in that powerful party.

"The valour of the people had taken such a bent, (says Horace Walpole,) that Lord Bute would not check it, nothing but a peace could chain it up." On the

* M.P. for Somersetshire: he declined on the ground of ill-health. Lord Bute procured the election of Sir John Cust.

1762. 22nd March, in the ensuing year, the news of the conquest of Martinico by General Monckton and Admiral Rodney arrived. The people ascribed, probably with justice, the scheme to Pitt. Here follows the victor's account of it to Lyttelton.

"Martinico, June 29th, 1762.

"My Lord,

"Yesterday I was favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 27th of June, and find myself unhappy that I cannot so soon have it in my power to obey your commands as I could wish, the Stirling Castle being gone upon the expedition with Sir Geo. Pocock against the Havannah. I must needs say that Captain Everet is to blame; had he acquainted me that your Lordship had a relation on board his ship, I should certainly have taken him with me and provided for him long since. I will, however, write to Mr. Keppel either to make him a lieutenant, or send him by the first opportunity to me, that I may convince your Lordship how very much I shall always respect any person who has the honour to be recommended by you. Give me leave to return your Lordship my most sincere thanks for your kind congratulations on the success of his Majesty's arms in this part of the world.

"It ill becomes me, who had the honour of being one of the happy instruments employed on this occasion to talk much on the subject, but as I well know from your Lordship's zeal for the welfare of Britain and her armies, and as I have had time thoroughly to examine into the nature of the conquests we have lately made I am sure your Lordship will be glad to know my opinion as far as is consistent with the safety of those

islands which have long been under his Majesty's government. The more I have reflected upon the consequence of Martinico, the more I am astonished at the behaviour of the French court, who could neglect to support a colony upon which, not only depended their own empire in these seas, but likewise that of Great Britain, for the island of Martinique is so happily situated by nature, that whoever possesses it, can at pleasure command off the others, and in itself, if perfectly supported, is impregnable, from the whole country being one entire fortification by nature. It is astonishing to me, as they have been superior in these seas during this war, that they did not overrun all our islands, sweep all the slaves, and destroy the plantations, for to keep our islands would not have been worth their while. Martinique being capable to make more sugar than all our islands put together. 1762.

"I, my Lord, have had an opportunity of visiting all the English islands, none of which are capable to make the least defence; and I would answer to take the whole with two thousand men in a month. I have likewise conversed with the principal and most sensible part of the inhabitants of Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Christopher's, who all agree that the neutral islands will never be settled by Englishmen if Martinico is given up. The vicinity of that island is an invincible obstacle to their settlement; as, in a few hours' sail, their labour and expense of several years might be destroyed before they could receive succour from Europe, or even from the old English islands, and to keep garrisons of troops in islands overrun with wood,

1762. must be attended with the deaths of thousands before they could possibly be cleared to yield any profit to their mother-country. The planters are divided between avarice and fear, they think if Martinique is retained, they will be obliged to lower the price of their sugars. On the other hand, if it is given up, they fear the loss of their own plantations in case of another war, and that the French will overrun them before they can receive succours from Europe, which, as I said before, they may easily do, and the example of this war has taught them a lesson, which I fancy they will never forget. Thus, my Lord, you see the opinion of the inhabitants of this part of the world; and, as a seaman, I must own that the Port of Fort Royal and the Carenage is of more consequence to us, as a maritime power, than all the English islands put together, none of which have a harbour except Antigua, an island without wood and water, and whose harbour is very difficult of entrance, and only capable to receive a very few men of war, and none above sixty-four guns, and is an island at the northern extremity of the Caribbees, while Martinique is happily situated in the centre of the whole. Its harbour is capable to contain the fleet of Britain, extremely well wooded and watered, and can at all times send succours to any of our islands, who may be in danger from an enemy, and during the hurricane months, its carenage can contain a number of the largest ships of war, in perfect safety. I am sure at home the Administration know the importance of these islands; and I flatter myself your Lordship will only look upon this letter as wrote to a private friend,

for whom I shall ever retain the most sincere respect, and whose valuable friendship I shall esteem as the greatest honour. Permit me, therefore, to assure your Lordship, that I am, with the utmost sincerity, 1762.

"Your Lordship's
"most obliged,
"and most obedient humble servant,
"G. R. Rodney.

"P.S.—I beg my best respects to Admiral Smith.

"P.S.—I make no doubt but success has attended his Majesty's arms at the Havannah.

"Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton."

Rodney's expectation was justified. Early in September the news arrived of the conquest of the Havannah by the three brothers, Lord Albemarle, Commodore and Colonel Keppel. "Such a victory seemed (says Walpole) to infuse as little joy into the Court of St. James's as into that of Madrid." And in truth no victories would have deterred Lord Bute and the Court from making peace; it was an object which had but one rival in their affections, that of freeing themselves from the controul of the Whig aristocracy. The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire had been driven out, Fox brought in, and Bute become first Lord of the Treasury. "The conquest of the Havannah (wrote Mr. Burke in 1769) was achieved by the highest conduct, aided by circumstances of the greatest good fortune. He knows the expence both of men and treasure at which we bought that place. However, if

1762. it had so pleased the peace-makers, it was no dear purchase, for it was decisive of the war and the terms of the treaty; the Duke of Nivernois thought so. France, England, Europe considered it in that light—all the world except the then friends of the then ministry, who wept for our victories, and were in haste to get rid of the burthen of our conquests."

The peace so much desired by this faction was concluded before the close of the year. And, however inadequate its terms might be to what the position of Great Britain entitled her to demand, the Peace of Paris was not inglorious to her. It accomplished the original purposes of the war; its capital error, according to Mr. Burke, was the omission to take any security, that "the Spanish monarchy was not melted down into the cabinet of Versailles." According to Mr. Pitt, the permission accorded to the French with respect to the American Fisheries, and the abandonment of the King of Prussia, were the darkest blots upon this treaty. A few months before this event, Lyttelton's old leader, Lord Bath, published a pamphlet,* attacking the Duke of Newcastle, and vindicating the admission of the Tories to power. He now wrote to Lyttelton as follows:—

"August 26th, 1762.

"My Lord,

"I am much obliged to your Lordship for your letter and the good news it brought, though it be nothing more than report and ship news; yet from the many particulars mentioned, I hope it may be true. I think

* Entitled, "Seasonable Hints from an honest man on the present crisis."

the terms of the Peace are now pretty generally known, 1762.
and I perceive they give satisfaction to most people here; some few indeed grumble that any part of the fishing is allowed France, but every sensible man in England is convinced that she would not have consented to peace without some share of it; but while Halifax is ours, and that we maintain our superiority at sea, that portion of the fishery we allow them will always be in our power, or help to keep them in awe, or to take from them, if they give us any real offence. I am glad to hear that your health is so well established; travelling about (as you have done) has been of great service to you. The waters here have been of use to me, though I use them very ungratefully, and shall quit them much sooner than I did last year, and yet I am afraid I shall not be in town time enough to see you before you go to Sandleford, nor be able to get there till you have left it. When you go to Lord Hardwicke's be so good as to assure him of my respects. I hope we may all meet well together in winter, have an easy session in Parliament, and be in perfect good humour, congratulating each other on the happy event of the birth of the Prince of Wales, and joining together without the least acrimony, to look into abuses, and think of some scheme for reducing the monstrous national debt.

"I am most truly and faithfully,
"your Lordsdip's most humble
"and obedient servant,
"BATH.

"Tunbridge, Aug. 28th, 1762."

On the 2nd of December Lyttelton wrote to his brother

1763. "We have got *peace abroad*, and I think, on the whole, a *good one;* but things seem to tend to *war at home*, which will do not less harm than if it had broken out before we had *peace abroad.* For my own part, I am more a spectator than an actor in the new political scene."

After the Duke of Newcastle's dismission, the great Whig families, headed by the Duke of Cumberland, began to form a powerful opposition to the government of Lord Bute; they presented a phalanx which the favourite vainly endeavoured to corrupt or divide: meanwhile, three millions and a half were required for the supplies; and blind to the fate of Walpole, Lord Bute introduced a tax on Perry and Cider, extending the regulations of the excise to the collection of this duty. It was a fatal error,—the country petitioned, and Pitt thundered in his most awful tones against it; the House of Lords for the first time divided upon a money bill; Lord Hardwicke made his last speech against this measure, and was supported by a minority, respectable for its numbers, and formidable for its influence. Lyttelton spoke so well against it on the second and third reading as to extort the praise of Walpole.*

On the 19th of April, soon after the passing of this obnoxious measure, Lord Bute amazed the political world by his resignation. "Single (he said) in a cabinet of my own forming, no aid in the House of Lords to support me except two Peers, (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret,) both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I myself brought into office voting for me, yet speaking against me; the

* The act was partially repealed in 1766.

ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid, not only of falling myself, but of involving my Royal Master in my fall. It is time for me to retire." 1763.

It is said, that except in the ministerial changes more immediately consequent on his resignation, he never afterwards exerted any influence in political affairs. The reverse was generally believed at the time. The balance of evidence seems in favour of his having intrigued for some years, at least, after his resignation; but be this as it may, the system which he helped to form, and which was fraught with so much evil to this country continued long after this time. This system of a *double cabinet*, which appears to have been originally framed in the Court of Frederic Prince of Wales, was probably devised as one method of carrying into execution the theory of "The Patriot King," viz.: of governing without the aid of any party in the State. This plan of *separating the court from the administration*, of carrying everything from national connexion to personal regards, and of forming a regular party for that purpose, under the title of *King's men*—this *system of favouritism* "formed on a supposition that the King is something external to his Government, and that he may be honoured and aggrandised even by its debility and disgrace," has been embalmed for the warning of posterity in Burke's admirable "Thoughts on the cause of the present Discontents," from which the foregoing expressions are taken. "Thus for the time (he says) were pulled down in the persons of the Whig leaders and of Mr. Pitt, in spite of the services of the one at the accession of the

1763. Royal Family, and the recent services of the other in the war, the *two only securities for the importance of the people; power arising from popularity; and power arising from connexion.*" On the resignation of Lord Bute, Fox, ejected from the pay office, was created Lord Holland, Mr. Grenville became first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer,* his brother-in-law and Lyttelton's friend, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax, Secretaries of State. Soon† afterwards occurred the well known affair of Wilkes' 45th number of the North Briton, which brought into question the legality of General Warrants. Both this matter and the sudden death of Lord Egremont, whose abilities were considerable, enfeebled the government. Mr. Grenville wrote to Lyttelton.

"My Lord,

"The concern which you so kindly express for us upon the great misfortune which we have sustained in the death of Lord Egremont, demands our warmest and sincerest thanks. The blow was indeed a severe one, and particularly to those who were connected with

* Fox having, according to Walpole, refused to accept them.

† "Parties awoke again, one hardly knows how or why, and their struggle during the early part of the reign of George the Third, was of such a character, that after studying it attentively, we turn from it as from a portion of history equally anomalous and disagreeable. Yet its uninstructiveness in one season is instructive in another: and I will venture to call your attention to that period in which the most prominent names—alas! for the degraded state of English party—are those of John Wilkes and Junius."—Arnold's Lectures in Modern History, i. 7.

him in friendship and in alliance. The high regard and the real affection which he bore to you, must, I know, make his loss very sensibly felt by your Lordship. Every circumstance both public and private concur to make it lamented by me. Lady Egremont continues tolerably well. My wife has been extremely ill since this melancholy event, but is now I hope in a fair way to get well again. I will not omitt to inform Lord Thomond of your obliging attention to him upon this unhappy occasion." 1763.

No long time after this event Mr. Grenville, paying a visit to Buckingham House, was startled at finding Mr. Pitt's gouty chair, (the boot of which, he used to say, was as well known as if his name was written upon it) at the door of the palace. This abortive intrigue of Lord Bute to subvert a minister, whom he could not make his passive instrument, was defeated, partly perhaps by the haughtiness of Pitt, but chiefly by the narrow-minded obstinacy of the King,—though the former declared if examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what point the negotiation had broken off. Some account of it is to be found in the following letter:—

"Hagley Park, September 27th, 1763.

"My dear Governour,

"Lieutenant Parry, who brings you this, is the son of the parson of Clent, and I hear has behaved himself very well in the service. He desires me to recommend him to your favour and countenance while

1763. he continues at Jamaica. Since my last I have received your despatch relating to the affairs of your government, which I shall make a proper use of when it may be of any service, and a charming letter from the fair Governess, for which I desire you to return her my most hearty thanks. I have also your letter of the 1st of June notifying your having sent me a pipe of Madeira, for which I am much obliged to you, but it is not yet received. The books you mention are come, and the last post brought me an account of three turtles, with which I have made three epicures happy. The only private news I have to tell you since my last letter is, that as the difficulty of making settlements till my son is of age renders it impossible for him to marry Miss Warburton before that time, I have consented to Sir Richard's desire of sending him abroad for a twelvemonth, the expense of his travelling being borne by Sir Richard. He is just setting out from France to go to Italy, and I hope next summer to come to him at Florence and make with him the tour of the Milanese part of Germany, and all Switzerland by the end of October.

"As for our public affairs, they are in great confusion, Lord Egremont is dead: a crude attempt has been made by Lord Bute to bring in Mr. Pitt, and some of the heads of the opposition. Pitt had a conference with the King, but in talking over the system, Pitt's demands were thought too high and rejected. The Duke of Bedford has been since made President of the Council; Lord Egmont First Commissioner of the Admiralty; Lord Hillsborough First Lord of Trade,

in the room of Lord Shelburne who has resigned; 1763.
Lord Hallifax and G. Grenville continue in their offices, though the negotiation with Pitt was opened by Lord Bute without their participation, and they are thought to be on very bad terms with his Lordship. This state of things does not seem made for duration, and some suppose that Lord Holland, who is coming back into England will in effect be first minister. In the meanwhile the French, seeing the weakness of our Government, do not execute some important articles of the Peace. A new war is apprehended with France and Spain: we have one with the Indians in North America —our stocks fall very low—the people are full of discontent—and everything seems to tend to distraction and ruin. My best comfort is, I have done all that was in my power to endeavour to strengthen the Government at this critical time, and believe that if others had acted with the same temper and moderation, (I will not say with the same prudence), things might have had a better issue. Lord Egremont's death was one of those strokes which no prudence can remedy, and I feel it painfully, both on publick and private accounts. If the Government settles in the hands it seems going into, I will have nothing to do with it, which is all I can say at present. My most affectionate compliments to the Governess, and believe me ever,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON.

"I suppose you have heard from other hands of Dr. Ayscough's* death. He has left ten thousand

* Vide pp. 29, 440, 1, 2.

1763. pounds to his wife and at her death to his children. It is hoped she will have a pension.

"Sir Richard is in England and in good health."

The next letter is from Lord Hardwicke's eldest son to Lyttelton.

"Wrest, Sept. the 13th, 1763.

"My Lord,

"The hospitable, polite, and easy reception which I met with at Hagley, has left too agreeable an impression upon my mind, not to make it almost a point of social obligation, to return your Lordship my particular acknowledgments for it, and to accompany them likewise with Lady Grey's.*

"We returned hither from our travels the 1st inst. having seen everything we proposed in our journey, and been particularly lucky in weather at Chatsworth. We were likewise witnesses there to the remarkable incident, of the express from the *Great Commoner* which carried his Grace up in such haste to town. The conveyance I write by does not allow me to enter far into the late extraordinary transaction, some parts of which I really do not comprehend, but this I will venture to say, that it appears in its original plan, to have been intended as a *counterpart* to what your Lordship was acquainted with not long ago, and consequently on too

* Lord Royston married Jemima Marchioness Grey, and Baroness Lucas of Crudwell, only daughter of John third Earl of Breadalbane, by Amabel de Grey, eldest daughter and coheiress of Henry de Grey, third and last Duke of Kent.

narrow a bottom to be attended with success. I am inclined to think that disgust was taken at some particulars which were urged in a *certain audience*, and the manner might likewise displease,—though certainly nothing of that kind was intended. The going too far at first setting out, is not the way which should be taken in Courts, where unfavourable impressions must be removed before the foundations are laid for a new superstructure. The consequences, however, of this abortive attempt seem to shut the door more than ever against union and reconciliation; and of course your Lordship and myself have a bustling and disagreeable winter to expect. The *person* who set this overture on foot, seems to have disobliged all sides; his own, by not concerting it with them, the others, by not carrying it through when it was begun. 1763.

"I must not forget Lady Grey's compliments to Miss Lyttelton, nor my own to Mr. Lyttelton, if he is now at Hagley.

"I am, with the greatest respect,
"your Lordship's most faithful
"humble servant,
"ROYSTON.

"P.S.—I had the pleasure to leave Lord Hardwicke well at his place yesterday morning. He desired to be remembered to your Lordship."

Lyttelton's answer to Lord Royston was as follows:—

"Hagley, September 19, 1763.

"MY LORD,

"I AM glad the weather was so fine to shew you

1763. Chatsworth. The express from *the Great Commoner*, which his Grace received while you were there, must have surprised you as much as the first account of it did me. I should have thought he would have been the last, instead of the first, with whom *the great Lord* would have treated: but he loves to make short turns, and, I presume, was apprehensive of others going before him. In my humble opinion his Lordship judged very ill, for perhaps there never was an opening of a negociation, in which a prudent mediator would have been of more service. I entirely agree with your Lordship's judgment, that the going too far at first setting out is not the way which should be taken in courts, when unfavourable impressions must be removed before the foundations are laid for a new superstructure. My old friend was once a skilful courtier; but since he himself has attained a kind of *royalty*, he seems more attentive to support his own majesty than to pay the necessary regards to that of his Sovereign. The consequences of this error will be mischievous to the publick, and very unpleasant to those who wish to see it served in this difficult and critical time, by a union of all who can conciliate to the government the affection and confidence of the nation. Till *that* is done things will go on from bad to worse; but *that* cannot be done till the King himself is convinced, by a gentle and temperate language, that nothing is desired but his service.

"I don't wonder at what your Lordship tells me of the hurt that the first mover of this crude negociation has done himself with both parties. But I much wonder how those whom he left out of his secret in so important

a transaction can still continue ministers, or imagine to themselves any safety in the new system !" 1763.

"Thus (says Walpole), from a strange concurrence of jarring causes, there sprang out of great weakness a strong and cemented Ministry, who all acquiesced in the predominant power of Grenville.* The favourite hated had tried to shake him off, and he knew it."

In November the Commons resolved number 45 of the North Briton to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They then resolved that the privilege of Parliament did not extend to the writing and printing seditious libels. A severe debate ensued in both Houses. In the Commons, Pitt though pronouncing the writer to be "the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King," reprobated in his severest style the facility with which the House surrendered its privileges. In the Lords (where Wilkes had been previously attacked for a blasphemous, obscene, and stupid Essay on Woman,) an animated debate took place. Lyttelton spoke with great earnestness and considerable ability. It is the only speech preserved of

* "If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself not by the low pimping politics of a Court, but to win his way to power through the laborious gradation of public service; and to secure himself a well-earned seat in Parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business." This is part of Mr. Burke's celebrated character of Mr. Grenville, certainly not drawn by a hand disposed to flatter in this, if in any, instance.—Speech on American Taxation.

1763. the debate in the Lords.* During the course of it he observed, "There are two advantages upon which our public welfare and strength particularly depend, both of which these wicked libellers have most diligently and maliciously laboured to destroy; I mean the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and that extinction of party spirit, the bane of all public spirit, I say my Lords, that extinction of party spirit, which crowned with happiness and with glory the latter years of our late most gracious Sovereign, and the beginning of his present Majesty's most auspicious, most benignant, and most prosperous reign. Of these inestimable blessings these execrable writings have attempted to deprive us: they have breathed a spirit of discord, which, if great care be not taken to stop the farther progress of it, will avenge the enemies of this country of all the evils they have suffered from that invincible force and energy, which a very different spirit, a spirit of union and concord, enabled us to exert. What can be more injurious, more fatal to our happiness than weekly and daily libels sent all over the kingdom, which have a strong and manifest tendency to break those ties of mutual interest and mutual affection, which bind and knit us together; and to raise animosities, jealousies, deadly feuds, and civil wars between the two nations? If the detected authors of such writings, by being members of Parliament, a circumstance which in reality much enhances their guilt, may go on with full security, in open defiance of all law and legal authority, to inflame the wounds they have made, to infuse into them new venom, till they be rendered incurable; if this indeed be English liberty,

* It is printed in Vol. 3 of Lyttelton's Works.

then, I am sure, our constitution will be *felo de se*, and wants no enemy but itself to bring itself to destruction." 1764.

"Upon the whole, I am confident your Lordships will on no account depart from that maxim, which is the corner stone of all government! that justice should have its course without stop or impediment.

"'Jus, fas, lex, potentissima sint.' This, my lords, is the very soul and essence of freedom. Obstruct this, and you immediately open a door to all violence and confusion, to all the iniquity and all the cruelties of private revenge, to the destruction of private peace, the dissolution of public order, and in the end to an unlimited and despotic authority, which we must be forced to submit to as a remedy against such intolerable evils. The dominion of law is the dominion of liberty. Privilege against law, in matters of high concernment to the public, is oppression, is tyranny, wheresoever it exists."

The opinion of a very intelligent bystander at this debate, to whom I have before referred, is thus expressed in a letter to his friend:—

"I suppose I need not tell you that the present Ministry have a great majority in the House of Commons. When a motion was made in the House of Lords that Privilege of Parliament shall not extend to the authors of seditious libels, Lord Mansfield, very late at night, made a speech which lasted two hours, and spoke so well that the persons present would have been content to have heard him two hours longer. Lord

1764. Lyttelton spoke on the same side extremely well, and the motion was carried by a majority of 114 to 35." *

Lyttelton also spoke on the question of the riots which took place at the burning of Wilkes' book.

In February the following year, the House of Commons had a great and long debate on the illegality of General Warrants, and it was only by a majority of fourteen that the ministry carried the adjournment of the question for four months. On the last day of this debate, Lyttelton, seconded by the Duke of Grafton, acquainted the Lords, that on the following Tuesday he should lay a complaint before them against a new book (a sort of revived Filmer), called *Droit le Roi*. On the 21st he moved for a censure on the book as Jacobitical, violating the Bill of Rights, and the Revolution ; and reproved ministers who, falling severely on seditious pamphlets, had yet overlooked one subversive of all liberty. The book was sentenced to be burnt and the author ordered to be taken into custody.

On the 16th Lyttelton wrote to "the Governor."

"The political world is still in a good deal of ferment, and I will not pretend to prophesy into what state it will subside. I have at present little intercourse with any of the ministry, though I lately spoke for them with much zeal and more than usual applause, on the question concerning privilege in criminal cases. But I think I shall differ from them through the rest of the session. This conduct you will think does not lead to preferment. I think so too, but considerations superior to interest have determined me to it; and I am paid

* See Nicholls' Lit. Anec. vol. 8, 238-48.

for it, not only by the approbation of my own conscience, 1764.
but by the impressions I find it has made in my favour among the wiser and better part of the court and country. At the same time I discharged my debt of gratitude to Scotland, for the great kindness shewn me there, by expressing a just detestation of the scurrilous libels against that nation, which nobody else had animadverted upon with a proper resentment in either House. I believe I may hope from the sensibility of the Scotch to their national honour, that this zeal of mine in their cause will not be easily or soon forgotten. Of the King's gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve him on this and other occasions, in the course of the last year, I have had all the marks I can desire. So much for politicks." * * * * * *

General Conway voted against ministers on the question of the legality of General Warrants, and was immediately dismissed from his Lordship of the Bedchamber, and his command of a regiment of Dragoons. This severe, impolitic, and unjust act, greatly injured the administration. Conway's character was fair, his talents good, his friends many and powerful, and one of them, Horace Walpole, was delighted to concentrate the mischief and malignity of his nature upon the task of injuring Mr. Grenville. The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, Lord Rockingham, Charles Townshend and Yorke, and a large body of Whigs were ready to form an opposition, but nothing could be done without Mr. Pitt, who stood aloof, angry with the ministers, affronted with the opposition; to reconcile the opposition with Mr. Pitt, for the sake of injuring Grenville

1764. and avenging Conway, was the darling object of Horace Walpole, whose powers of intrigue were considerable—to reconcile Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple with Mr. Grenville, to unite the brotherhood again, and with these to form a party against the Court faction and Lord Bute, with or without the aid of the Duke of Bedford's party, was the straightforward and honourable object of Lyttelton; for this he of course incurred the rancorous abuse of Walpole, who had vainly endeavoured to make him his tool. Lyttelton had lately been reconciled to Pitt and Temple, and entertained a sincere regard for Conway, upon whose conduct Pitt bestowed, according to Walpole, "civil applause," but refused to see him.

One of the most extraordinary persons of this period, but of whose talents we have scarcely any vestige, except the recorded admiration of his contemporaries was, to borrow Mr. Burke's expression, "that prodigy* Charles Townshend;" he was a younger son of the able and honest coadjutor of Walpole, (Viscount Townshend,)—his extreme political versatility, which

* See Burke's speech on American Taxation.—"In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed or finished wit, and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who have flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together within a short time all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported," &c. "He is the orator, (said Mr. Flood), the rest are speakers."

procured for him the nickname of the weathercock,* alone counteracted the influence of his brilliant abilities. 1764.

He wrote to Lyttelton as follows:—

"May 2, 1764.

"My dear Lord,

"I have the honour of sending you the copy you desired of my letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and I would have sent it sooner, if I had not thought it prudent to vary, and I hope improve the expressions in some of the most delicate parts of it. They will occur to your Lordship and perhaps have your approbation.

"I dined yesterday at Devonshire House, and, after the ladies had retired to coffee, conversation turned upon politics. I took the opportunity of asserting the necessity of union and immediate activity; union declaredly with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Yorke, and activity both in a summer and a winter plan. Mr. Conway and Mr. Walpole were present: the Duke made strong general professions; Mr. Conway seem'd to think with me, and Mr. Walpole went before me in many points, but no final issue; no plan, no positive answer as to great individuals, and the whole ended in indecision.

"I shall see Mr. Yorke this evening at eight o'clock, and I wish you may have had some previous conversation with him.

"Mr. Onslow and Mr. T. Townshend have been at Hayes, and they, as I hear, have represented Mr. Pitt as very angry upon the dismission of Mr. Conway, and

* One of the squibs in the newspapers of the day was, "We hear that the Right Hon. Charles Townshend is indisposed at his house in Oxfordshire, of a pain in his side, but it is not said in which side."

1764. very explicit in his opposition. They are young agents and may speak from their own wishes.

"On Friday I go to Claremont, it will be a day of some importance: much will depend upon Mr. Yorke's answer this evening, for, as to myself, if the general union be not *now* formed, and a consequential system adopted, I will despair, and shall abandon the ungrateful and hopeless office.

"I shall certainly not fail of giving your Lordship the earliest communication of whatever I learn, that is interesting, and am with the truest personal regard,

"My Lord,

"your affectionate humble servant,

"C. TOWNSHEND.

"Grosvenor Square, May 2, 1764."

The enclosed letter to the Duke of Newcastle was as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I HAVE this evening the honour of your Grace's letter which is writ upon so many very interesting subjects that I am not able to resist the desire it has raised in me of speaking my sentiments fully to your Grace, though with the utmost deference.

"Your Grace's knowledge of the world and great experience in public business, necessarily make me distrust any opinion of mine from which you differ, yet upon further reflection, I have not found reason to change the idea I lately expressed to you, of the temper, character, and deadness of the time we live in. Recollect, my Lord, the ingratitude you yourself have

met with: the desertion of the majority of the Whigs: 1764.
the many great names and families who have abandoned all union from obligation and consanguinity upon the frivolous distinction of supporting the person of the King: the successful attack made upon the freedom of the press: the quiet reception of every act of violence offered to persons and to things: and the perfect state of tranquillity in the city and the counties which now seemingly take place under a ministry lately so odious and still so rash. Are not these proofs that the national temper is subdued—that opposition by so often deceiving has lost the power of raising confidence, and that indifference and distrust are become habitual and general? I wish any degree of spirit, care, or attention, were able to reform this error or to awaken men to a sense of danger, but I expect it not, and I should disguise if I did not frankly confess to you that I despair of any such revolution.

"Your Grace seems to regret that a stand was not made upon the unjustifiable treatment of our friend the Duke of Devonshire.* I had not at that time the honour of being in his Grace's confidence, and therefore know not what he himself wished, but certainly the gradual overthrow of the Whigs at court was too quietly submitted to in the several preliminary steps, and could never in my opinion have been completed, if it had been at first re-

* After the dismission of the Duke of Newcastle in 1762, the Duke of Devonshire, during the negotiation for the Peace, refusing to attend the Council board, was dismissed from the Lord Chamberlainship, and the King with his own hand erased his name from the list of Privy Councillors.

1764. sisted. Each separate personal injury, was, I fear, too far considered as an individual case, whereas if the very first attempt had been made a common cause, the defence of the whole would probably have been not difficult. I agree with your Grace that the minority, in defiance of all disadvantages, made the ministry and the crown look pale upon their numbers, in one part of the last session, and it is now said, perseverance and activity would have given success. Perhaps this may be true, but if it be, what was the sudden and secret cause which slackened their activity? Some impute it to jealousy, but to jealousy in whom, and of whom? others to inattention; these to disunion, and those to want of suitable and interesting questions of business. As to the visit to Cambridge,* I know how loudly I have been condemned for that absence; but, my Lord, such loose censure does not even dwell upon me, especially when it comes from men with whom I have acted *voluntarily*, not by compact; from opinion not obligation; and who have no right to circumscribe any one sentiment or direct any one action of my political conduct; in whose plans I had originally no participation, whose systems I am not bound to adopt, and to whom I stand in no sense or in any degree accountable. Let them distribute their

* Lord Hardwicke's death caused a vacancy in his High Stewardship of Cambridge. Lord Sandwich and Lord Hardwicke's son and successor were rival candidates for the office. The contest was waged with the keenest animosity. On the day of election the votes appeared to be equal, though each side claimed a majority of one. The King's Bench pronounced a decision in favour of Lord Hardwicke.

wild panegyric over their glass, as wine warms and prejudice dictates, I shall still, unmortified by their harmless disapprobation, be ever pleased with having obeyed your commands, and endeavoured at least to assist my friend Lord Hardwicke and his family at Cambridge. I say this as often as I hear it, which is almost every day, from some of our most zealous friends, who continually speak of this event either in direct terms of blame or by insinuations which are more offensive. 1764.

"The Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rockingham have done me the honour of dining with me this day, but we were not alone, and our conversation was at large. Your Grace hoped something would have been settled, and you see the necessity of a summer plan preparatory to the winter. I have said this, but my idea goes further, and you will forgive me if in this critical minute, perhaps the last of deliberation, I should open my mind freely; in the language of a man that would bring things to decision; and who being at liberty to act as his judgment advises, waits for the communication of such a systematical and probable plan as may induce and justify those who shall again embark.

"For myself, I am of opinion, my Lord, that the minority should be strengthened, if it can *be done upon proper terms*, by a connection with Lord Bute or with Lord Holland, or by the reconciliation of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt with Mr. Grenville; because I think the party in the House of Lords is weak, in the Court odious, and in itself not sufficient for success; at least with this parliament, when there is only one court, so young a king, and at the close of an unpopular war,

1764. and in an age of extravagance, indigence, immorality, and indifference.

"I presume not to enter into the reciprocal aversions and late sentiments which may be considered under this head: too new in the confidence of your Grace; unaccustomed to hear the sentiments of my friend the Duke of Devonshire upon topics so near to him, and too much a stranger to the voice of the Duke of Cumberland, to approach so delicate a subject; I only express my wish, and presume to suggest what I think expedient and necessary to give opposition force.

"Could both of the former of these be done, or could the family reconciliation be accomplished, the next thing would be to review the minority, and allot to particular men their separate departments in speaking to individuals; from which revisal and explanation it would be learnt how far late inactivity has lessened numbers; what may be hoped from another trial and what assistance is requisite.

"To gain upon the minds of the people, a daily paper, upon the plan of one of the present prints, should be set up and circulated diligently but quietly; and two good pens should be employed to write from materials suggested by men of knowledge, and subject to their inspection. Some leading men in each town through the several counties should be admitted to confidence, and be persuaded to give their clubs and districts the tone of conversation recommended from hence.

"A Committee should be appointed to consider and prepare heads of business for the next winter; and in one word, the kingdom should be kept warm and the

chiefs attentive and laborious during the recess. Sir William Baker should be desired to put the city in motion, both as an example to other counties, and as an attack nearest home. 1764.

"Your Grace will perhaps say that this is mighty well; but reconciliations with Lord Bute and Lord Holland, and the restoring of harmony between warm and alienated relations are all impossible; and I shall believe it upon your testimony; presuming only to add, that if that be the case, I should apprehend the minority unable, as it now stands, to break the ministry, unwilling to accept the only allies useful and necessary, and itself composed of parts not perfectly united may possibly not much advance, in another session, weakened by the conclusion of the last, perhaps lessened in numbers certainly in public opinion: no General Warrants to arraign; no extraordinary measures, and no ground of debate, but the army, the navy, and the several disputable speculations which may occur about the state of the debt and the condition of public credit.

"I must again beg pardon for taking up so much of your time, but my mind is full both of matter and anxiety. I could not resist the impression, and it is perhaps right I should take an opportunity of saying not only what, but all I think, to your Grace.

"My view in doing it is honest, for I profess I wish to see decision and have long tried to enforce that doctrine. As things now stand the ministry are strong. The minority not in strength or reputation: Lord Bute forced to keep a neutrality at least; and the public grow familiarised to an administration they see so little opposed. Mr. Legge, I fear, will not recover.

1764. Mr. Pitt seems withdrawn into himself, and retired to his family and amusements. Other men act as they did, seldom seen and inexplicit, while the Ministry diligently pick up individuals every day, who see no other prospect, nor hear of any other union. For my own part, I prefer, it is evident, the characters, claims, and interests of those I have voluntarily supported, to those of all other men, and if any hope should remain of success, there is no situation or advantage I would not risque or sacrifice. But, my Lord, it must be a reasonable hope of success, resulting from union, plan, activity and strength. I am far from being in a condition to make even this prudent, after my family disappointments, and the little favour I have ever met with from former administrations, but there is nothing I would not do to support those I prefer, upon a system which has in it any evidence of real concert, consistent plan, and the solid grounds of strength.

"I have now suggested the means which have occurred to me, but I am as open to consider any other, and only dread the loss of more time in more broken consultations, imperfect plans, and undecisive seasons. Let me add that the generous manner in which Mr. Pitt behaved to the whole party last year, his name, his weight, his talents, all make his concurrence a necessary part of any union, and I should very much fear any plan would be found ineffectual which had not both the lustre of Mr. Pitt's accession to it, and the declared and active support of Lord Hardwicke's family, few men in the country being equal to Mr. Yorke in that importance, which, thank God, still results from abilities, integrity, and independence."

It will be remembered,* that in the early part of his life Pitt had received the unexpected legacy of £10,000 from the old Duchess of Marlborough. Early in 1765, Sir William Pynsent, a Somersetshire baronet, died and left his whole fortune (in real and personal estates said to be worth at that time above £40,000,) to Pitt, to whom he was in no ways related and whom he had never seen. Admiration for Pitt's general public conduct, but especially for his opposition to the legality of General Warrants, seems to have been the cause of the bequest. 1765.

" Fortune, (Lyttelton wrote to his restored friend) " comes to you in the only manner in which you would give her a hearty welcome ; she is brought by virtue, and attended by honour. I most heartily congratulate Lady Chatham, Miss Pitt, and your young family on the agreeable method Sir William Pynsent has found of expressing the sense of the public, and what is at this time the best act of patriotism, helping to pay the public debt."

On the 7th of February Mr. Grenville brought forward his fifty-five resolutions, afterwards incorporated into an Act of Parliament, for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the colonies in America as were payable in England.

They were carried by a majority of 245 against 49, and scarcely noticed by the opposition except by a very eloquent invective of Colonel Barré, which is the only fragment of the debate preserved. That he inveighed against it seems certain, but that he uttered at

* See above, p. 233.

1765. the time the invective ascribed to him, seems doubtful. Burke, who sat under the gallery, said, that he "never heard a more languid debate." It is well said by Walpole (in the recently published memoirs of George the Third) with reference to this memorable Stamp Act—"It removed the burden of a tax to distant shoulders and the most momentous acts are seldom much discussed when no immediate interest occurs to oppose them." Probably Mr. Grenville's Act only hastened the inevitable tendency of these colonies to emancipation from the mother country, they had been long overlooked and neglected, and the recent conquest of Canada, freeing them from the apprehension of French aggression, rendered British protection no longer necessary.

It is a curious trait of Walpole that he shrunk with instinctive sagacity from the suggestion that he might derive a revenue from taxing these colonies.

Lyttelton wrote to the Governor on new year's day.

"London, Jan. 1, 1765.

"I am much pleased with the conversation of your friend, Mr. Ford, especially as I learn so authentically from him into how good a state you have brought the affairs of your government. I find you are now as popular in Jamaica as you were in Carolina; a great atchievement, my dear brother, considering the tempers you had to deal with, and their long habits of anarchy and insolence to their governors! The subduing faction *there* is an exploit as much harder than your triumph over it in Carolina, as the labour of Hercules in

subduing the Hydra was beyond his killing the snakes 1765.
that attackt him in his cradle. I congratulate you on your victory and the happy peace that has followed it, which I heartily wish may be lasting. After you have enjoyed it some time, you shall come over to England and teach our ministry here, who want a little teaching the art of suppressing faction, and establishing tranquillity. Since I wrote last no alteration has taken place in the political scene, except that Mr. Charles Yorke has accepted of a patent of precedence between the Attorney and Solicitor-General, that he might shew a willingness to receive a favour from the King, and go on more agreeably in the line of his profession. He did not choose to be Attorney-General again, as he was much pressed to be: but took this feather instead of it, for which he is much blamed by those against the Court, and not much praised by the Court. Time will shew whether he is nearer by it to any great object. As for me, I am just in *statu quo*, and had rather remain so, till I see such measures taken as I think will strengthen this country, both at home and abroad, much more than the present system appears to me to do it, in this perilous crisis.

"My son is in France, where I believe he will stay till about the beginning of April. His match is off. If you ask the reason, I can give it you in no better words than those of Rochefoucault, who says that, "*une femme est un benefice qui oblige a la residence.*" A happy new year and many, to you and yours, my dear Governor. I have the pleasure to hear my lady governess as much praised as you for the good example

1765. she sets to the ladies of Jamaica, in all domestic virtues and for the amiableness of her behaviour, which makes her a useful helpmate to you in your government. God bless you both, and your several little ones, whom I long to see and to love. I am, ever most cordially,

" your very affectionate brother,

" LYTTELTON."

The Session had not far advanced before the King was attacked by an alarming illness, the precursor of that which clouded the latter years of his life, though believed at the time to be of a consumptive character. In his next letter* to his brother, Lyttelton wishes him joy on the birth of a son, laments the dissipation, extravagance, and gaming of his own son in Italy; consoling himself, however, by remarking, that " by his letters it appears that there is a great energy and force in his understanding; and as his faults are only those of most of our young travellers, I hope his return into England and cool reflection on the mischief of his past follies will enable his reason to get the better of any recent ill habits contracted by him abroad, and that the natural goodness of his heart will give a right turn to the vivacity of his passions. But I need not tell you that anxiety for fear it should happen otherwise, has taken away much of the pleasure of my life. However my health remains (God be thanked) pretty good, and when I compare it with that of other men of my age, I find no cause to complain. * * *

" I have heard with surprize of the late extravagant behaviour of your Jamaica Assembly, which has

* Written March 11.

disturbed the good harmony that seemed before so well established between your Excellency and them; but I can have the pleasure to assure you that all their countrymen here, Beckford, Fuller, &c. are clearly against them and approve of your conduct; so I hope that the receipt of letters from England will bring them to their senses. 1765.

"No alteration has happened in the political world since I wrote to you last, but God be praised, the King, who has been very ill of a fever and inflammation of the lungs, is now well recovered. His health is not so firm as the great importance of it to the nation would make one wish it to be; but it may be hoped that the ill effects he has lately experienced from colds will produce more caution for the future." * * *

The King, immediately on his recovery, compelled his Ministers to introduce into Parliament a Regency Bill, which was to vest in him the power of appointing from time to time, by instruments under his sign manual, either the Queen or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of his successor, and Regent of the kingdom, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like restrictions. In an act passed in the twenty-fourth year of George the Second, a power had been granted to the late King to add, by his will, four persons to the Regent's Council; but to grant the secret nomination of the Regent himself, was a great additional concession to the Crown.

As no speech of the debate in the House of Lords on this important constitutional question has ever

1765. been printed, I am tempted to insert in this place the arguments urged by Lyttelton on this occasion; they are printed from the MSS. in his own handwriting.

"My Lords,

"It is with the utmost reluctance, and the deepest concern I ever felt in the discharge of any publick duty, that I find myself obliged to express to your Lordships my disapprobation of one very material part of this Bill, which is now under your consideration. I do not object to the principle of the Bill. On the contrary, it appears to me a fresh instance of his Majesty's royal goodness and tender care of the publick, that he has called upon us to make an early provision, as much as possible to alleviate the greatest misfortune that might befall his Royall family or the people he governs. God be thankt that his age, and the present state of his health, render it very improbable that such a misfortune should happen: but the chance of a Minority is a natural evil, incident to all kingdoms; and how to guard against the dangers, which always threaten a state in that situation, so far as human prudence can guard against them, by wise and timely precautions, is a capital object of policy, the neglect of which, or not doing it in a proper manner, which may be worse than neglect, has been fatal to nations. My Lords, in taking such precautions, the first and greatest care of a wise government ought to be, that it may be done in a manner conformable to the spirit and general principles of the Constitution. This indeed is a requisite without which nothing salutary, nothing good can be done; and in this requisite I must think this Bill defective.

"My Lords, the main pillar, the corner house, upon which the whole system of our Government rests, is this great maxim, that in all matters of high concernment to the general weal of the kingdom, not belonging to any branch of the Royall prerogative, the will of the Sovereign does not act alone, but in conjunction with the opinion and advice of his Parliament. This, I say, is the basis of our whole Constitution: and so far shall we depart from it, if this Bill should pass, that in a point of the highest moment to the safety of the publick—nothing less than a delegation of the Royall authority, possibly for a long time,—no advice can be given, no opinion or judgment can be formed by the Parliament, because no knowledge is or will be vouchsafed to them, into what hands the King will committ that authority, and another trust, very nearly of equal importance, the guardianship of the successor. He is empowered by this Bill to confer both these trusts, either on the Queen, or any other person of the Royall family usually residing in Great Britain, according to his own secret pleasure, uncommunicated to Parliament, and changeable as often as he shall think proper. 1765.

"My Lords, I am as sensible as any Lord in this House, that no Prince has ever merited the confidence of his people in a higher degree, or would make a better use of it in its utmost extent, than our present gracious Sovereign. It is my desire to put all trust in his Majesty, which the Constitution has put in any King: but *that* must be the limitation of our confidence in this House: otherwise, where would it stop?

1765. If our opinion of his virtues were to be the measure of it, it would be unbounded: but it must have those bounds the Constitution prescribes: for the virtues of a King die with him; but the liberty of this nation will, I hope, be immortal.

"My Lords, I beg to know on what precedent this concession is founded. In all the annals of our history I can find nothing like it, nothing in the least approaching towards it, except, perhaps, in one reign, which I have too much respect for the present Government, and for the present Legislature, even to name to your Lordships as an authority or example. In the first message that preceded the last Regency Bill (the best precedent that we can look to), the King named to his Parliament a Regent of the kingdom and guardian to his successor, which nomination was received with universal satisfaction. But how can the people be satisfied with a settlement, which leaves their greatest interests under the greatest uncertainty? Or what foundation can it be for publick tranquillity, that, to take care of the Royall family, to take care of the nation in the most perilous circumstances, somebody will be appointed, but no man can tell who?

"If His Majesty had been pleased to nominate at this time a Regent and a guardian, as his Royall grandfather did, with what respect the authority of that nomination would have been received by his Parliament, I need not say. A choice made by him would incontestibly be the choice of his perfect understanding: but there is a time when human wisdom yields to human infirmity; when nature sinks on a deathbed: and we are desired by a most unaccountable

policy to give our consent, that acts of the highest im- 1765.
portance to the safety of the State may finally be determined in that hour of weakness, without even a possibility of any assistance from the wisdom of Parliament, which can no more be consulted, with relation to this matter, after this Bill has been past.

" My Lords, this is a great deviation from the plan of policy laid down in the last Regency Bill; a plan formed by the greatest Lawyer and one of the wisest Statesmen that ever sat in this House, not merely to answer a present expediency, but as establishing principles proper and right in all times, when the state of the Royall family would allow them to be followed. In that Bill a just regard was decently and prudently paid to the honour of Parliament: we were not compelled to act *blindfold:* we saw, we approved, we confirmed. Now we are required to approve and confirm without seeing: we are required to give up to one part of the Legislature the power of the whole: we are required to forget that the Crown called us hither as the Great Council of the nation, to consult and to deliberate on the arduous affairs of the kingdom, not to vest in the King alone that discretion and that judgment, which the Constitution of our country has committed to us in conjunction with him.

" My Lords, to what end is this done? If a Regent and guardian, nominated by the King and confirmed by the Parliament, should happen to die before him, what difficulty would there be in His Majesty's coming again to his Parliament and nominating another? Are we afraid that the good affection between him and his Parliament should be lessened by time? I hope it

1765. will be increased; I trust in his royall virtues and the grateful loyalty of his people that it will never diminish: but I must say that the advisers of this extraordinary measure have not taken the best method to promote or maintain it.

" Need I shew to your Lordships the danger of the precedent you are going to establish? Unconstitutional powers once given can never again be resumed. They are given at first to the most deserving of Princes: they will be afterwards claimed by the most undeserving; and the better the times are when the precedent is made, the more irresistible will it be.

" Reflect, my Lords, upon the nature and extent of this power. Reflect, that the providing for the safety of the State, in the exigence of a Minority, by a proper choice of a Regent, is a right so constitutionally inherent in Parliament, that, after the decease of King Henry the Fifth, they did not scruple to exercise it in direct contradiction to an appointment of the King; that appointment having been made without their knowledge; though made by a Prince the most beloved and respected, and in favour of another very popular in the nation. Indeed, my Lords, next to the appointment of a successor, the greatest power that can be exercised by King and Parliament joined, is the appointing of a Regent: nor is there any other in which the interest of the people is so deeply concerned; or in which their representatives, and your Lordships, whose interests are inseparable from their's, are bound to proceed with a more perfect knowledge, or with a more deliberate caution.

" Upon the whole, I am satisfied, that it would be

a less evil not to make any settlement of a Regency now, upon the distant prospect of a contingency which I trust in God will not happen, than to do it in this manner, which is in reality unsettling the whole Constitution. It is desiring the Parliament to put out their own eyes where they ought to see clearest: it is making a precedent so injurious to the dignity of the peerage and both Houses of Parliament, that it must lessen the estimation of them in the thoughts of all Europe: and it may be introductive of much confusion and discord, instead of answering the good end which His Majesty has in view, the establishing of universal concord and union, which are the best guards to the Throne and to the happiness of a people in the infancy of a King. Could I possibly see this Bill, as it is modelled at present, in a different light; could I believe that it tended in any degree to allay the fears of a nation if any accident should endanger His Majesty's health, or that it did not essentially hurt the Constitution, no man would be more zealous for it than I: but, seeing it as I do, I must violate my duty both to the King and the publick, if I did not declare my dislike of it, and beg your Lordships to consider, with your most serious thoughts, what the consequences may be of so unnecessarily making such a compliment to the Crown. At the same time I would use my utmost endeavours to reconcile that respect, which I feel for the motives and purposes of this Bill, with the principles upon which my opposition is founded; and to secure to the nation that benefit from it which I am persuaded His Majesty intends to give them; to which end I beg leave to make your Lordships the following motion:— 1765.

1765. "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, &c.

"I have no copy of this address; but the purport of it was to desire the King to name a Regent of the kingdom and guardian of the successor.

"It being objected that the proper time for considering this Address would be after the question for committing the Bill, and the debate upon the question having continued till the evening, the consideration of the Address was postponed till the next morning, when I opened the debate in the following words, (to the best of my recollection):—

"My Lords,

"After the candour and indulgence with which your Lordships were pleased to hear me yesterday on this subject, I will not trespass very long upon your patience to-day, but shall only beg leave to recall to your remembrance, on what principle the humble Address to His Majesty, which you are now to consider, is founded. That principle is, that the power of appointing a guardian of the successor and a Regent of the kingdom, in the case of a Minority, being of the highest importance to the safety of the State, and not belonging to any branch of the Royall prerogative, it ought not to be exercised by the King alone, but in conjunction with the opinion and advice of his Parliament; which opinion and advice the Parliament cannot give under a total uncertainty, on what person the inclination and choice of the King may conferr those arduous trusts. In the natural order of things, as well as by the practice established here, it belongs to the King to nominate such a guardian, to nomi-

nate such a Regent; and it belongs to the Parliament to give him faithfull counsel upon that nomination. Their respect for him will incline them to approve his choice; but their respect for themselves, and the duty they owe to their country, will forbid them to approve what they are no way informed of—will forbid them to judge and confirm without knowledge. It is the genius and principle of our Constitution, that all great acts of Government regarding the internal peace of the kingdom and the well-being of the people, should be open and manifest; not concealed in the obscurity and secresy of a closet, not hid under the cover of instruments sealed up, but publick, apparent, and solemn: to the intent that the Ministers and counsellors of the Crown may be responsible for it, if anything wrong should be done. There are some circumstances under which the best may err; but a wise King, who fixes the publick safety and felicity upon his own judgment assisted by that of his Parliament, fixes them on a rock; and whoever advises him, in a matter of great moment, to deprive himself of the benefit of that united wisdom, gives him bad counsel. 1765.

"It has been said indeed, that the power given by the Bill which was yesterday under your consideration, is nothing more than a trust committed to the King for the benefitt of his children: but allow me to say, it is a trust in which the nation is deeply concerned; and if the reasoning be just, that the tenderness of a father is sufficent security against any improper use of that trust, that reasoning, my Lords, will go very far. Whatever is good for the state is good for the successor; whatever hurts the state consequentially hurts him: shall, therefore, absolute power in all acts

1765. of state be committed to the King, upon a presumption that a father will do nothing to hurt the true interest of his child? Very different is the reasoning of the English Constitution—that Constitution supposes a King to be fallible, and not mpted from the influence of passions or of counsels. It supposes that the counsels to which he can best and most safely trust, are those of his Parliament. It requires him to consult and advise with his Parliament in all affairs of great consequence, not immediately belonging to his Royall prerogative. It trusts the Legislature and the Great Council of the kingdom with all the interests of the Kingdom; but it restrains them from committing that trust to the Crown.

"These, my Lords, are the foundations of the motion now under your consideration: a motion calculated, if possible, to produce unanimity in this important affair. There is nothing I so much desire to see as union in the Royall family, and union in the Kingdom. It is necessary for us even in our present circumstances;—and we are not out of reach of such events as would make it still more necessary, as would make it the only means of salvation to the State. But union never was founded, and never will be founded, on the basis of uncertainty, or on a delegation of power repugnant to all the principles of our excellent Constitution, and introductive of a precedent very dangerous to the freedom and honour of Parliament, the great bulwark of all liberty, and the great guard against all abuse of power.

"My Lords, I say this once for all. I say it now, that it may not be necessary for me to come again to

the House, upon other occasions of a similar nature, merely in order to say it. I am not very fond of unnecessarily repeating *political creeds*. I had rather that my actions should speak my sense than my words: but yet I don't seek for action when I think it ineffectual to any good purpose: I don't love to blame where I can't see the means to mend: I don't wish to pull down without a hope to build up." 1765.

The utter want of concert in the Ministry and their alienation from the Court were signally displayed during this debate. The Duke of Richmond gave notice of a motion that the persons capable of the Regency should be the Queen, *the Princess Dowager*, and all the descendants of the late King usually resident in England. The Princess's name, originally omitted, was inserted at the suggestion of Horace Walpole, who suspected that Ministers wished to exclude her from the possibility of being Regent, and saw an opportunity of doing mischief. Meanwhile, the judges who had been consulted, declared by the mouth of Chief Justice Pratt, that the Queen was naturalised and capable of being Regent; then, to the surprise of everybody, Lord Hallifax, Secretary of State, intimated the King's wish that the Bill should be recommitted, and himself made the Duke of Richmond's motion, *but leaving out the Princess Dowager's name*. Lord Bute's friends were thunderstruck, and the Duke of Bedford (it is said) danced about the House for joy. In the Commons, however, the name was re-inserted by an adherent of the Court, and not opposed by Mr. Grenville. It was believed that the King had been sur-

1765. prised into this affront upon his mother; certain it is, that the event determined him to get rid of his ministers. It is the strongest possible proof of the vast personal influence of Pitt, that it seemed universally admitted to be impossible to form any administration to which he did not lend the magic of his name, in fact, of which he was not the head.*

The following letter from Lyttelton to his brother, contains the history of the transactions which ended in the formation of the Rockingham ministry, and from this narrative, as well as from the published memoirs of this time, the high estimation in which Lyttelton's abilities were held, and the unswerving integrity of his character may be fairly deduced.

"London, July 28th, 1765.

"My dear Governour,

"Since I wrote to you last, I have had two letters from your Excellency, dated in January and March, 1765. * * * * * *

* "Nothing, (writes Burke to Flood) but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt, can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together, and this crisis will shew whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured that he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he may choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to every friend he has in the world, and with such a stretch of power as will be equal to everything but absolute despotism over the King and kingdom. A few days will shew whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, excluded from all ministerial, and incapable of all parliamentary service, for his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may disable him more than his gout."—Burke's Corresp. vol. i. p. 80.

It would be impossible for me to give you a full account of the late transactions with regard to the Administration within the compass of a letter; but a short sketch of them you shall have as follows. Notwithstanding the merit which the late Ministry thought they had with the King by a compliance with his pleasure in the Regency Bill, and by carrying all his other business through both Houses of Parliament with very little difficulty; and though in the great department of the Treasury, Mr. G. Grenville had given a pretty general satisfaction, and gained some reputation, yet the illwill of Lord Bute to him and others of the Cabinet, but more especially to the Duke of Bedford, and something disagreeable in their manner and behaviour to His Majesty had so alienated him from them, that a little before the close of the Session, he determined to part with them. The first step to the execution of this design was a reconciliation between him and his uncle the Duke of Cumberland which Lord Bute advised and effected. The next was, that his Royal Highness was sent to Hayes to acquaint Mr. Pitt, that His Majesty had resolved to dismiss his principal Ministers, (which had been signified to them the day before) and desired him to come in as Secretary of State, and Lord Temple as President of the Council, with Lord Northumberland as First Commissioner of the Treasury, the Duke of Newcastle as Lord Privy Seal, and Charles Townshend, as the other Secretary of State. This was firmly rejected by Pitt and Temple; the consequence of which was, that another Administration was to be formed without delay; or those who knew the King's 1765.

1765. intention to displace them must have continued in their offices against his will. In this emergency I was sent for by the Duke of Newcastle, and told by his Grace, that he had advised the Duke of Cumberland to mention me to His Majesty as the fittest person to be put at the head of the Treasury; that the Duke had done so, and the King had very readily and willingly approved of the choice. My answer was negative, but soon afterwards I was sent for by the Duke himself, who said "it was necessary, that *the King's standard should be set up*, and that he and the King were persuaded there was no man in England under whom there would be so general a resort to that standard as there would be under me." I exprest a proper sense of the great honour done to me in this opinion, but declined to accept the Treasury, which he offered. He prest me to take it in the strongest and warmest terms: said my duty and my loyalty to the King required it; that his authority was insulted, and his person ill-used; mentioned the danger of popular insurrections, which the weavers had begun in the capital, on the House of Lords having thrown out a Bill to encourage their manufacture by greater restraints on the importation of foreign silks; and added, that in such circumstances the King must have a Government, and not a moment could be lost, especially as Lord Sandwich had said in the House of Lords, that whoever advised the King to turn out the Duke of Bedford, in that state of things, was an enemy to his country, as it would have the appearance of making him a victim to the fury of the mob, who had attempted

to murder him and to pull down his house.* It would be too long to tell you all I said in answer to this, but the result of it was, that in so unsettled and dangerous a state of the nation at home and abroad, I could not hope to do the King the service he seemed to expect from me in any system of Ministry that could possibly be formed without Mr. Pitt. That I was certain Lord Temple's being at the head of the Treasury was a necessary circumstance to Mr. Pitt's satisfaction in any office, and that I did not despair, if his Royal Highness would empower me to renew the negociation with an offer from the King of that place to Lord Temple, of bringing his Lordship to accept it, and that Pitt might then consent to be Secretary of State, if the King agreed to those measures, which he had declared he would advise, and to such arrangements as might be necessary for His Majesty's service. To this he consented, and I so far succeeded that I prevailed upon Lord Temple to see his Royal Highness; 1765.

* Horace Walpole's account, Mem. of G. III. v. ii. p. 154, is, that "The very day on which the Regency Bill passed, the Lords had another Bill sent from the Commons for imposing as high duties on Italian silks as were paid on those of France; and on this foundation, that the French sent their silks to Genoa and Leghorne, and then entered them there as Italian merchandize. This Bill had passed the Commons with little notice, all attention having been engrossed by the plan of the Regency. When it was read by the Lords, the Duke of Bedford alone spoke against it; nobody said a word for it, and it was thrown out,"—and very wisely, for it was a barbarous project. It happened that at the time many Spitalfield weavers were unemployed, who, of course, looked upon the voters against the Bill as their worst enemies.

1765. but an alarm of a mutiny in the House of Lords, and some umbrage taken at a reconciliation which was just then made between his Lordship and Mr. G. Grenville, with some impatience in the King at the difficulties thrown into the treaty by Pitt and Temple, drove His Majesty back again to his former Ministry, before their final answer was given. Yet so offended was he with some of the conditions which that Ministry* imposed upon him at their return, that as soon as the Parliament rose, he negociated again with Mr. Pitt, and after two conferences with him, agreed so entirely with all he proposed, that Pitt was willing to come in as Secretary of State and Prime Minister, if Lord Temple would consent to be at the head of the Treasury. His Lordship was sent for from Stowe,—saw the King, and refused. He putt his refusal on the difficulty of carrying on business in the House of Commons, as he himself was a Peer, and Mr. Pitt declared, that he could not in the infirm and uncertain state of his health, answer for any attendance on the affairs of that House; to which he added, that he had

* After Lyttelton's refusal, the Duke of Cumberland advised the King to retain his old Ministers. He asked, on what conditions they would remain in office. Mr. Grenville, after a conference with his colleagues, mentioned *five*.

1. That Lord Bute should not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the Government. 2. That Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, that Lord's brother, should be dismissed from the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. 3. That Lord Holland should be deprived of his office of Paymaster of the Forces, which should be held a member of the House of Commons. 4. That the Marquis of Granby should be at the head of the army. 5. That the Government of Ireland should be left to the discretionary arrangement of the Ministry.

tender and delicate reasons, which he did not explain to His Majesty, nor, so far as I can find, to Mr. Pitt. The publick suppose they mean engagements with his brother and with the Duke of Bedford, which he denies. 1765.

"My own opinion is, that he was willing to make a common cause with them against Lord Bute, and wished that in the end his brother might again be brought into the Treasury, but had no present hope or thought of putting him there. He has since talked to some people of a dissatisfaction arising in his mind from what Mr. Pitt had agreed to, of letting Lord Northumberland be made Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie restored to his office of Privy Seal in Scotland, which the former Ministers had deprived him of on their return to the King, though his Majesty then declared, that he thought his honour concerned in continuing him in it, as he had promised not to remove him, when he gave him that office, instead of a patent place, which had been offered to him. Mr. Pitt distinguished between the place itself, and the government or administration of Scotland annexed to it, which he told the King must not be left to the brother of Lord Bute. But Lord Temple said nothing of this matter to the King; nor would he suffer Mr. Pitt to mention it afterwards to His Majesty, as a condition upon which his acceptance would depend, that Lord Northumberland or Mackenzie should not have those places. In a third conference with Pitt, the King prest him to give in without Lord Temple, which he declared he would have done, if his health would

1765. permit him to attend the House of Commons; but, under the incapacity of doing that, he persevered in declining it, though vehemently and repeatedly urged to it by His Majesty. Another administration was, therefore, to be formed. The Duke of Cumberland undertook it, and you will know by the publick papers and other letters from England in what hands it is placed. I was offered the Cabinet with any honourable and lucrative office I pleased, it being supposed that I would not choose an employment of much business, as I had before refused the Treasury. My answer was, that I should have been willing and happy to take part in any arrangement, if Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had been at the head of it; but could not think of it without them. I must here inform you that Mr. Pitt,* with the warm concurrence of Lord Temple, had meant to bring me into the Cabinet in a very high office if their system had taken place, and as honourable mention had been made of me to the King by Mr. Pitt, in one of his audiences, before Lord Temple refused. The present state of things is this—Mr. Pitt is convinced, that if Lord Temple had accepted, the Ministry formed by and under them would have had nothing to fear from Lord Bute; that the King relished the measures, both foreign and domestic,

* See Pitt's letter, dated June 30, 1765, in the 3rd vol. of the Chatham correspondence, in which he considers himself fortunate to have done himself the honour of mentioning as he ought the name of Lord Lyttelton. The *original*, in Pitt's handwriting is before me; there is also a letter from Mr. Conway, from which it appears that he sought Lyttelton's good offices with Pitt on this occasion.

which he had proposed; and that he can never hereafter come in so agreeably to himself or so usefully to the publick, the time being critical with respect to foreign affairs. Nor do I think he will ever co-operate with Lord Temple in any measures of opposition taken by his Lordship, in conjunction with his brother and the Duke of Bedford, or accede to them as a Ministry, though he is reconciled to G. Grenville as a relation. He talks doubtfully of coming to town next winter, but if he does, will support the present administration in all they do conformably to the system and principles he had recommended in his conference with the King. Lord Chief Justice Pratt is made a Peer, and Saunders and Keppel are Lords of the Admiralty, in pursuance of advice which he had given, and with his entire approbation. Yet he declares he had no hand in forming this Ministry, and will by no means be answerable for their sufficiency, or have anything to do in directing their measures. Lord Rockingham, who is at the head of the Treasury, is so infirm in his health, that it hardly seems possible for him to stand an active session of Parliament. One of the Secretaries of State is a very young man, and the other new in the business. In general they want authority, and seem to have no head except the Duke of Cumberland, whose health and life are thought to be very precarious. The desire of Mr. Pitt in the public is inexpressibly strong, and nothing will satisfy them without him. I believe he is also much desired in the Court. When it comes to be thoroughly known and understood that he was perfectly satisfied with the King, and only 1765.

1765. hindered from going in by Lord Temple's refusal, the nation, I fear, will be very angry with his Lordship, and not well pleased that Mr. Pitt did not go in without him. What coolness this difference in their sentiments and conduct at such a critical juncture may produce between them hereafter, or what can be done to bring them to act together, from a conviction that when separate they must act very lamely,—time will show. I did my utmost to bring Temple to get over his difficulties, and not ruin so fair a prospect of good in his country, his family, and his friends; but it was all to no purpose. He is now at Stowe and will be at Hagley about the end of next month. Mr. Pitt is gone to take possession of his Somersetshire estate, and purposes to stay there till about the middle of November. On all this you will make your own reflections; but don't communicate them to me, till you have a very safe hand to convey them to mine.

"I am sorry to find that the madness of your Assembly still continues. If you and the Council can't get the better of them, the King and Parliament must."

* * * * *

It appears from the following letter to Lord Temple that Lyttelton was again pressed to take office under the Rockingham administration.

"Curzon Street, July 11, 1765.

"My dear Lord,

"On Monday last I returned to London, after a week's excursion from it on a party of pleasure, which

I made on purpose to be out of the way of all business. 1765.
But on Tuesday morning, Mr. Conway came to me from the Duke of Cumberland, and pressed me to take a part in the new arrangements.

"My answer was, that I should have been willing and happy to do so, if Mr. Pitt and your Lordship had been at the head of it, but could not think of separating myself from you in any system of administration.

"I went to-day to Hayes where I thought to have found Mr. Pitt and informed him of this transaction; but as he is with your Lordship I must beg you to shew him this letter." * * *

About this time, Governor Lyttelton's wife died; Mr. Grenville, observes in a letter of condolence to Lyttelton, in allusion to the struggles that were then taking place between the Assembly and Governor of Jamaica, "I agree entirely with you that nothing is more likely to have that effect than the difficult scenes of public business in which he is engaged, for however vexatious and anxious they may be, I am fully persuaded that they will end as much to his reputation and honour, and with as much approbation from the King, and from every man of sense in this country, as the first part of this transaction has already done; for I cannot believe that these new-fangled and desperate doctrines,—'that the assemblies in our several colonies have all the same absolute and independent powers in the several provinces, as the Parliament of Great Britain has in this island will find advocates to support them in Council or in Parliament when the fatal consequences of them come to be seriously weighed and well considered,'"

1765. Parliament was assembled on the 17th of December; for the purpose, as the King's Speech alleged, of considering the recent events in America. Lord Hardwicke* moved an address of thanks, expressing "the resolution (of the House) to do everything which the exigency of the case may require." An amendment, couched in language much stronger and more condemnatory, was moved by Lord Suffolk, and supported by Lords Temple, Lyttelton, Graves, Halifax, Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford. Lord Shelburne deprecated the amendment as precluding, upon insufficient information, the possibility of repealing the Stamp Act, and Lord Camden left the House—from both these circumstances it was justly inferred that Pitt was in favour of the repeal. Lord Mansfield besought Ministers to agree to the motion. The Chancellor, Lord Pomfret, and the Duke of Grafton opposed the motion—the amendment was rejected by 80 to 24. The opposition being disappointed of Lord Bute's support, which (says Walpole) they expected in all questions relating to America. The part which Lyttelton took in this debate, has never been printed, but is thus recorded in his own handwriting.

"Speech in the House of Lords on the Debate on the amendment, proposed by Lord Suffolk to the Address, in answer to the King's Speech, Dec. 17, 1765.

* Succeeded as second Earl in 1764, when Lyttelton's friend the Chancellor died.

"My Lords, 1765.

"I make no apology for rising to speak at this late hour—the importance of the matter I am sure will excuse it—the arguments indeed have been exhausted, but the duty of delivering an opinion remains.

"My Lords, so far as I am able to collect the objections made to the amendment which the noble Lord has proposed, I think they all amount to this, that we have no knowledge of what has been done in America: would to God it were true! but to me it appears that we know a great deal too much; so much as to make it our indispensable duty, in common decency to the Crown, from our regard to the Colonies, from our regard to the Government, from our regard to the honour, the dignity, the authority of the whole legislature, not to sit here one day, without expressing to the King our just indignation at those proceedings, without asserting the dependence of the colonies on this kingdom, and without assuring his Majesty of our zeal to support him in maintaining that dependence. For this, my Lords, no papers, no informations are necessary, unless we want to be informed, that an open and violent disobedience to law is an insult upon Government; and that a languid coolness in Parliament, a kind of indifference about the continuance of that disobedience, would be a worse insult. I must, therefore, not only agree to this amendment with my whole heart and soul, but must also lament, with deep concern, the concern of a well-wisher and friend to the Government, that the Crown was not advised to call the Parliament sooner, in order to strengthen his Majesty with their

1765. opinion, their advice, and their support, at so critical a juncture of time, when it was publick and notorious to all the world, that the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies had been denied and resisted; that sovereignty, which consists in their being subjected, not to the authority of the King alone, but of the King and the two other estates of the kingdom in Parliament assembled. If the colonies have been taught, that they are under another constitution of government; and if there be a moral certainty, that the King will not consent to the dismembering of his kingdom, nor the Parliament be disposed to abrogate their own power, the colonies ought to know it without delay: for to them delay may be fatal. But yet, as desirous as I was that the Parliament should be called some time ago, I had infinitely rather that the meeting of it had been still longer deferred, than that this Address should go forth without the Amendment proposed; because I think it would be a most unpardonable failure in our duty to the King; and because, if the Address should go to America as it is now worded, I should not be at all surprised at the people of the colonies conceiving an opinion, that all their proceedings are authorised, or, at least not condemned, by the present sense of this House.

"How to compose the disturbances that have arisen in those parts, especially now that they have gone so far, I am sensible is a work of no little difficulty. But I have too good an opinion of the wisdom of Government to suppose that it can find no better expedients to get over a difficulty than by sacrificing rights of the highest importance.

Other expedients must be found, and a higher policy followed, in the present state of this nation, or all, I am sure, will go to wreck. We have many difficulties to contend with, and many rights to maintain. The eyes of Europe are upon us: if they see us bend in this point, where our sovereignty is concerned, the same flexibility will be expected in others of a more disputable nature. If we are afraid to maintain the inherent rights of our kingdom, essential, unalienable, indefeasible rights, against our own rebellious subjects, how shall we dare to support more ambiguous claims against foreign powers? Such a symptom of weakness appearing in the Government, would be an encouragement to our enemies to raise their demands, and to be obstinate in resisting ours. Here, therefore, we must make our stand; the authority of the legislature must be supported: but by what means to do this; what is wisest, what is safest, what is practicable in such nice and perilous circumstances, requires more information than we can have at this time. I wish that we had sooner been called hither to receive it! The delay may be productive of many and great evils: but receive it we must, before we can presume to give an opinion, beyond asserting the right which the colonies have disputed by acts against their allegiance. Only this I will say, that, whatsoever we do, we ought always to consider the people of those colonies, as the children of Great Britain. Parental tenderness pleads even for undutiful children: but that tenderness would be weakness; it would defeat its own purpose, if it were indulged to the destruction of the parental autho- 1765.

1765. rity. The law of nature has placed that authority in the parent for the benefit of the children. It is not in his power, if he would, to give it up; because it is not in his power to destroy the relation upon which it is founded.

"My Lords, if our colonies think they are contending for liberty, they would do well to consider that all liberty in this nation is secured by the constant protection of Parliament. There is no other power which can effectually guard it at all times, and in all places, against oppression: the Provincial Assemblies, I am certain, cannot. But, by withdrawing themselves from the power of Parliament, they necessarily lose its protection. Obedience and protection must go together.

"My Lords, when the law we made the last session, relating to America, was depending in this House, where it past without a single dissentient vote, I had much talk on the subject of it with the noble Lord who spoke last; and as I then had the happiness to find my judgment on the principle of that bill, and the right asserted in it, confirmed by his, so I must now agree with him, that, if there had been any doubts concerning that right, the time to debate it was then, before the honour of the Legislature was so much engaged to support it, as it is at present. I likewise feel with great pain, that the nature of the opposition made to that Act renders it vastly more difficult to shew that temper of conciliation, that desire of agreement where discord is so hurtful, which would otherwise be thought right, by every sober and dispassionate man in this kingdom, to whom the real state of it is not unknown.

But still, my Lords, in all circumstances, however perplexing, you have a great rule to guide you, *salus populi suprema lex esto.* The wisdom of this House, upon due and full information, when such information shall be given, will I doubt not take those measures that the publick safety requires. But the foundation of such measures, that which is necessary to give them the proper force and effect, must be an immediate and express assertion of that great and fundamental right, on which all your authority, all your power depends. 1766.

"In the other parts of this Address I most heartily concur. The domestick happiness of his Majesty, and the increase of his royal family, are sensible blessings to his people; and the loss which he has lately sustained in his family, is a grievous one to the kingdom."

When Parliament met on the 14th of January, Government had resolved to repeal the Stamp Act, and to pass at the same time an Act declaratory of the supreme authority of Great Britain. This measure* Pitt advocated in the Commons, while in the Lords, Temple and Lyttelton acted in concert with Mr. Grenville, speaking strongly in debate, and signing two protests against the five resolutions which embodied it, and were submitted to Parliament. As there is no other report of this very important debate, except the valuable notes of Lord Hardwicke, printed in the Parliamentary History, I insert in this place the elaborate and careful speech which Lyttelton delivered on this occasion, in which the abstract right of taxing the

* The debate was memorable not only for Pitt's eloquence, but for Burke's first speech in Parliament.

1766. colonies, is clearly and forcibly urged; it is preserved in his own hand-writing.

"Speech on the Tumult occasioned in the North American Colonies by the Act of Parliament imposing a Stamp Duty, anno 1766.

"My Lords,

"I entirely agree with the noble Earl who spoke last in wishing that this question had never been agitated. It never should have been agitated, being already decided by the law of the land, and by powers inherent in the Legislature itself. But it has been agitated in our North American colonies: our right has there been disputed, and the sovereignty of Great Britain insulted, which brings the consideration of it before this House. In giving your Lordships my thoughts on so important a subject, I am under a difficulty, which I never before was under in Parliament, and probably never shall again. When I consider the question on which we are debating, the proposition appears to me so undeniably clear, so incapable of admitting any reserve or exception, that, in speaking to support it, I must tire your Lordships with repeating the most obvious and self-evident truths, which the general sense of mankind, in all age and all nations, has acknowledged and confirmed. But, when I consider the great parts, the great knowledge, the great authority of some from whom I differ, it makes me doubt my own reason, and apprehend that there must be something most profoundly mysterious at the bottom of the question, which my under-

standing can't fathom. This, my Lords, is perplexing: 1766.
and if their authority can have such an effect upon me, what it may have upon our North American colonies, where the passions of men correspond and sympathise with it, I tremble to think! But I hope they will hear, that there is likewise great authority against their opinions; and the greatest of all, the authority of this House. For my own part, I am sensible of my inability, by any thing I can say, to add to that conviction, which the first stating of the question must naturally produce; but, as I think that to be silent upon such an occasion is hardly consistent with duty, I beg leave to set before your Lordships a few general principles, not of party, or faction, which I most heartily join with the noble Duke in detesting, but of policy and government; which no statesman, which no lawyer has ever yet contradicted, and by which, without entering into any refinements, or (to use the words of the noble Earl) *any little litigious arguments*, this great dispute may be properly and clearly determined.

"The first foundation of all government, and of all Legislature, I understand to be this, that mankind, in a state of civil society, has, *ipso facto*, by entering into that state, and by what may be justly called *the Original Compact*, entrusted to Government a right over their property, a right over their liberty, and a right over their persons, for the safety, and for the benefit of the whole common weal. From hence arises that power, which is claimed and used by all governments in their legislative capacity, to lay taxes of all kinds on

1766. all their subjects; to restrain them by coercive and prohibitory laws from many natural rights, to compel them to expose their persons to dangers, which they would wish to avoid; and to inflict upon them pains and penalties, extending even to the loss of life itself, for certain offences, which in a state of nature would be no offences at all. With what forms, and by what persons, this power is to be exercised, depends entirely upon the laws and constitution of government in each particular country; but when those laws have been made, when that constitution is settled, every act of legislation, past according to the rules which the constitution prescribes, is the act of the whole community past in all its several members, which no part of that community, however situated or circumstanced, can be exempt from obeying (when required so to do) upon any pretence whatsoever: because there cannot be two rights, contradictory to each other, and co-existing together in the same state, a right in the Government to make laws for the people, and a right in the people, or any part of the people, to disobey or control them. The least breach that is made in the legislative authority destroys the whole. It is like a breach in a dyke raised to keep out the sea, which, if not instantly stopt, demolishes the whole fence, and opens the way to a fatal destructive inundation.

"Another great fundamental principle of policy is, that there ought never to be *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state: but in all Governments, whether monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies, or all the three

mixed together, there must be always one supreme 1766.
and sovereign Legislature, the power and authority of which within the bounds of the state, not acting repugnantly to the divine laws which transcend all human authority, cannot be fettered or confined by any limitations, unless we suppose an entire dissolution of Government; I say, my Lords, unless we suppose a dissolution of all Government: because I do hold it possible, though the supposition is odious and hardly fit to be made, that the Legislature itself may so essentially violate the trust reposed in it, as to produce an entire dissolution of Government: but without such a dissolution, I repeat it again, the power and authority of any supreme legislature, not acting repugnantly to the divine laws, cannot be fettered or confined by any limitations within the compass of that state to which it belongs. On the acknowledgement of this truth, without any subtle distinctions, depends the whole peace and order of society. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the existence of local inferior legislatures, which every country that has colonies, or even great corporations within itself, must necessarily admit of, with greater or lesser powers, as conveniency may require; but yet subject in all places to the superior authority of the national legislature, active as well as coercive; because otherwise these would be *imperia in imperio*, and break the unity of the whole political system. That our colonies were not freed, by the change of their situation, or the establishment of their local subordinate legislatures from the dominion of ours, the many statutes made to bind them, from

1766. the time of their first settlement, incontestably prove. And how, my Lords, I beg to know, could it possibly have been otherwise in the nature and reason of things? They went out of this country the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain; and unless they can show a new covenant, any *pacta conventa*, by which the King and the Parliament (for the King alone could not do it) have agreed to renounce their sovereignty over them, either in the whole or part, they must remain subject to it by all the most indissoluble bonds of allegiance: for the allegiance of a Briton is to the King in his Parliament, and their united authority, much more absolute than it is to the King in his palace, or in his Privy Council. What he does in those places may be overruled by his Parliament; but what he does in his Parliament nothing can overrule, till the realm itself is destroyed. The *pacta conventa* between Great Britain and her colonies, so far as any appear, are clear and strong the other way; and where none appear, the implied compact leaves them just upon the foot of other British subjects, under the laws of their country, and under that form of legislature and government, which those laws have established. They complain indeed, that by laying internal taxes upon them we deprive them of the right granted to them by their charter, to tax themselves: but this complaint is unfounded. For how, my Lords, does it follow, that using our right is taking away theirs? They will remain in full enjoyment of that local authority, given to them by the Crown, by which they are empowered to make laws and bye-laws in their pro-

vincial Assemblies, for the local purposes of each province; though we occasionally exercise that higher authority, which the Constitution gives us, for the general benefit of the whole, at such times and in such manner as the wisdom of Parliament shall direct. The fallacy lies in supposing that the local authority was given by the Crown *exclusive of the other*, which in fact is not true, and in theory is absurd; as it would imply, that one branch of a mixed legislature, consisting of three estates, can give away or annihilate the power of the whole. 1766.

"My Lords, the last principle I beg leave to recall to your memory, is that general maxim of our Government, and indeed of every free Government, that no subject is bound by any laws whatsoever, to which he has not either personally or virtually consented. I say, my Lords, is not bound by any laws whatsoever; for, till this controversy began with our American colonies, what freeman ever said, what freeman ever imagined, that his life, his liberty, or his honour, may be justly taken from him by virtue of laws made without his consent, but his property cannot: or, what is still much more unaccountable, that one species of his property alone is sacred, and all the rest lies at mercy? What a vision is this, that gilds only one portion of British property in America with the sunshine of liberty, and leaves the rest in utter darkness! The British liberty extends, from the centre of the system, its equal beams to all parts; it pervades, it enlightens, it cherishes the whole without distinction. But we are now desired to create a new Government,

1766. for our colonies, nine-tenths of which are composed of absolute tyranny, subjecting them to the rigour of many grievous restraints, and laying upon them the burthen of several impositions, by the authority of laws, to which, according to the tenets of this new invented doctrine, they have no way consented. And this, my Lords, has been called, *giving liberty to the colonies!* A precious liberty indeed! but I will venture to prophesy, that if you don't very much enlarge your gift, they will not thank you for it. They tell us, that not being properly or conveniently represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, they cannot submit to the Stamp Act past here the last session, without the loss of their freedom.—But if this reasoning be good, it extends to all taxes, it extends to all laws. Nor is it possible to conceive that the North American merchants, who feel themselves crampt in their trade by the Act of Navigation, and many other statutes, which from time to time have been made on the policy of that Act, will not apply the same argument, if they find that attention is given to it here, to get rid of those fetters, but confine their liberty to the narrow imaginary line of *internal taxation*, instead of making their claim of exemption co-extensive with the universality of the reason upon which it is founded?

That they already set at nought this chimerical limitation is sufficiently proved by the papers that are now on your table, by some of their own declarations, and by the testimony of those who know them best. Governor Colden, who has lived the longest among them, says in his letter to Mr. Secretary Conway, of

the 7th of November, 1765,—"*People in general are averse to taxes of any kind. The merchants in this place think they have a right to every freedom of trade which the subjects of Great Britain enjoy.*" 1766.

"And their great champion, Mr. Otis, whose book they have adopted as the best exposition of their rights, disclaims and derides the distinction between internal and external, or commercial, taxes. Since he published that book they have honoured him with a trust of the highest dignity and importance; they have made him a deputy to the Assembly of their *States General.* His authority therefore is most weighty to prove their intentions. They do not indeed all speak exactly the same language in their publick declarations: some are more cautious and more reserved than others: but the apparent object, to which all their reasoning tends, is to erect their assemblies into full and compleat Parliaments, independent of ours: and so far they are right, that if the principle be admitted that their consent is not virtually included in the acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, as much as that of many millions of their countrymen here, who have no votes in elections, every act of that Parliament, by which they are affected, equally injures their freedom. We may weave our web of policy very subtle and fine; but it is too fine to hold them. They will surely break through it, and their deliverance from all those commercial restrictions, which are so galling to them, and so necessary for us, will be no remote consequence of our having given way to them in this first attempt, which should rather be considered as the beginning

1766. than as the sum of their demands. But, to put our dispute on its true and proper foundation, there is only one point to be discusst. Are they a part of the dominions of the Crown of Great Britain? If they are not, their resistance to an unlawful authority is undoubtedly lawful. We have exceeded the bounds of our proper jurisdiction, and not only the Stamp Act, but every other law relating to our colonies, from their first migration to this day, is null and void. But, if they are, as many statutes have declared them to be, and no man has yet denied, a part of the British dominions, they must then be proper objects of the British Legislature without reserve or exception. By declaring them exempt from the authority of one law, we should exempt them from the authority of the whole Legislature, which is cutting them off from the body of the State. They would no longer be subjects of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain; they would be aliens; they would be small independent communities, not entitled in any danger to demand our protection, and not liable in any case to be controlled by our power. What friend to Great Britain, or what friend to our colonies, would wish to see this separation? And yet, my Lords, this dissevering, this dismembering of our empire, calamitous as it must be to us and to them, would not be the worst evil that must attend any cession or relaxation of our right in a contest of this nature. If Parliament once should allow, or by any act of timidity encourage an opinion, that the private judgments of subjects, their speculative notions concerning the nature of representation, or the

original inherent rights of the people, are the rule and measure of their obedience to laws, and can supersede the authority of the whole legislature, there is an end of all government. Every man will invent a Constitution for himself: we shall have many legislatures, controlling that of the Parliament, in the several clubs of this city; we shall have Solons and Lycurguses in every coffee-house, in every tavern, and in every gin-shop. Things are tending to anarchy. It is already begun in our North American colonies; but I fear it will not end there. The seeds of it are scattered over many other parts of the British dominions. It imports your Lordships to check the hasty growth of those seeds, while it is yet in your power. Whoever may gain by the harvest, when it shall come to maturity, you I am sure have much to lose. The weight of taxes lies heavy on many people in this island who have no other share in electing Members of Parliament, and who may willingly learn from their brethren in America, that not being represented they ought not to be taxed. 1766.

"A right in all men to a state of perfect equality indefeasible by the tone of any civil institutions, and the inadmissible dominion of the many over the few, have within these few days been publickly asserted in printed papers. From principles of this sort an easy inference may be drawn by the unruly populace of this city, that it is contrary to the natural rights of mankind for one man to be a lord and another a mechanic; for one man to enjoy great wealth with ease, and for another to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. If, in opposition to these notions, you should talk to

1766. them of laws, they may find that the shortest answer to so troublesome an objection would be burning the law books.

"My Lords, this is no season for sporting with curious speculations in matters of government. Whether the entire political system of this nation be absolutely perfect; whether it might not be possible to imagine a more equal or more extensive plan of representation; whether some changes might not be equitably made in the number and qualifications of the representative body, or in the number and qualifications of those who elect them, I by no means think it proper to discuss at this time. The smaller parts of a fabrick may be safely and easily altered; but it is a most dangerous thing to try our ingenuity in altering fundamentals. We have not at this time a Constitution to form; but we have one to maintain, which with all its faults and defects is the envy of the world. Let us maintain it, my Lords; but in the first place let us keep entire and inviolate the legislative authority; for without that we can neither redress any grievance, nor correct any fault, nor secure any benefit of our present Constitution. There have been times when false ideas of independence and liberty have been carried in this kingdom to the destruction of the monarchy, and to the destruction of the peerage: but Cromwell himself did not say, that the right of taxation, in any mode of government, however tender of freedom, could be separated from the power of the supreme legislature. We have had many great debates in both Houses of Parliament concerning the

limits of the authority belonging to each House, or belonging to the Crown, in their separate functions: but concerning the limits of their whole united authority there was never one, till this session, from the earliest records of our journals: and I dare affirm to your Lordships, that to say that a part is not contained in the whole would not be a proposition more repugnant to reason, than what you must maintain, if you should be brought to dissent from this resolution without coming to another, *that our colonies are no part of the British dominions.*" 1766.

The Rockingham Administration, which began its career on the 10th of July, 1765, expired on the 30th of July, 1766, having existed one year and twenty-one days. Burke wrote its epitaph in most durable characters, entitled, "A Short Account* of a late Short Administration." "In that space of time (he said) the distractions of the British empire were composed by *the Repeal of the American Stamp Act*—but the constitutional superiority of Great Britain was preserved by *the Act for securing the dependance of the colonies. Private* houses were relieved from the jurisdiction of the excise *by the Repeal of the Cyder Tax.* The personal liberty of the subject was confirmed by *the resolution against General Warrants;*— the lawful secrets of business and friendship were rendered inviolable by the resolution for condemning the seizure of papers." To those merits, he adds, the setting free

* "It did justice to their integrity," says H. Walpole, "and it could not do too much."

1766. the Trade of America from injudicious and ruinous impositions by one act, and by another improving the market for our own manufacture, by the opening the ports in Dominica and Jamaica,—that the Government encouraged public meetings of merchants—reconciled jarring interests—procured an advantageous treaty of commerce with Russia—liquidated the Canada Bills—and revived the question of the Manilla ransom—kept aloof from Lord Bute—sold no offices, neither practised, nor were suspected of practising corruption—were supported by the confidence of the nation, and traversed by an opposition of place-men and pensioners: "and having held their offices under many difficulties and discouragements, they left them at the express command, as they had accepted them at the earnest request of their Royal Master."

Pitt's declaration that he had no confidence in the Government, and his refusal to take office with them, the Duke of Grafton's resignation, and the intrigues of Lord Chancellor Northington, conspired with the King's dislike, to effect their overthrow.

CHAPTER XVI.

1766—1768.

FROM PITT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION TO THE END OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

[Hagley MSS.—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, vol. ii. —Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. — Parliamentary History, vol. xvi., Annual Register for each year—Adolphus' History of England, vol. i. ed. 1841.]

In July the King wrote to Mr. Pitt, desiring to learn his thoughts as to the formation of a new Government; Pitt sent a bombastic answer, and at a subsequent interview, in an evil hour for his fame, undertook the task himself; but Lord Temple was also consulted, and the result of his audience with the King was expressed by his Majesty in a letter to Mr. Pitt, written in very barbarous English, but from which it appears, that Pitt meant "to take the present Administration as a basis to build on," while Lord Temple, the King said, "though he only kept in generals seemed to incline to quarters very heterogenous to my and your ideas, and almost to a total exclusion of the present men." Lord Temple's own account of the matter, which is still obscurer, is contained in a letter 1766.

1766. to his sister, Lady Chatham :—"I should most willingly have considered with you the subject of the present times, but the contents of your letter make it indispensably necessary for me not to leave you a stranger to the indignation with which I received the proposition, of being stuck into a Ministry as a great cypher, at the head of the Treasury, surrounded with other cyphers, all named by Mr. Pitt, of a different complexion from me, with some of whom I had so essentially differed on many accounts, and more especially with all during the last session. But I was determined my temper should be equal to my firmness, conversing with an old friend whom I had much esteemed, and to whom I had with so much partiality, so much deferred through life, labouring as he did at the time under bodily infirmity. My brother James is no stranger to my thoughts on this matter, even after cool reflection on my pillow, and I told the King and my Lord Chancellor to this effect, amongst a variety of other things, that though I was most willing to sacrifice my brother's* pretensions, as he was himself, to Mr. Pitt's indisposition towards him, for the sake of public and general union, yet, as that in my opinion was not the plan, I would not *go in like a child to come out like a fool!*" Lord Temple had demanded the Presidentship of the Council for Lyttelton, and why Pitt rejected one, whom he had himself so recently appointed to a cabinet office, is difficult to understand. It is said, however, to have been the

* George Grenville, with whom he had been recently reconciled.

immediate cause of his breach with Lord Temple, and to have dissolved a friendship, strengthened by so many ties, as to have appeared to justify the boast, not unfrequently made, that it was indissoluble. 1766.

I find in Lyttelton's handwriting, this "draught of my letter to Lord Shelburne, in answer to his of the 8th of August, 1766."

"Stourhead, August 9, 1766.

"My dear Lord,

"From the time of your Lordship's being appointed Secretary of State, I almost despaired of the honour and pleasure of waiting upon you at Bowood, and think myself greatly obliged to you and Lady Shelburne, that in your present situation you were so good as to have it in your thoughts. Political events may make my private friendships more or less happy to me, but will never alter them if they are not attended with circumstances of a personal nature, which I ought to take ill. I am therefore no less your Lordship's friend, than if I had a share in that Administration to which you have been called, and in which your great talents will have their proper employment. I only wish for your sake, as well as for my country's, that some others of more importance than I had been joined with you in it; which advantage, if it had depended upon me, I would gladly have procured for you and the publick, by a total exclusion of myself.

"It gives me great pleasure that your Lordship is so

1766. well satisfied with my brother,* whose conduct, in his Government will, I hope, recommend him to the favour of those on whom the reward of his services must depend.

"My daughter joins with me in most respectful compliments and thanks to Lady Shelburne for her goodness to us both. She will take every opportunity of cultivating a friendship which is so great an honour to her, and which she values as she ought. Your Lordship, I hope, will also permit me to endeavour to find some leisure hours, when publick business will not suffer, by your enjoying the pleasures of private friendship, and conversing as you used to do, with

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"and most faithful humble Servant,

"LYTTELTON."

* Governor Lyttelton was about this time appointed Ambassador to Portugal, and Lord Chatham wrote to him as follows :—

"Bath, Oct. the 23rd, 1766.

"DEAR SIR,

"Nothing but want of the use of my hand, which I have just begun to recover, could have made me defer acknowledging the honour of your obliging letter. I now embrace the earliest opportunity in my power to congratulate you on the late marks of the King's favour, in appointing you to a mission of such importance to the commercial interests of his subjects. Having received the King's commands to consider of the ablest persons for such a destination, I could not have a conversation with Lord Shelburne on the subject without your name occurring to us, on which occasion, our ideas concerning the King's service were sure to meet. I sincerely hope that you will find all personal satisfaction where you are going, and I doubt not the publick service will receive great advan-

Pitt became Earl of Chatham, and formed that administration immortalized by Mr. Burke's painting, "so checkered and speckled * * * a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed, a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaick: such a tesselated basement without cement; here a bit of blackstone, and here a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was a very curious show—but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on." To such an administration* was opposed—the true and faithful Rockingham party—Conway only excepted, who took office for a while under Pitt—the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple's party, and the Duke of Richmond. Much of the Great Commoner's popularity was extinguished by his earldom. Still he never ceased to believe that he could detach any separate man from any connection. In any state of circumstances his difficulties would have been great, but they were immeasurably increased by that strange conduct which 1766.

tage from your zeal and abilities.—I am with great truth and consideration,

"Dear Sir,

"your most obedient

"and affectionate humble Servant,

"CHATHAM."

* The Duke of Grafton, head of the Treasury; Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Shelburne Secretary for the Southern Department; Lord Camden Chancellor; Lord Northington Privy Seal; Lord Granby Commander-in-Chief; Conway remained Secretary of State.

1766. still is, and probably always will be, wrapped in mystery. No sooner was the ministry formed than its creator secluded himself from all intercourse with them. He was the first man, H. Walpole wittily remarks, "who ever thought of retiring into the office of Prime Minister." To this kind of demeanour succeeded another, flowing principally if not entirely from bodily disease, which shewed itself in an hysterical form, rendering the afflicted person totally incapable of transacting any business.

The harvest of this year failed both in England and on the Continent; the price of bread rose, and a panic of scarcity filled the country with alarm. A proclamation was issued against forestallers and regraters, and an embargo was laid on ships preparing to sail with cargoes of grain. Parliament was summoned in November. Lord Chatham defended the embargo as an act of power, justifiable during the recess of Parliament on the ground of necessity, and quoted Locke; so far all was well: unfortunately Lords Nottingham and Camden, declared that the crown had a legal right, in cases of necessity, to interpose even against a positive act of Parliament; this called up Lord Mansfield, who entirely demolished their position; Lyttelton and Lord Temple followed on the same side, but the address was carried without a division. Soon afterwards, however, the discussion was renewed, it being found necessary to pass an act of indemnity;* Lord Chatham treated it with lofty disdain, desiring it might

* When Conway presented the Bill to the House, he disclaimed in strong language Lord Camden's doctrine.

be made as strong as possible, and include those who advised as well as those who had executed the measure; but Lord Camden repeated his former arguments and said, very unhappily, that it was "at most but a forty days' tyranny." The advantage was not lost by his opponents; his arguments were met by very able and eloquent speeches, from Lords Mansfield, Lyttelton, and Temple,—which, though no details were recorded of this debate, are preserved in a Pamphlet, called "a Speech against the Suspending and Dispensing Prerogative," written by a Mr. Mackintosh, under the direction and with the assistance of Lords Lyttelton and Temple.* 1766.

This debate in both Houses, warned Lord Chatham that a powerful coalition was formed against his Government. He endeavoured to propitiate the Duke of Newcastle, by bestowing Lord Edgecumbe's place on Sir John Shelley, but the act disgusted many of his friends. The Duke of Portland, Lord Egmont, and Lord Chatham's favourite admirals, Saunders and Keppell, withheld their support: another and far bitterer disappointment awaited the Prime Minister. His mind had been full of a vast scheme for forming a

* It is printed at length in the 16th volume of the Parliamentary History, page 251, a double motto was prefixed to it.

"It is but a forty days' tyranny at the outside."—*per legem terræ.*

"Populus Romanus beneficii et injuriæ memor esse tolet—nemo civis, qualis sit vir, potest latere. Quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem, neque leges valerent, neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat. Sed eos frequens Senatus judicavit contra Rempublicam et salutem omnium dixisse."—*Sall.*

1767. grand alliance of the northern powers with England, against France, Spain, and Italy, and he counted on the willingness of his old admirer Frederic to aid the scheme; but Frederic was still sore from the Peace of Paris, and detested the English, while the frequent changes of administration made him doubt the stability of our Government: the scheme therefore failed. About this time Burke wrote to Lord Rockingham, "there is still little twilight of popularity remaining round the great peer, but it fades away every moment." In the House of Commons his character was continually attacked, and rarely defended: his Chancellor of the Exchequer was defeated on a question of finance by Mr. Grenville, who moved the amendment.* An important question which followed soon after, relating to the interference of Government with the affairs of the East India Company, revealed how much disunion prevailed in the administration. Burke described Chatham as "a great invisible power, that left no minister in the House of Commons. The greatest integrity, (he said, meaning Conway,) had no power there, the rest approached him veiling their faces with their wings."

Before the close of the session, a bill was brought in for giving £8000. per annum to each of the King's brothers, the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, as well as a marriage portion of £40,000. to the Princess Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark. Mr. Grenville in the Commons, and Lord Temple in the Lords, opposed that part of the bill which entailed

* H. Walpole says, it was the first important question lost by the crown, since the fall of Sir R. Walpole.

the establishment upon the issue of the Princes; 1767.
and Lyttelton delivered the following able and constitutional speech which I print from his own manuscript.

" Speech on the Bill for settling a Revenue of £8000. per annum on their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, 1767.

" My Lords,

" In giving your Lordships my opinion on this very important and very delicate subject, I must begin with supposing what the Constitution supposes, and what your Lordships would be offended if I did not suppose, that the Bill which is under your consideration, was framed by the advice of the Ministers of the Crown, and is by no means such a personal and immediate act of the King, as those which the noble Earl with the white staff, who spoke last, has mentioned to your Lordships, very improperly (I must think), and not so consistently with the freedom of debate in this House as he generally speaks upon other occasions.

" My Lords, as I know nothing more important to the happiness of the King, or to the happiness of the kingdom, than perfect union and harmony in the Royal Family, it is with the most sincere and cordial satisfaction, that I see any new mark of his Majesty's kindness and tender affection for his Royal brothers, who are so well deserving of it, and so endeared to their country, as well as to him, by many amiable virtues: but I can't help lamenting, that, in the manner of carrying the generous purpose of His Majesty

1767. into effect, a proper regard is not paid to another excellent sentiment, no less rooted in his heart than even his love for his brothers, that sentiment of paternal goodness for his people, which has ever disposed him rather to make them partakers of his Royal bounty and munificence, than to add anything to the burthens with which they are loaded.

"The first act that distinguished the auspicious beginnings of His Majesty's reign, and in the praise of which I must join, (though not for just the same reasons) with the noble Earl who spoke last, was the manner of settling the Civil List. I well remember of what prejudice it was to the late King in the opinion of the people, that his Civil List had been settled in a different manner. For, though upon an average of the whole reign, the revenues produced no more, or but very little more, than a clear annuity of eight hundred thousand pounds, they were supposed to produce at least a million; and the odious circumstance of the publick's being obliged to make good any deficiency that might happen, without being entitled to receive any benefit from an eventual surplus, naturally tended to create a dissatisfaction in the mind of the subject, and to excite an idea, the most unhappy for the Crown that can be conceived, the idea of a separation and opposition of interests between the King and the publick! The mischief of this was so great, that if, upon the accession of his present Majesty to the Crown, it had been proposed to continue the Civil List on that footing, though I had been the single man in either House to oppose it, I would have

stood forth, and have loudly protested against it, out of duty to the King, and still more for his sake, than for the sake of the publick. But I most gladly concurred in the settlement of a fixed and certain revenue, payable out of the aggregate fund, into which all the revenues which had composed the late King's Civil List were then carried, with the consent and at the desire of his present Majesty himself, *who thereby gave*, (as the Act of Parliament most justly exprest it) *the most substantial proof of his tender concern for the welfare of his people, and that the same is superior in his Royal breast to all other considerations.* Such, my Lords, was the language of Parliament on this subject: but let me observe to your Lordships that the very same Parliament, *with hearts full* (as they themselves declared) *of the warmest duty and gratitude*, thought they made a sufficient and adequate return, and gave ample testimony of their great affection to his Majesty, by the revenue they settled, which they declared *to be competent for defraying the expenses of His Majesty's Civil Government, for supporting the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to enable His Majesty to make an honourable provision for the Royal Family*, which they could not but foresee would be likely to increase: for though he was not then married, yet his marriage was most confidently hoped for and expected. And now, my Lords, let me ask, did any Prince ever sit upon the throne of this kingdom, who had, or who could desire to have, a Parliament more attached to his person and interests, or more affectionately and more generously liberal to 1767.

1767. him, than that Parliament to this King! But His Majesty's clear receipt has since that time been augmented, on the death of the Duke of Cumberland, by the addition of fifteen thousand pounds per annum; an addition just equal to that which His Majesty is desirous of making to the annual income of his Royal brothers, over and above that provision which his Royal grandfather made for the younger sons of the Crown. He desires that an annuity of twenty thousand pounds should be given to each of his brothers: and had he been advised to apply this sum to that purpose, or to take it from the overflowings of his Irish revenue, or from any improvement of that which he draws from America, and which is not included in his Civil List, the receiving of the whole from the bounty of the most gracious of Sovereigns, and most amiable of brothers, during the term of his life, would have been a great increase to the happiness of those princes, and, allow me to say, a much better precedent to all future times. Instead of that, the Royal Family is separated from itself by this new method of proceeding. It is not from the Crown, it is not from the proper revenue of the Crown, from that revenue which was given as an honourable provision for the whole Royal Family, that the brothers of the King are supported. The Civil List is disencumbered of part of the charge which lay upon it before for their maintenance and support, and an annuity for their lives of four-and-twenty thousand pounds, divided in three equal portions, is to be given by the people, who can consider this charge in no other light, than as an addition to

the Civil List, made at a time when that revenue is richer, by fifteen thousand pounds a-year than when it was granted, and the publick poorer by many, many millions! 1767.

"My Lords, I must think that the Crown has unhappily been ill-advised in this matter.—It was a saying of the great Lord Treasurer Burleigh, *that he hated to see the royal Treasury swell, like a distempered spleen, when the other parts of the commonwealth were in a consumption.* Apply those words to these times. Is this a season to increase the private wealth of the Crown, when the wealth of the kingdom is declining, and hardly able to supply the necessary demands for the safety of the whole? Does the enormous load of our debts and taxes, does the failure of our specie, does the diminution of our exports, does the decrease of our foreign trade in some of its best and most profitable branches, authorise such a proceeding? From all these causes combined, and from the dearness of all the necessaries of life, the distress of the poor is so grievous, that in many parts of the kingdom they are ready to rise, and take up arms, for want of bread. Will it appease those commotions to have them told that the Parliament, which has done nothing effectual to give them relief, is making presents to the Civil List, as if there were a superfluity of wealth in the nation, which invited liberality, and called upon those who have the honour of advising the King, to make their court by employing their credit in Parliament to enlarge the narrow bounds of former grants to the Crown, and to shew the superiority of their genius in

1767. business by the greater extent of their bounty?—Where will that bounty stop, and what will be the next demand?—The noble Duke who presides at the head of the Treasury, who cannot be unacquainted with the circumstances of the kingdom, and who feels for the publick as much as any man living, I dare be confident wishes, in conjunction with his friend and very able assistant, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a system of frugality might begin to prevail: but I am sorry to say his wishes are no security to the publick, even in matters relating to his own high office. Alas, my Lords, I have used a very improper word—there is no office that can be called a high one. They are all sunk, all degraded, and the state itself will sink with them, if the ancient spirit of the Constitution does not rouse itself up from that insensible languor into which it is fallen, and shake off the servile chains with which it is fettered!

"Before your Lordships concur in any bounty of this nature, you ought at least to be very well informed, whether in giving additions to the King's Civil List, you really give to the King. For my own part I much doubt it; I much doubt whether the King will be made any richer, though the publick is made poorer. It is not those expenses, which can properly be charged to his account, that exhaust his revenue. In the whole catalogue of them not one can be found that bears the stamp of any vice; and virtue never yet impoverished a prince. Compassion for distress, protection and encouragement to eminent merit, to those sciences that enlighten, to those talents

that improve, to those arts that embellish civil society, 1767.
these, my Lords, are the chief, I might almost say the sole articles of His Majesty's private expenses. But it is not the well regulated and moderate indulgence of such elegant tastes, or of such humane dispositions, that makes it necessary now, or ever will make it necessary, for a King of Great Britain, possessed of such a revenue as his present Majesty is possessed of, in this kingdom and in Ireland, to come to his Parliament and desire to have it augmented. The gulf that swallows up all the wealth of the Crown, is the modern practice of trading and bargaining with the Crown for the buying of men into offices, or for the buying of them out; it is the setting up a new kind of Court insurance, to indemnify and secure political traders from any apprehensions they may have of losing their ventures, or making a bad voyage; it is the accumulating of pensions, it is the adding to the parade and to the expense of the Government without adding to its strength: this, I say, is the gulf which not the utmost liberality, either of the King or of the Parliament will ever be able to fill. If there be really a distress in the administration of Government from the indigence of the Crown, and your Lordships are desirous of removing that distress, you must endeavour to change the spirit of the times. For of this be assured, so long as that shall continue, if that be not effectually driven out of the Court, if a very different spirit does not arise and prevail, a spirit of disinterestedness, a spirit as incapable of trafficking with the Crown as of betraying the publick, though all the treasures of both Indies

1767. should be added to those of the empire of Great Britain, they would be found insufficient, all would be wasted, all consumed: though administrations should be changed with every change of the moon, let who will be removed, let who will come in, unless this change be effected the kingdom is ruined.

"My Lords, I am very sorry to have been forced to say what I have said; but I thought it my duty: and I should hold myself most unworthy of a seat in this House, if, when a sense of duty bids me speak, any other motives had power to close my lips. It is not the provision made for the three Royal brothers against which I object, but the manner of making it. I think that manner unprecedented, impolitick, dangerous: I think it destroys the whole principle, the whole policy, of the Civil List Act. I think it might have been done more conformably to the wishes of the King himself, as exprest in his message; more beneficially to the Princes; without detriment to the publick, and without risking the least diminution of that which His Majesty thinks his most valuable treasure, the affection of his people, that affection which must be his great resource, to draw him out of those difficulties which embarrass his Government more and more every day, and those dangers which hang, like a black and threatening cloud, over the state of his kingdom. I could not, therefore, sit still, and seem by my silence to approve what my judgment condemns; though I do not mean to oppose the passing of a Bill, the purport of which I think right, and which it is not in our power to alter or amend."

In the list of speakers preserved in the Hardwicke papers, of those who opposed on the 17th of June a motion for a conference with the House of Commons, on the Bill for restricting the East India Company's dividend to 10 per cent., Lyttelton's name appears on two occasions, with Temple, Richmond, Mansfield, Newcastle, Bedford, Weymouth, Suffolk, and Gower. 1767.

At this time, Lord Chatham's health was generally believed to be irrecoverable. To repeated letters from the King, requesting his advice, he wrote feeble answers, declaring his "*utter inability*" to act, and recommending that the Duke of Grafton should be placed at the head of the Treasury, and should name his own Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Government meanwhile was divided in itself. The Duke of Grafton, Lord Northington, and Lord Camden, looking upon Lord Shelburne as a secret enemy, and persuading the King that he was so; while he secretly, and C. Townshend openly, detested them: and while Conway was eager to rejoin the Rockinghams. In this state of things, negotiations were opened with the Grenvilles, among whom Lyttelton was now again to be reckoned, the Rockinghams and the Bedfords, and on these the following documents throw considerable light.

LETTER FROM MR. GRENVILLE TO LYTTELTON.

"Wotton, July 14th, 1767.

"My dear Lord,

"Lord Temple and I agreed yesterday at Stowe, that the most expeditious, and the safest way of trans-

1767. mitting to you an account of what has passed upon the subject of Lord Rockingham's negotiation, would be to send Mr. Loyd, who is with us, and who is fully apprized of all the particulars, to relate them to you, together with what we have said and done upon it. I own I doubt very much of its success; but whether it is intended to succeed or not, I am very glad that the failure of it can never be imputed to the ambitious, or interested views of Lord Temple or myself. Having left it, I think upon the properest ground, we have nothing to do but to wait the event, and to act accordingly. Let me know, as soon as the bustle is over, when we may hope to see you in Buckinghamshire, and when you are to be in Worcestershire, that I may, if possible, avail myself of it. You see my thoughts are turned to the country, from the busy scene of politics, and to my private friends from public connexions. The truth is, I have almost had enough of the latter, and much too little of the former; I therefore wish, if I can, to make the balance more even, which I think, at present, is a wish not unlikely to be gratified; but this is owing to my particular situation, which makes that both honourable and desirable for me, which is by no means so for you. I will not, however, enter in this disquisition any farther, than to assure you that these are the real sentiments, of my dear Lord,

"Yours most affectionately,
"and faithfully,
"GEORGE GRENVILLE."

"Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton."

"July 19th, 1767. 1767.

"On Tuesday, the 7th of this month, a negotiation was opened with Lord Rockingham, by a message from the King, through the Duke of Grafton, which was delivered at a meeting held at General Conway's house. After some previous compliments, the Duke of Grafton told Lord Rockingham, that the King wished that Lord Rockingham, and his friends, might form his Administration, and that he intended his Lordship should resume the office of First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Rockingham having asked whether he was at liberty to communicate this to others besides his own friends, was answered that the question had been foreseen, and that he might communicate it; but it seemed intended, that this was meant to the Duke of Bedford, and his friends only.

"The Duke of Grafton made an offer of himself to serve under Lord Rockingham, and expressed some hopes that the *remains* of Lord Chatham's friends might be treated with some indulgence. Upon being desired to explain himself, he mentioned *the Chancellor*. Lord Rockingham, in the account of his conference, which he gave by letter to Lord Albemarle, speaking of this intimation concerning the Chancellor, says:—"But your Lordship knows my sentiments so well upon this point, that my determination is taken, though I did not then enter into the detail of it. Lord Albemarle, who was then at Woburn, shewed Lord Rockingham's letter, as he was desired, to the Duke of Bedford, in the conclusion of which was a proposition from Lord Rockingham to come

1767. to Woburn, if the Duke of Bedford and his friends were disposed to act with them in the Administration. The answer given, was, that the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville were one, and that he would not proceed without consulting Mr. Grenville. The intended visit was therefore postponed till that was done; and Mr. Rigby, who was then at Woburn, as well as Lord Gower, proposed to go to London to inquire whether Mr. Grenville was returned from the West, and to give Lord Rockingham the meeting that evening, which he did accordingly, and repeated to him their resolution not to do any thing without consulting Mr. Grenville, and that they were determined not to be separated. In consequence of this, Mr. Rigby went to Wotton on Friday the 10th, and assured Mr. Grenville, in the strongest terms, of the Duke of Bedford's regard and union with him, both in system and in principles, and his own determination to cultivate it to the utmost. He said he had told Lord Rockingham that neither the Duke of Bedford himself, nor he, as an individual, would ever depart from the ground taken, to assert and establish the entire sovereignty of Great Britain over her Colonies. That he was told in answer, that he, Lord Rockingham, hoped that might be settled to their satisfaction. Mr. Rigby added, that Lord Rockingham declared for a wide and comprehensive system; but it is not known that any thing, either with regard to measures or men, has been talked of in detail, nor is it certain to what degree Lord Rockingham is authorized. Mr. Grenville, after acknowledging the sense which he had of

the behaviour of the Duke of Bedford, and his friends, towards him, answered, that as to measures, his opinions were well known, especially with regard to the capital one, ascribing and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over America, in which he was happy to find that the Duke of Bedford and his friends so perfectly agreed with him. That as to arrangement of offices, as no message was sent to him, so he had no answer to give; nor if there had, would he have given one without Lord Temple. That he entirely approved of a wide and comprehensive plan for an Administration, as the likeliest to produce vigour and permanency, without which no system for the public good could be pursued. That upon these principles he should be extremely pleased to see his friends honourably placed in the King's Government, and would cheerfully support an Administration formed upon them :- that he would support it out of office; and Mr. Grenville insisted that his name should not be mentioned for any office whatsoever, as it had long been his determination not to be obtruded upon the King. Mr. Rigby went on Saturday the 11th to meet Lord Rockingham, at Woburn. Mr. Grenville went the same day to Stowe. On Saturday the 12th, Mr. Rigby came over to Stowe, and told Mr. Grenville, that the Duke of Bedford and Lord Gower were extremely satisfied with his answer, to which Lord Temple agreed in every particular; and Mr. Grenville, and Lord Temple, both assured Mr. Rigby that no factious or interested views of theirs should stand in the way of any public settlement, which, if possible, 1767.

1767. they sincerely wished to see made upon those principles in which Mr. Rigby assured them that they all concurred. Mr. Rigby's language in both visits was as open and as amicable as could be. Mr. Grenville's real wish on this occasion is, that his friends could be honourably placed in the King's Government, upon principles which he can neither depart from himself, nor advise others to leave; and will be happy, if, by waving any pretensions of his to office, he might contribute to that great purpose, instead of getting an office for himself, which might give jealousy, and must lessen his claims for provisions for his friends.

"It must be observed, that neither Lord Temple, nor Mr. Grenville, *bound or pledged* themselves to any thing. They spoke their opinions upon the two propositions, as stated by Lord Rockingham to the Duke of Bedford, the one of a broad wide bottom of Government, the other of adopting proper measures, and particularly respecting America."

The next letter from Mr. Grenville's private secretary, contains the account of the failure of this negotiation.

"July 24th, 1767.

"My Lord,

"My ignorance of your Lordship's motions has alone prevented my attempting to meet your Lordship with a letter at some of your stages. I now hear that you proposed to be at Bristol about this time, but still not with that certainty which would encourage

me to send your Lordship the detail of what has past, in a packet by the coach. I can only hazard a line by the post, which, if it should miscarry, and be opened, will not disclose any wonderful mysteries to the curiosity of a country post-master. Your Lordship is, I understand, apprised of the first part of the negotiation, which has been carrying round the circuit of Wotton, Stowe, and Woburn, and which at last centered in town, upon Lord Rockingham receiving a letter from the Duke of Grafton to inform him that the King was willing to admit him to an audience; his sentiments concurring in the idea of a comprehensive plan which should exclude no denomination of men. His Lordship hereupon desired the Duke of Bedford to come up and assist him in forming an arrangement. They met first on Monday evening with the Dukes of Newcastle, Richmond, and Portland, Lords Sandwich and Weymouth, Mr. Dowdeswell, and Mr. Rigby; and again on Tuesday, when none but the Dukes of Bedford and Newcastle, the Marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Rigby, and Mr. Dowdeswell, were present. Some difficulties arose on a letter written by Mr. Grenville to Mr. Rigby, and then produced, in which Mr. Grenville repeated the condition he all along insisted on, as necessary to his concurrence with any Administration, that the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its Colonies, should be such as he could approve of. The discussion of this matter was however at last postponed to future consideration, and then Lord Rockingham named Mr. Conway to be Secretary of 1767.

1767. State, and the Minister in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford objected to it, saying that he thought Mr. Conway chose the military line, and that on no account could he consent to placing him in such a situation: Lord Rockingham strenuously insisted upon it. The Duke absolutely refused to agree to it, and the conference thereupon broke off, each party declaring the other entirely at liberty from all engagements, as much as if nothing had passed between them. His Lordship has since had a short audience, and it is said that he is going out of town; the whole affair being to all appearance entirely at an end. Your Lordship, who are more solicitous for the characters, than the situations of your friends, will hear with pleasure that the Duke of Bedford has maintained the greatest firmness and temper in these conferences, and that the moderation, the publick spirit, and the prudence of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, meet with the highest approbation, even from those who have no prejudices in their favour.

"I have the honour to be,
"with the greatest respect,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most humble Servant,
"THOMAS WHATELY."

"Parliament Street,
"24th July, 1767."

"I shall be anxious to know that this does not miss you, and shall therefore be obliged to your Lordship for a line to acknowledge the receipt of it."

The next letter is from Mr. Whately (Mr. Grenville's private Secretary):— 1767.

"July 30, 1767.

"My Lord,

"I am favoured with your two letters from Bristol by the post, and with your parcel by the coach: I have obeyed your Lordship's commands, and have forwarded your packet to Mr. Grenville by a servant who was going to Wotton, and that to Lord Temple by the Buckingham coach. Nothing remains, I think, which your Lordship has given me in charge, but to satisfy your inquiries into our political situations. Lord Chatham's state of health (I was told authentically yesterday) is certainly the lowest dejection and debility that mind or body can be in. He sits all the day leaning on his hands, which he supports on the table; does not permit any person to remain in the room: knocks when he wants any thing; and having made his wants known, gives a signal without speaking, to the person who answered his call, to retire. In such a condition it is needless to say that he has been no actor in the late transactions: he has hardly been a spectator; nor has he been so much affected by them as to resign. But he seems to be considered as unconcerned in the event: though the physicians say it is possible for him to recover, speaking of it, however, as a distant possibility. Lord Rockingham is gone out of town, some fruitless attempts having been made, by some ministers, though I believe without any authority, to prevail upon him to accede with his own friends only, since the great negotiation broke off.

1767. At the end of which he was informed that the offer of the treasury had never been made to him. Since his departure nothing has passed, nor does there appear any symptoms of an immediate alteration, either great or small, with a view to strengthen or dissolve the present tottering system. That the blow given to it is fatal hardly admits of a doubt: how long it may linger I am not state physician enough to know. I have some thoughts of going to Stowe and Wotton next week, and I fear I shall be engaged in another part of the country at the time they set out for Hagley; I should, if it were in my power, have been very happy to have paid my respects to your Lordship there; and it gives me great pleasure to hear that your health is so entirely recovered, that you will be able to enjoy all the beauties of that delightful place, where illness and confinement would be intolerable.

" I have the honour to be,
" with the greatest respect,
" My Lord,
" your Lordship's most obedient,
" and most humble Servant,
THOMAS WHATELY."

" London,
" 30th July, 1767."

On the 2nd of August Mr. Grenville writes from Wotton:—

" MY DEAR LORD,

" NOTHING material that I know of has happened in the political world since the date of your letter of the

27th of last month. I desired Mr. Whately, who was upon the spot, to inform you of the breaking up of the negotiation with Lord Rockingham, and of all the particulars which had attended it; since which the publick reports are, that things are in a greater confusion and uncertainty than ever. It is said that the King told Lord Rockingham that he had never authorised the Duke of Grafton to offer to his Lordship the office of First Lord of the Treasury. This must necessarily make a disagreable mistake between them, but to which of the two Lords it is owing I have not materials sufficient to determine. I am extremely happy in the full approbation which you express of the part Lord Temple and I have taken upon this occasion. When I intimated that there might be a difference between your situation and mine, I meant only, that whatever might be said of me, it could not be pretended that you was in the case of being forced and obtruded upon the King, and that therefore if every thing else were settled as it should be, there would be no colour for your not filling an honourable office which you are in all respects so well entitled to. This, my dear Lord, is the only difference between us, and the only one, I hope, there ever will be. You certainly have made a mistake, or I myself have made one in my letter to you, when you mention our coming to Hagley in the month of August. We always understood that about the beginning or middle of September was the time the most agreeable to you, and which was fixed for our party there. We mentioned this to 1767.

1767. Mr. Pitt* as the time settled, and he promised to meet us at Hagley accordingly. We have fixed all our own company here during the course of this month, and the first week of the next, when our Eton boys who are just come home, are to leave us. It will therefore be impossible for us to wait upon you at Hagley before that time, but if your own engagements and arrangements should carry you from home by the end of this month, I beg you will not suffer any thought of us to keep you there a moment longer than you intended, as we had much rather defer for another year the pleasure which we propose to ourselves from so agreeable a party than put you to the least inconvenience; we hope, however, at all events, not to be deprived of that part of it, which in all places will ever give us the greatest satisfaction; and we flatter ourselves that if this unlucky mistake should prevent us from seeing you at Hagley, that you will at least make it up to us as far as you can by giving us the more of your company at Wotton. Our proposition was to have gone to Lord Aylesford's, at Packington, about the 7th or 8th of September, and after three or four days' stay there, to have gone on to Hagley, but we would change the order of our march, and come first to you, if that had suited you better. Lord Temple comes here on the 11th of this month, and is to be at Eastbury on the 13th, and from thence intends to go on upon his western progress to Mount Edgecombe, &c. and probably to Boconnock if Mr. Pitt is there. He proposes to be absent between

* Father of the first Lord Camelford.

three weeks and a month in the whole. The inhabi- 1767.
tants of Wotton all join in their kindest compliments to you. My wife hopes that she is much better for her journey.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,
"most affectionately,
"and most faithfully your's,
"GEORGE GRENVILLE."

All these negotiations failing, Charles Townshend was seized with the ambition of exchanging his Chancellorship of the Exchequer for the office of Prime Minister. It appears that his wish was gratified: and that he had even begun to make appointments, when, in the prime of life, and just touching the goal of his hopes, his career was arrested by an unexpected death. This event revived the difficulties of forming a Government; after some delay, Lord North accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under the Duke of Grafton, as Prime Minister, though Lord Chatham still retained his place. The following letter refers to these events.

"Thursday, 17th Sept. 1767.

"MY LORD,

"As I shall take it for granted Mr. Grenville has left Hagley by the directions given about his letters, I trouble your Lordship with one word, just to say that the Secretaries of State were yesterday in with the K— two hours. That the ministerial people are in high spirits, determined to go on, and that Lord

1767. North is to accept the Exchequer Seals. The language held is, that though North has not Mr. Townshend's brilliancy, yet he has great abilities, and will draw with Mr. Conway. Great appearance of ill-humour in the Court of France towards us. All this intelligence you may depend on.—It comes to me from a secret channel of unquestionable authority.

"Your Lordship's most respectful Servant,

"CH. LLOYD."

Parliament met on the 24th of November. Lyttelton came to town, and wrote the following very curious account to Lord Temple of his interviews with the principal leaders of the Opposition.

Indorsed—"Lord Temple unexpectedly coming to town, this letter was not finished."

"London, Nov. 25, 1767.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"MY first conference upon my coming to town, with any person of importance, was with Lord Hardwicke, in which I think nothing passed that was very material, except that his Lordship seemed inclined to have some topicks of opposition touched upon the first day in both Houses of Parliament, and carried on through the session by his friends and ours in conjunction. On my desiring to know what those topicks were in which he thought that the Rockinghams would agree with us, he first mentioned Portugal, about which he seemed much heated, saying, they had broke all their treaties of commerce with England,

and nothing was done on our part to obtain satisfaction. 1767.
I told him what my brother William had written to Sir Richard, that the Court of Lisbon had exprest to him as good dispositions, and promised as fair in all points, as could be desired; but between promising and performing there might be a difference, or at least a distance of time: that Court being very slow in all its proceedings. Upon more talk I found that what made him so particularly eager on this matter was, that he thought my Lord Rockingham and those in the ministry with him, would get some honour, by its appearing that they alone of all the ministries since the peace had stirred in that business. He then came to the points relating to America, upon which he was very full of doubts and fears, but on my mentioning what had lately been done in Carolina, he said he would join with us in any measures to force the colonies to obey our *commercial* laws. It is remarkable that through our whole conversation he avoided to talk of what had past in the late negotiation for a change of the ministry, but seemed to agree in what I once or twice threw out, that even supposing a successful opposition in Parliament, it was impossible that my friends and Lord Rockingham should agree in forming a ministry, or in carrying on a Government. I took occasion to say that I did not see the same difficulty with regard to him and his family, or to the Duke of Newcastle: and that they and our friends combined might do very well without him or his, if we had power in our hands, at which he smiled, but said nothing.

"My next conference was with Lord Mansfield. I

1767. found that he wished your Lordship would have been in town at the meeting of Parliament, as the Duke of Bedford intended to say something the first day. I answered him, that if his Grace called you would come, and had signified so to his Grace. He said you would not be *sent for*, but he thought you had better have been in town at this time, as the Duke was eager to speak, and your being at his side, and taking the same part, when the tone was to be given to the ensuing session, might have good effects, and your absence might be liable to misinterpretations.

"I told him I would have let you know his opinion, if there had been time sufficient for you to come to town upon it before the Parliament met: but it was then past ten o'clock on Sunday night. In talking about the future operations of the session, he often said there was nothing to be done by *squibs;* that Lord Hardwicke understood nothing of the affairs of Portugal: that it was not so clear as he supposed that any thing had been done there in direct breach of treaties; that Urello had offered to negotiate last year, but could not get an audience, or any attention from our ministers upon that subject.

"That something might arise from the quarter of America, but yet no opposition would signify any thing, if the ministers held together. That the King mediated between them, and kept them from breaking: that he was the most *efficient* man among them, that he made each of them believe he was in love with them, and fooled them all. That unless that *mad man* Lord Chatham should come and throw a *fire-ball* in

the midst of them, he thought they would stand their ground: but what *that* might do he could not tell. That Lord Bute alone could make a ministry which would last, that if he was dead no other man could do it so well. That he (Bute) had just causes of complaint against Mr. Grenville, but was much less his enemy than Lord Rockingham, or Mr. Conway, or Lord Camden, or Lord Holland. 1767.

" Speaking of the late negotiation for a change in the ministry, he exprest great contempt of the manner of carrying it on, so publickly, and with such numbers admitted to the conferences. He said Lord Rockingham was a fool not to humour the Duke of Bedford in all he desired, after you and your brother had declared you would not come in; and that part of the Court which had set this treaty on foot should have boggled at nothing, from that time, to bring it to a conclusion; because the Bedford connexion once in without you two, would have remained separated from you, of which he was more sure, as the Duke of Bedford himself had told him, after Rigby's return from Stowe, that if a ministry should be formed, and you did not both keep your promise to support it out of office, he would tie you down to your honour given, or quite detach himself from you, and adhere firmly to them. But of all things Lord Mansfield exclaimed against the madness of his Grace in conjunction with Lord Rockingham, proposing *a sweep of the Court*, to the extent that they did, and much lamented that your Lordship had permitted Rigby to express your consent and concurrence in so wild a scheme,

1767. which had been reported at Court, and had certainly done you great harm. I said I understood you were passive, not active, in that scheme, and, that you might not think it for your honour to protect Lord Bute or his friends, when others proposed to destroy them, though you did not propose it yourself. He replied it was understood to have been no less agreeable to you than to them: and then dwelt a good deal on the certainty of a fixed resolution in the King not to change *his army*, but only the *generals* of that army. That to force him from this resolution would be exceedingly difficult in any conjuncture, but impossible at this time; and if it could be effected, would in the end ruin those who should put that force upon him. That he thought if the present ministry should fall to pieces by their own internal weakness or divisions, and another were to be formed, the king should be left to choose who should be at the head of it; and if you or your brother were proposed, Lord Rockingham should desire his friends to go in; and if he was preferred, you should do the same by yours. On my saying, that I would not be one of those friends, he expressed some dislike of that determination, especially as I carried it not only to Lord Rockingham's, but to any other ministry of which you were not a part. However, he afterwards confined his idea of such coalition to inferior friends on both sides, who might be more eager to go in than I, and would not think themselves under the same restraints. He spoke a good deal upon the king's disgust against G. Grenville, which he seemed to think

not quite groundless, and took occasion, in talking upon the state of our colonies, to observe to me what great difficulties he (Grenville) would be under if he were now to be minister, with relation to *them;* and how eligible, how desirable, it was for him, that some other man should take the necessary measures to set things right there. That every step he could take would raise a violent flame and meet with much more resistance, both there and in this kingdom, than the same measure undertaken by any other minister. 1767.

These were the most material parts of a conversation that lasted till after one in the morning. During the course of it, he said, that he found in all parties a general good disposition and kindness towards me, but that those who were averse to your brother's being placed at the head of the treasury were no better disposed towards you. He seemed very desirous that the present ministry should not continue, but equally unwilling that the king should be forced to remove them; full of contempt for Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond, of hatred to Lord Chatham and all his friends, and of managements for Lord Bute, without much esteem of him or affection for him. I tried to draw from him what had passed in his two conversations with the king: he said the king's talk to him was gracious, but loose and inconclusive. He assured your brother, *upon his honour*, that nothing important had past. I understand he has much credit with the Dukes of Bedford and Newcastle, yet perhaps less than he thinks. His great use to our party is in the House of Lords; for in his intrigues he is warped by many different views, by managements for various

1767. connections, by a great attention to the closet, and by the uncertainty, the timidity, and over-refining turn of his mind.

I am next to give your lordship an account of my conference with the Duke of Bedford, which, after the usual chit chat, his grace began by saying, that Lord Rockingham was stark mad, for he had told the Duke of Bridgewater, who talked to him about a union with his friends, *that he would hear of nothing in which there was a Grenville.* He then entered into some detail of what had passed in the summer, and on my observing that even then his Lordship had in effect excluded the Grenvilles, by proposing to be himself at the head of the Treasury, and that he only now spoke more plainly what he always intended, his Grace replied, that his own scheme was to have balanced the power of Lord Rockingham and his friends in the ministry to be formed, by many friends of the Grenvilles, and some in the highest offices, particularly myself, whom he meant to propose for President of the Council, the power of which office he said was now very great. That on this he would have insisted, but that in this second meeting he found the Marquis quite changed from what he had been in the first. I exprest a proper sense of the honour his Grace had done me, but said that in my opinion things had ended much better by the treaty breaking off, as such a ministry could not long have held together. He said he meant to have been a mediator between them in any differences or disputes that might have arisen among them, and hoped his mediation might have been effectual. That he presumed Mr. Grenville would not think at this

time of reviving the Stamp Act, and that he himself should prefer making an example of some one seditious fellow in the colonies, who could be convicted of eminently distinguishing himself in opposition to the laws and sovereignty of Great Britain, by which others would be deterred from acts of that nature, to Mr. Grenville's test, or any other measure that might unite all the colonies in one common cause. I answered that the test proposed by Mr. Grenville could unite none in opposition to it, who were not already united in a determined opposition to the cause of Great Britain, which his Grace resolved to support, and something effectual must be done or it could not be supported. 1767.

"LYTTELTON.

"London, November 25th, 1767."

About this time Frederic Augustus II. King of Poland closed his disastrous reign, and Catherine the Second procured, by intrigue and violence, the election of her lover, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, to the throne of that kingdom—one of those unprincipled nobles of this most unhappy country, who bought the patronage of St. Petersburg by shameless treachery to Warsaw. The new King had been an old acquaintance of Lyttelton's, who wrote to him on this occasion, and received for answer the following letter:—

"le 21 Novembre, 1767.

"My Lord Comte Lyttelton,—La part que vous prenez, my Lord, à mon elevation presente me flatte d'autant plus, qu'elle me rappelle l'accueil que j'ai recu de vous il y a dix ans, lorsque j'avais le bonheur de

1767. m'instruire dans votre Patrie, et dans la conversation du legislateur des Troglodites.* Je me trouverai heureux de pouvoir appliquer avec succes dans l'exercice de ma place les notions si sages et si vertueux que j'ai puisée dans votre entretien, et dont les souvenir vous assure les sentimens d'estime et d'amitié, dans lesquels je suis my Lord Comte de Lyttelton.

"Votre tres affectionné,

"STANISLAS AUGUSTE ROY."†

A letter from Mr. Harris‡ accompanied this royal despatch; it contains a slight sketch of the wretched state of Poland, torn by intestine licentiousness, and the helpless prey of foreign rapine.

"Warsaw, November 21st, 1767.

"MY LORD,

"I HAD the honour of receiving your letter some few posts after my arrival here, and had almost the same day an opportunity of delivering your message to the King. He expressed great satisfaction at hearing it, and seemed to feel all that pleasure a sensible man must have in being recollected by a man of your Lordship's character.

* See the Persian Letters, x—xxi. and vol. i. p. 56.

† The cover is directed, 'A My Lord Comte de Lyttelton, A Londres.'

‡ Son of James Harris, the justly celebrated philologer, who had been also successively a Lord of the Admiralty and the Treasury, and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Anne. His son and heir, the writer of this letter, having acquired a considerable diplomatic reputation at the courts of Madrid, St. Petersburgh, and the Hague, was created Baron Malmesbury in 1788; Viscount Fitzharris and Earl of Malmesbury in 1800. He died in 1820.

"You have, without doubt, been sufficiently informed 1767.
of the turbulent state of this unfortunate kingdom, till the meeting of the present Diet. The great internal confederation that menaced intestine discords at home, and the violent measures of the Court of Russia, are facts not unknown to you. Should I be the first in informing your Lordship of the step taken since, I shall esteem myself very happy. You will easily see that they are such as a free people never would have consented to, had it not been overawed by some superior power.

"The first day of the assembly, a project was proposed by Prince Radzivil, for the Diet proroguing itself till February, after having resigned the power of treating, and even concluding, to a certain number of deputies, who should then lay their determination before it, for their approbation. The singularity of such a proposal seemed to shock the whole house.

"The Bishop of Cracow and Kiovie were vehement in opposing it; and there appeared not the least probability of its being carried. The next day changed, however, the face of things; the unruly prelates being both hurried away by the Russian troops in the night, and the like fate being threatened to all those who should presume to imitate them, made it pass *nem. con.* Delegates were named, and the diet prorogued itself, keeping the insignificant right of approving, not of rejecting, the resolutions they should come to.

"This delegation has met twice, and sometimes oftener each week alternately, at the Primate's and

1767. Russian ambassador, and the day before yesterday it came to a final determination on the affair of the dissidents. It was resolved, that, in point of religion, they should be put on a perfect equality with the Catholick—should be left in a free and undisturbed possession of their churches, &c. &c., and be entitled to bury and christen, without soliciting the leave, and paying that enormous fee, as formerly, to the Bishop of the diocese. That they should also be capable of being selected as Nonces at the Dietines; of accepting all employments, as well those of emolument, as of civil duty; of being Ministers of State, Officers of the Crown, and even Senators. To leave, however, sufficient room to prove the other religion the predominant one, it was inserted, that the King must be chosen from among the Catholicks, and that if he married a Protestant, she should not be crowned. Moreover, from henceforward, any Catholick tempted by the advantages to forsake his religion, should not reap the benefit here allowed, but should be subject to the rigour of the former laws against the dissidents.

"These, and some few other articles have been their result till now; there remains to be settled some points relative to Courland, and some other subjects of smaller consequence. All things will be as Russia thinks proper, the fate of the poor Bishops having most effectually sealed up the mouths of the patriots.

"Voltaire has published a small pamphlet in defence of the Dissidents, and seems to have taken more pains to inform himself of the subject, and to make use of more argument, than he usually does; this will, as

they say, bring him a considerable pecuniary present from Russia, and perhaps the red riband. 1767.

They say, that soon ministers will be sent from hence to the foreign courts, which is a most necessary step for the republick to take; as at present, it is in the most complete ignorance of whatever passes in other countries.

"I beg pardon for having thus long trespassed on your Lordship's patience; I will fatigue it no more than in begging leave to subscribe myself, with the other most distinguished sentiments,

"My Lord,

"your Lordship's most obedient,

"and obliged faithful servant,

"J. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XVII.

1768 (MARCH)—1773 (AUGUST).

FROM THE MEETING OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF GEORGE III. TO THE DEATH OF LORD LYTTELTON.

[Hagley MSS.—Annual Register for each Year—Parliamentary History, vol. xvi.—Adolphus' History, vol. i. e. 1841—Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv.—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i.]

1768. On the 12th of March, the first Parliament of George the Third was dissolved. The dissatisfaction at its close, equalled, if it did not surpass, the satisfaction generally prevalent at its commencement. Such was the unpopularity of the Court, and the ministers, that it clothed with popular power any object of their dislike, even such a wretch as Wilkes, who reappeared in England about this time. Abroad, the honour of England had been ill sustained. France had been allowed, without a shadow of pretext, to seize upon the Papal territories of Avignon, and the Venaissin, and—what even the shadow of Pitt's name should have prevented * to annex to her

* "Though confined to your house (the King writes) your name has been sufficient to enable my administration to proceed."—Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 318.

dominions Corsica, struggling gallantly but in vain for national freedom. Lord Chatham, at the earnest request of the King, allowed the Privy Seal to be put in commission, when its possession entailed the necessary transactions of some business of which his infirmities rendered him incapable. But the dismissal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and Lord Shelburne, by the Duke of Grafton, added to the disgrace of the Corsican affair, determined him, in spite of the most urgent entreaties from the Crown and the Duke of Grafton, to resign on the 12th of October in this year.* 1768.

During the course of this year, Lyttelton seems to have been active in endeavouring to reunite the Grenville party with Lord Mansfield, while the Bedfords aware of the tottering state of the Government, cast

* "As for his Majesty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the closet; so amiably condescending, as a *promise* in every repeated audience, not only to forgive, but to supply the defects of health by his cheerful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependents, &c. Instead of this, the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, did not arise from those out of Government: they were suggested, nourished, and supported, by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependents; first, by secret treachery, then by public influence afterwards, in public councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is something behind the throne greater than the King himself. As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled, and solemnly agreed by His Grace, both as to measures and men: till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally constructed."—Lord Chatham's Speech, 2nd March, 1770.

1768. their eyes towards the Rockingham party. The two following letters are among the MSS. of this year.

"Copy of my letter to Lord Mansfield.

"June 9th, 1766.

"My dear Lord,

"At going out of town, I beg leave to trouble you with a few more *last words*. If things should work to a change, and there should be a desire of bringing in the Grenvilles, I think it would be better to apply to Lord Temple than to his brother; because, if he is not satisfied, his brother, I am sure, will not come in: and because, in this crisis, the offer of the first post in the Administration to him, would do more to lay the ferment in the minds of the people, than the making it to his brother, or any other person in the whole nation. What means would be necessary to incline him to accept of such an offer, if made, your Lordship's sagacity will enable you to judge much better than I can. Certainly he will not be willing to lose his credit with the people for the sake of coming in; nor would it be for the King's service that he should; but a sober use of that credit may do much good, and I know he is disposed to consider all the delicacies of his brother's situation, as well as of his own. Nor is he insensible of what the King's honour may require, as things are now circumstanced, nor unable to bring others to submit to his judgment. I will add, that a revival of just the old ministry of his brother, with the Bedfords, would not at present give to Government that strength and authority it so much

wants. Your Lordship will make what use you please of these hints, if you see a time when you think they may be useful, or keep them only between you, and 1768.

"Your most affectionate, &c.

"LYTTELTON."

FROM LORD TEMPLE TO LYTTELTON.

"Stowe, Sunday morn, Aug. 14th, 1768.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have hitherto left your Lordship's last letter unanswered, having nothing to write worth your attention; and though the same reason still subsists, yet cannot I find in my heart to let the Grenville cargo depart for Hagley, without bearing along with them a testimonial, under my hand, of my kindest regard for all Fairy Land, and the Apollo thereof, for Fairy Land has its Apollo as well as other regions. Four lines to Lady Elizabeth, and but two apiece to the others, is in my mind and heart strict poetical justice.

Now for Politics. I saw Ge.* yesterday, and upon comparing notes, I find the whole of all intelligence amounts substantially to just nothing. Lord Egmont, however, has, I believe, certainly been offered Shelburne's place, which he has certainly refused, saying that he delighted not in dancing upon the ropes, but should be happy to serve the King whenever Government shall be placed upon a solid ground. It is also said, that Lord Halifax has been offered the same, and refused; if true, these are mortal symptoms, especially as it is most confidently asserted that the Duke of Grafton has declared to his brother ministers

* So in the original.

1768. how much he is averse to continuing; and that Bradshaw has said to the friend of my informer, that no consideration will make His Grace continue another year. It is said, he, the Duke, recommends Lord North to succeed him. Thus have I daubed my paper with a sufficient quantity of doubtful nonsense to make a decent epistle; there remains only for me to add one assertion of absolute certainty, which is, that I remain with the warmest affection, ever, my dearest Lord's most devoted

"TEMPLE."

The state of the Colonies had become most alarming. The ministry had passed Acts of Parliament, laying duties on certain articles of commerce exported to America; but now, this hitherto unquestioned right, of imposing what were called external taxes, was denied. The province of Massachusetts took the lead in opposing these measures. Parliament met in December, and votes of censure on the Americans, and various resolutions were proposed in the Lords, carried without a division, and sent down to the Commons. The conduct of Lyttelton and his friends appears from the Hardwicke MSS:—"Lord Temple declared that he thought them all nugatory—a paper war with the Colonies—and then went out of the House." "Lord Lyttelton, and Lord Mansfield, were not there; the Lord Chancellor was silent." Before the close of the year Lord Chatham was reconciled to Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.

The debates in the Commons on the American

resolutions, the expulsion and re-election of Wilkes, 1769.
the Middlesex Riots, the phænomenon of Junius, in fact, no matter of public importance during this year, derives any light from the Hagley MSS. In July, the Administration were scared by the sudden appearance of Lord Chatham at St. James'. He remained for twenty minutes in the Royal closet, and was graciously received.

Parliament met on the 9th of January.

The King's Speech begun with an allusion to a recent distemper among horned cattle, and ended with a recommendation to both Houses to avoid heats and animosities among themselves; it was unsparingly ridiculed, and the Session was nicknamed the *Horned Cattle Session.* Lord Chatham's vigorous opposition to the Address, proved the reality of his resurrection to life and energy; speaking, in answer to Lord Mansfield, on the proceedings of the House of Commons, with respect to the Middlesex Election, he said, "Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but leads to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend (Lord Lyttelton) has truly described it, '*Res detestabilis et caduca.*'" There is no other trace of Lyttelton's speech in this debate. The union between Lord Chatham, the Grenvilles, and Lyttelton, and the Rockinghams, was now cemented, and so* it was afterwards formally announced to be by Lord Chatham in the House of Lords. In this debate, Lord Chan-

* In his speech on the 22nd of January.

1770. cellor Camden, declaring that he had accepted the seals without conditions, and that he had been trammelled too long, applauded all that had fallen from Lord Chatham, and accused the ministry of conspiring against the liberties of the country.

On the 15th of January, Lord Rockingham gave notice, that he had a motion of great importance to make, and moved, "that all the Lords be summoned on the 17th instant." Lord Weymouth moved to adjourn to the 22nd; a debate arose, and on a division the adjournment was carried; but a strong protest was entered, alluding to the adjournment having for its object "the removal of the Lord Chancellor of England, the speaker of this House," on account "of the part so honourable to himself, but perhaps so offensive to administration, which that noble Lord had taken, the first day of this session." The difficulty of supplying his place was very great. After most urgent personal entreaties from the King, Mr. Yorke, the great Lord Hardwicke's second son, accepted the seals, which his abilities and reputation well entitled him to hold. The accomplishment of his ambition was, however, fatal to this distinguished person. The conflict of his feelings produced a derangement of mind, to which his life became a victim. On the one hand was the natural and laudable anxiety to obtain the unprecedented honour of succeeding his father on the woolsack, and the difficulty of resisting the urgent importunities of his Sovereign; and on the other, was the repugnance to join an Administration of whose conduct and principles he disapproved. He fell by his own hands three

days after he had received the Great Seal, and before his patent of Baron Morden of Morden, in Cambridgeshire, was completed. To these circumstances Lord Rockingham alluded in the following letter: — 1770.

"Jan. 20th, 1770.

"My dear Lord,

"I did myself the honour of calling upon your Lordship this morning, and wished to have been lucky enough to find you at home, that I might shew you the enclosed sketch of a Protest, and which I should desire your Lordship to shew to Lord Temple, for in some parts, I imagine, it will require correction. I am not sure, also, whether the allusion to what passed in *the House of Lords on the first day* of the session, is not irregular.

"I am, with great difficulty, my dear Lord, got thus far in my letter relative to the business which presses. The Duke of Richmond went out of town, and will be back to-morrow. He had undertaken this matter, or I would have communicated earlier. The event of this evening has affected me to the greatest degree. Your Lordship knows what I must feel, most probably from your own feelings. In truth, my good Lord, abstracted from every political idea, the happiness of life consists in private friendships, and howsoever different ideas, or even principles in politicks, may estrange men, yet I hope my dear Lord, that there may be an honourable distinction, in feeling even the calamities attending private friendships; and at the same time, that I may adhere to those principles of

1770. public honour in politicks, which will not always allow personal private friendships to operate on the mind.

"I should be glad of the honour of seeing your Lordship to-morrow morning. I am much agitated, and I hardly know whether I shall be able to proceed so early as Monday.

"I am, my Lord,
"with great truth and regard,
"your Lordship's
"most obedient and humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM.

"Grosvenor Square, Jan. 20th, 1770.
Saturday night, near 9 o'clock."

On the 22nd of January, Lord Rockingham brought in his motion: he ascribed the general discontent not to any temporary cause, but to one which had grown upon us by degrees ever since His Majesty's accession,—"That the persons in whom His Majesty had confided had introduced a total change in the old system of English Government;—that they had adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of this country, viz: that the Royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support Government, to whatever hands the Administration should be committed." America, Corsica, the Civil List, were all included in the objects of his censure. The Duke of Grafton replied, and was answered by Lord Chatham in a speech of all his former vigour and effect. The House agreed to the 24th day of January for taking into consideration

the State of the Nation, but the motion was adjourned to the 2nd of February: but before that time, to the surprise of the world, the Duke of Grafton resigned the premiership. Lord Granby and Dunning also deserted the Government. 1770.

George the Third had sat ten years upon the throne when he dismissed his sixth Administration;* the seventh was now organized by Lord North —celebrated for its duration of twelve years, and for the mighty revolution, the herald of so many great events to the civilized globe, which happened during this long period of misgovernment,—during which the foreign empire of Great Britain was rent in twain, while at home the pillars of her constitution were shaken to their foundation; the constituent body jarring with the representative, and the people learning that lesson, fatal to the liberty of mixed governments, of looking elsewhere than to Parliament for the support of their rights and the redress of their grievances.

The opposition took up warmly the question of the power of the House of Commons to incapacitate a member from being elected, as they had done in the case of Wilkes; and on the 2nd of February, Lord Rockingham brought in a Resolution condemnatory of this act, in which he was strenuously supported by Lord Chatham.

* Prime Ministers, 1760-70.—Mr. Pitt, at the accession of George the Third, October, 1760; Earl Bute, 1761; Mr. Grenville, 1763; Marquess of Rockingham, 1765; Earl Chatham, 1766; Duke of Grafton, 1768; Lord North, 1770.

1770. The following fragment of Lyttelton's speech on this occasion is preserved among the Hagley MSS.

"On the Question of the Middlesex Election, anno 1770.

"My Lords,

"I am very glad that some digression has been made from the question, because it has given an opportunity to a noble and learned Lord,* to state the truth of certain facts which I find have been grossly misrepresented, and which are exceedingly interesting, not only to those who love and honour his Lordship (as I am proud to say I do), but also to the whole community of this nation, deeply concerned in the wisdom and rectitude of his conduct, which has always hitherto, and I dare be confident always will, come out the brighter for having been aspersed and questioned. Whether the fixed rules of law and judicial proceedings, relating to libels, are just as a lover of liberty would desire I have my doubts: but of this I am sure, that a judge upon the bench must conform himself to them; his duty and his oath require him to do so, till the legislature shall tell him that they are not to be observed. As for the question before us; after all the united powers of eloquence, reason, and learning, have been exhausted in this and former debates on this subject, through the whole course of last session, I would not trouble your Lordships upon it now, if I considered this motion in

* Lord Mansfield.

any other light than as merely renewing a claim of right for the people. I could heartily wish no occasion had ever been given to agitate this question. It would have been better for the Parliament and better for the people, that the utmost limits of their rights with relation to each other had not been brought into debate. But that veil, which prudence kept over a most undesirable and most unhappy dispute, the rash and violent hand of angry passion has torn. The point has been discussed; it was necessary for me to take my part upon it, and when I took it, after long and most impartial deliberation, I took it for my life. Questions of expediency change from year to year; but constitutional principles can never change, so long as the Constitution itself exists. If such principles should be rendered as flexible and as subject to occasional variations as the measures of a Government, or the measures of a party, this kingdom would soon be irrecoverably enslaved; but while it continues to preserve its freedom, these great fundamental truths, *that no power, except that of the whole legislature, can in any manner create a new incapacity*, and *that every legal right which the subject enjoys, is secured to him by that law from whence he derived it*, must ever remain in full force. No resolution of one House, or both Houses of Parliament, can weaken that force; no length of time can wear it out. 1770.

"As for the utility of renewing this claim at this time, I can only say to your Lordships, that the people must not think their rights are forgotten, when their strongest efforts may be wanting

1770. for the defence of a country endeared to them by those rights. I had rather the two Houses should quarrel with each other than the nation with them both. To prevent the bad effects of an increasing distrust and despondency in the people, at this important conjuncture, is well worth our endeavours; though I must own I conceive so very little hope of doing good to this country in the present state of things; I see it so disunited, so deprived of all system, and of all materials out of which a system can be formed, so ill prepared to contend with innumerable difficulties, internal and external; so weakened by the loss, the most deplorable loss, of one of its ablest supports,* which the hand of Providence has thrown down when our need of it was greatest;—that I am convinced even those who are most called by their talents into publick action, have much more to hold them back than encourage them to go on. For my own part, I well know to how very narrow a sphere my poor abilities are, and probably will be, confined for the short remainder of my life. But I will endeavour to act within that narrow sphere consistently with myself: I will depart from no principle I have ever declared: I will retain moderation without losing . . . . ."

Lyttelton's name appears also in the long Protests which took place on this occasion; and when on the first of May, Lord Chatham brought in a Bill for reversing the adjudication of the House of Commons against Wilkes, it was supported by Lord Temple, Lyttelton, and the Duke of Richmond, who afterwards

* Mr. Grenville.

signed a Protest against its rejection. Lyttelton's name 1770.
appears again in a minority on the same Lord's motion, touching the King's answer to the remonstrance of the city of London.

The session closed on the 19th of May, after the opposition had proposed a set of resolutions in which the whole ministerial system with relation to America for several years past, was considered: all these resolutions were rejected; the Administration contriving to get rid of a troublesome question, without entering much into a discussion or refutation of the charges brought against them.

Before Parliament met again, the seizure of the Falkland Islands (Isles Malouines), by the Spaniards, had raised a great outcry against the Government. It was truly said by Johnson* "that of which we were almost weary ourselves we did not expect any one to envy." No possessions could be of less value than these unproductive spots in the Atlantic, in which weak settlements were supported by remittances from England. But the insult was not less on this account, and was clearly premeditated. The Government, however, do not appear to the impartial observer of this day to have been remiss in seeking or obtaining ample reparation.

On the 22nd of November, the Duke of Richmond moved for an Address to the Crown for the production of all papers received by the Ministry between the 12th of September 1769 and the 12th September 1770. He was supported by a brilliant declamation from Lord

* See his "Thoughts on the late transactions respecting the Falkland Islands."

1770. Chatham, who reminded the House that when Mr. Grenville was Prime Minister, and the French took possession of Tortuga,* he did not negotiate, but made a peremptory demand, and despatched a courier to Paris, who returned in a few days with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of all effects belonging to the English. He ended by warning them of their danger—"if they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads—if by a compromise they should stain the honour of the Crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their consciences and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety."

Lyttelton spoke on the same side, with the Duke of Manchester, Lords Rockingham and Gower. The motion was of course defeated. Captain Hunt of the Tamer brought to England the news of the seizure of these islands. After the failure of the Duke of Richmond's motion, Lord Chatham, with the sanction of Lord Rockingham, made two motions for the examination of Captain Hunt. He wrote to Lyttelton.

"Hayes, Tuesday night.

"My dear Lord,

"I hardly know how to take the liberty I am doing: and as little to let it alone. I intend to-morrow to move for Captain Hunt, who came home in the Tamer, the beginning of June, to attend the Lords; perhaps, too, I may add something relative to the vigilance and activity of Government about Falkland's Island.

* Turk's Island in the West Indies, 1764.

I do not presume to desire your appearance, otherwise than as the thing may be totally to your Lordship's own interior satisfaction of mind. The country is on the brink of a precipice; and my ideas may go beyond the notions of some in point of prudence; but if I err, it is upon cool reflection. The veil must be stript which covers the supine neglect, or wicked treachery of the Court; and Government be awakened and stimulated to our defence; or something will come, like that woe-begone figure which drew "Priam's curtain in the dead of night, and would have told him half his Troy was burnt, but Priam found the fire e'er he his tongue. 1770.

"Decrepit age may sleep and be excusable, but youth steep'd in sloth, and arming itself with nothing but insensibility and obduracy, is the consummation of what wants a name.

"I am, with sincere and affectionate esteem,
"My dear Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient
"and most humble servant,
"CHATHAM."

On a motion for examining Captain Hunt at the bar, and on another relative to the same subject, Lord Chatham was defeated. His opposition had never been fiercer against any Government, nor had it ever been sustained by greater displays of eloquence—that eloquence which three years ago neither friend nor foe had ever expected to hear again. But Lord North's Government, apparently of so frail a texture and exposed to such vehement assaults, received

1771. about this time an accession of strength upon which no one had calculated. The death of Mr. Grenville* not only removed a most formidable adversary, but broke up the band which his abilities and character held together, and which formed one of the most powerful sections of the opposition. Many of Mr. Grenville's adherents joined the Government† in the ensuing year; at the early part of which Lord Weymouth's seals were given to Lord Rochford; Mr. Bathurst became Baron Apsley and Lord Chancellor; Thurlow, Attorney, and Wedderburne Solicitor General. The defection of the latter from his party was deeply felt and much resented, and henceforth we find Lord Chatham's correspondence teeming with complaints of the moderation of Lord Rockingham, and the "no-plan of Lord Temple."

The political history of this year is chiefly occupied with contests between the House of Commons, and the City of London, arising out of an order of the former to arrest certain printers, guilty of a breach of privilege, by having published the debates.‡ The magistrates of the City were not contented with resisting an illegal proclamation, which had been most foolishly

* He died 13th November, 1770.

† See the violent attack on Mr. Whately, Mr. Grenville's private secretary, in Junius. "Mr. Grenville, your friend, your patron, your benefactor, who raised you from a depth compared to which even Bradshaw's family stands on an eminence, was hardly cold in his grave when you solicited the office of go-between to Lord North," &c. &c.—vol. iii. p. 310.

‡ The mismanagement, and abortive nature of these proceedings, emboldened, instead of intimidating the printers, and from this period is to be dated the open printing of the votes.

obtained from the Crown, and which offered a reward to 1771.
those who apprehended the offenders against the privileges of the House of Commons, but in the course of the contest they put themselves so clearly and entirely in the wrong, that Lord Chatham, and those who acted with him, were far more embarrassed than aided by the tumults excited against the Government.*

The correspondence of Lord Chatham, with Lord Temple and Lord Shelburne, at this time, contains indisputable proof of the high estimation in which Lyttelton's character was held:—

"Allow a spectator (Lord Chatham writes in the April of this year to Lord Temple) in a great chair, to add, that a plan for a more equal representation, by additional Knights of the Shire, seems highly seasonable, and to shorten the duration† of Parliament not less so. If your Lordship should approve, *could Lord*

* In January, 1770, Lord Chatham writes to Lord Shelburne, "A headlong self-willed spirit has sunk the City into nothing. Attempting powers it has no colour of right to, it has lost the weight to which it was entitled."

"The Corporation of London," Arnold observes, "could not pretend to be a national, but merely a local body; and London has never exercised such an influence over the country, as that the chief magistrate of London should be recognised as the popular leader of England. The popular party, then, as I have said before, having no official organ, spoke as it best could through self-appointed individuals, and through the press."—Lecture VII.

† This extract of Lord Chatham's letter was read at a Common Council, held at Guildhall, on the 9th of April, 1780, and ordered to be entered on the Journals of the Court.—Note to p. 155 of vol. iv. of Chatham Correspondence.

1771. *Lyttelton's discretion be brought to taste those ideas*, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us."

The two points mentioned in this letter were at this period warmly advocated by Lord Chatham. There was also another subject of more immediate application, on which he was most urgent:—a motion for the dissolution of the Parliament at the close of the session; and on this matter, also, he appears to have been most anxious for Lyttelton's support and concurrence. "What Lord Lyttelton (writes Lord Temple) may be induced to do, I cannot with any precision say." And Lord Chatham writes to Lord Shelburne, "My letters are doomed to be tidings of ill to the public. I learnt yesterday that Lord Lyttelton is totally averse to attending a motion for dissolution. I have the mortification to hear from Lord Camden that he disapproves, and cannot attend it. I found in the Duke of Northumberland no inclination to such a motion, or expectation of support from others, though to do His Grace justice, full himself of right and worthy dispositions towards the constitution and public welfare. I need not say that we have little support to expect from the other quarter of opposition." In a former letter he had complained, that "the narrow genius of old-corps' connection, has weakened whiggism, and rendered national union, on revolution principles, impossible."

Every day proved the value of Mr. Grenville's character and services, in the difficult art of heartening and keeping together a party, restraining at the same time individuals from making desultory attacks in

which the whole party could not be induced to join, and which are the rocks on which most oppositions make shipwreck. Noman, perhaps, ever lived, better skilled than Lord Chatham, to sound in Parliamentary debate that trumpet which kindles war by its blast, and stirs the hearers to conflict; but his characteristic excellence in this respect, was purchased at the price of a failure in the other qualifications of the leader of a party. In the times of necessary inactivity, when there was no opening for an attack, he seems to have been incapable of restraint, and intolerant to those, who like Lord Camden, departed, though with painful reluctance, from the measures which he propounded for their adoption. 1771.

On the 30th of April, the question of the Middlesex Election was again brought before the House of Lords, by the Duke of Richmond. With the full concurrence of the Rockingham party, he moved, "That the resolution of this House, of the 2nd of February, 1770, 'that any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leads to great confusion,' be expunged." Lord Chatham strenuously supported the measure, saying, "our forefathers exercised the right in the case of Ashby and White, and received the applause of the whole nation." After a long debate, the motion was rejected by 55 against 35.

1771. On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham moved an Address to the King, to dissolve the Parliament after the end of the session, and to call a new one with convenient dispatch. He supported this by a speech of great eloquence, containing a general attack on the administration. The debate lasted till a late hour, when the motion was negatived by 72 against 23. The session ended on the 8th of May.

About this time the heir at law to Burton Pynsent, made an attempt to set aside the will which bequeathed that property to Lord Chatham. The attempt was unsuccessful. On the 7th of May, Lord Chatham writes to Lyttelton from Hayes :—

"Hayes, Tuesday, May 7th, 1771.

"I NEED not use many words, my dear Lord, to persuade you of my present satisfaction on the events of my cause : allow me to hope that as few are necessary to assure your Lordship, that the kind joy you are so good to express on the occasion, sweetens and ennobles my own pleasure, in a success not a little interesting to my children. Your Lordship will, I believe, give me credit for a kind of sentiment which renders the unanimity of the judges, in my sight, very affecting. To have what one thinks one's own, is well ; to have all the world think so too, is a source of higher satisfaction. I had not heard of the new light thrown upon my cause by Lord Mansfield. Sagacity, I well know, to be his peculiar gift; and justice, I could not doubt, to be his virtue. Lady Chatham desires to present her best compliments, and sincere

thanks to your Lordship, for the kind part you take in our success. 1771

"Believe me, with truest esteem and affection,

"My dear Lord,

"your most faithful friend, and

"humble servant,

"CHATHAM."

During the recess Lord Halifax died, and Lord Suffolk succeeded to his Secretaryship of State. The Duke of Grafton accepted the Privy Seal, which Lord Suffolk had held; and Lord Hyde, the Chancellorship of the Duchy, vacant by the death of Lord Strange. The Government was strengthened by these changes, while the opposition became daily weaker.

In the summer of 1771, the Duke of Cumberland, one of the King's brothers, had privately married Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq of Cotton Hall, in the County of Derby, and daughter of Lord Irnham. The King forbad them the Court: nevertheless, in the early part of 1772, the Duke of Gloucester avowed his marriage with the Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, whom he had espoused in 1766. These proceedings produced the famous Royal Marriage Act. On the 21st of February, Lord Rochford introduced "an Act for the better regulating the future marriages of the Royal Family," which made it unlawful for any descendants of George the Second, being the grandchildren and presumptive heirs of the reigning King, male and female (other than the issue of Princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry

1772. into foreign families), to marry without the previous consent of the King, and his successors; unless being of the age of twenty-five, they should give notice to the Privy Council, twelve months before, of their intention to contract marriage; and unless, during that time, both Houses of Parliament should expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. The measure met with a fierce opposition in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Chatham condemned it. Lords Rockingham, Camden, and Lyttelton, opposed it. Questions were put to the Judges as to the King's prerogative, with respect to the education and marriage of the Royal Family; and the proceedings in 1718 were referred to. A very well written abstract of the arguments is to be found in the Annual Register; but unfortunately scarcely any trace of this important debate is preserved, and I can only surmise from the following letters that Lyttelton took an active part in it.

"Feb. 28th, 1772.

"My Lord,

"When your Lordship asked me in the House of Lords this evening, whether we had thought of any *line* to draw relative to the extent of who was to be included under the *description of Royal Family*, I answered your Lordship, that I rather thought it might be *too difficult* to draw. I expect, to-morrow, some friends to dine here, and some to come in the evening. I shall have some good *law* advice, so that some idea may be formed. I am inclined to think, that if we

take the *line* precisely drawn by the Judges, we may be well able to defend it, from the advantage we shall have in debate, by asserting that it is the *extent* of what the present judges, in their opinion, can go to. If the friends of a more diffusive power object to a *line so* drawn, as being too limited, we may well urge, that for the *present*, and probably for a *long* time, this line may answer every purpose of restraining the very near of kin to the Crown, from marrying without the Crown's consent, till they are of those years of discretion, which ultimately the Bill may fix. 1772.

Whenever, from fatality, the actual state of the *persons* under that description become too few, the Crown may again apply, and Parliament may again (if they think proper,) extend the *line*. I have some doubt, whether the line drawn in the Statute of Precedence, drawn in 31st, H. 8th, would not have been a better line, adding also to it the *presumptive heir*. But then we go further than the present judges have authorised us. I should be much obliged to your Lordship, if you would give the matter a consideration; and if you could communicate to me your Lordship's thoughts to-morrow, at any time before dinner, I might be the better informed, and of course the better able to judge afterwards, what line may be best to draw. I was quite exhausted in the end of the debates of this evening: indeed my old stomach complaints never fail visiting me when I sit long in the House of Lords, and am obliged to take any part in debate, which always agitates my mind exceedingly. I am much better now, and had the satisfaction, when

1772. I came home, of finding Lady Rockingham arrived in very good health.

"I have the honour to be,
"my Lord,
"with great truth and regard,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM."

"Friday night, near 12 o'clock,
Feb. y^e 28th, 1772."

"March 3rd, 1772.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"IT gave me much pleasure this morning, to hear that your Lordship was quite well. I own I infinitely regret that your Lordship was unable to go on, in the course of the argument which you had so happily and ably begun; and indeed I cannot but still wish, both for my own private satisfaction, and also the information of the Lords, that somehow, your Lordship might again take up that very essential line of argument. I should have no objection to start something which might necessitate the Bishop of Gloucester to speak again. I should even not mind, whether I was or was not precisely correct in touching upon what fell from him, and which I truly think much wants explanation.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"and humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM.

"Grosvenor Square, Tuesday, 1 o'clock,
March y^e 3rd, 1772.

"Perhaps it would be still the best way, if your Lordship would even take up this matter entirely yourself." 1772.

The measure ultimately passed into a law,—but whether it has not been productive of more evil than it has prevented, to the Royal Family, and to the State, is a problem which I am not called upon to solve in this work.

Early in the year, Lyttelton received the following letter from Lord Chatham.

"Burton Pynsent, Feb. 16, 1772.

"My dear Lord,

"The sincere satisfaction I feel, on what I hear of Mr. Lyttelton's return, with all the dispositions you could wish, will not allow me to be silent, on so interesting an event. Accept my dear Lord, my felicitations upon these happy beginnings, together with every wish that this opening of light may ripen unto the perfect day. I know what it is (thank God) to be happy hitherto in my children; and I grieve for those who meet with essential disappointments in that vital part of domestick happiness. May you never again know anguish from such a wound to your comfort, but the remaining period of your days derive as much felicity from the return, as you suffered pain from the deviation. I have passed through a severe salutary fit of the gout, which has been making a kindly retreat for above this fortnight; and I am now again on my legs, your Lordship will not think I grow older, by

1772. finding me versifying. The inclosed paper will tell its own contents. I meant it should have followed you and Mr. Garrick to Hagley; but partly in doubt if it was worth the sending, and knowing your preparations for the fair ambassadress, it did not go; reading it again lately I have taken heart (and it asks not a little) to send it to you, which is nothing less tremendous *than showing up to the doctor.* It is now, my dear Lord, at your disposal, and I shall esteem it equally a favour, if you will be so good to commit it to the flames, or give it to Mr. Garrick, as your Lordship may judge, *bona fide*, it deserves. I will only add that the verses suppose Mr. Garrick at Mount Edgecumbe, the better to adopt the answer. I know not yet when I shall set my face eastward: the metropolis is no inviting scene. The place where I am is as comfortable winter quarters as Hayes: the climate softer, the plough affords some amusement—my garden will soon give more, so perhaps the close of winter may still find me here among my evergreens, *æstatem increpitans seram zephyrosque morantes.* For the present, adieu, my dear Lord; and believe me always with true regard,

" Your very faithful,
" and affectionate humble Servant,
" CHATHAM."

The verses were in truth a very indifferent production: the writer described himself, and no doubt really believed himself to be one, with

"Ambition cured and an unpassioned mind."

Lyttelton's answer of thanks to this letter is printed in the Chatham correspondence.* On the 26th of June, Lyttelton's returned son married Apphia,† daughter of Mr. Broome Watts, of Chipping Norton, and widow of Joseph Peach, who had been Governor of Calcutta; it was an ill-omened marriage, and soon followed by a separation; but was hailed at the time by Lyttelton himself and all his friends, in the hope that it would effect a permanent change in the habits of Mr. Lyttelton. Lord Chatham wrote as follows:— 1772.

" Burton Pynsent, July 22, 1772.

" My dear Lord,

" I have a most longing wish to be able to be the bearer of warm felicitation to your Lordship and the happy pair, on the completion of an union, which knits you all together for life, in the sweet triple bonds of paternal, filial, conjugal love, and domestick happiness; may the virtues of your race guard the pious work, and fix the felicity of your family, that fortuna domûs et avi numerentur avorum! I could not but smile to hear that Cupid knew his Hagley for true Paphian ground, and had taught his slow brother Hymen, to mend his pace in so delightful a race, and am sure your Lordship more than forgave your flesh and blood this amiable impatience. From all I hear of Mrs. Lyttelton, I have not the least doubt that Hymen now will have his turn, and lead Love, for his inseparable companion. Lady Chatham desires to be in-

* Vol. iv. p. 195.

† She lived to a great old age, dying in April, 1840.

1772. cluded in the same cordial sentiments with myself, on whatever interests your Lordship's happiness, and that of your family. The young *dramatis personæ*, too, full of your Lordship's goodness to them, hope to be allowed to offer their compliments. I will now, my dear Lord, conclude where I began, by repeating how truly I wish to be with you at Hagley; but numberless occupations indispensably requiring me here the short remains of this summer, I am forced to postpone that satisfaction, and must place the waiting on your Lordship, in scenes early and long endeared, among my best pleasures to come. Believe me always with perfect esteem and affection,

"My dear Lord,

"your most faithful

"CHATHAM."

Lyttelton's answer is printed in the Chatham correspondence.* After expressing his disappointment at the postponement of Lord Chatham's visit to Hagley, he adds: "with how much regret we give it up, I can hardly express; and it grieves me the more, because my park is this year in a higher degree of beauty than I ever beheld it, and I think you would see it—especially all the environs of my house—with the same kind of pleasure as you would the full maturity of a fine child,† whom you had been fond of in his infancy, and had partly formed yourself, after several years of absence. You give me indeed the prospect of the favour of your company at some

* Vol. iv. p. 220. † See vol. i. p. 279.

future time; but alas! my dear Lord, before another summer comes, a high wind may blow down some of my finest old trees within the view of my house, or a cold wind may blow down me. 1772.

"However, I will trust that our destinies will permit us to meet again at this place in good health and good spirits, and that you will find all its beauties unimpaired."

Another summer came, but before it passed away the foreboding of the writer had come to pass—the cold wind had blown him down.

One of the various measures discussed in the House of Lords during the session, was a motion to repeal the Test Laws; it appears that Lyttelton spoke in favour of the Repeal. It had passed the Commons apparently with the full consent of the ministers, though there seems reason to suppose that they calculated on its being thrown out by the Bishops in the Lords—and this was the fate it met with; but it was warmly supported by Lyttelton, the Duke of Richmond, Lords Chatham and Shelburne. It was rejected by a majority of 102 to 29. I have not been able to discover the nature of the subject to which Lord Chatham refers, at the beginning of his next letter.

"Burton Pynsent, Oct. 22nd, 1772.

"My dear Lord,

"An excursion to Lyme, for the pleasure of sea views, occasioned my receiving your Lordship's kind letter some days later than its due course; the ex-

1772. pressions in my Lord Chancellor's* letter to your Lordship, on my subject, are extremely flattering, and I should be much obliged to your Lordship, if you would let my Lord Apsley know, on any proper opportunity, how much I feel the honour his Lordship does me, in giving any weight to my opinion on a matter not a little critical. I am extremely glad to learn the intention with regard to young Beckford; persuaded still more and more, from having had the pleasure of having him with us here for a week this summer; that the present plan for him interests no less the future welfare and figure of this fine boy, than the immediate happiness of the mother. I compute this will find your Lordship about your arrival at Stowe, where I hope you will be enjoying all the delight it abundantly affords, without any mixture in your thoughts of the unpleasant kind intimated towards the conclusion of your Lordship's letter. I fear the opportunity of further discourse on this, or other subjects must be at a greater distance than your Lordship had understood, as London, or its vicinity, does not enter into our plan for the winter; in the mean time, Lady Chatham and I are not undelighted to rock the *cradle of tragedy*, and have even ventured to

* Allen Bathurst was created Baron Bathurst in 1711, and Earl Bathurst in 1722. In 1771 his second son Henry (who afterwards succeeded to his father's title) being then one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, was made Lord High Chancellor, and created Baron Apsley. This double distinction of the father and the son is the subject of Burke's memorable panegyric and apostrophe in his speech on Conciliation with America in 1775.

wish that your Lordships was partaking with us in this parental amusement. Gout is beginning to threaten: if he kindly abstains for a time, the Cothurnus will very soon again display itself. Lady Chatham presents her best compliments to your Lordship, and the young tribe beg to offer theirs. 1772.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful

"and affectionate humble Servant,

"CHATHAM.

"Please to present all loves at Stowe."

Towards the close of this year a portion of the Rockingham party were anxious to try the effect of *seceding*, as Wyndham* and others had done on the Spanish Convention in Sir R. Walpole's time, from their attendance in Parliament; but even those who were of this opinion were by no means agreed as to whether the secession should be *absolute*, and on some *definite measure*, or *partial*, and from *certain measures only;* however, according to Mr. Burke,† "the invincible repugnance" of Lords Temple, Lyttelton, and Camden, put an end to the scheme.

About the beginning of this year Stanislaus wrote again to Lyttelton. It would be difficult, if not impossible to conceive a country in a more deplorable state, than that in which Poland had been, since the last letter of Stanislaus to Lyttelton. It is due, however, to the former to say, that he made great efforts

* See vol. i. p. 120.

† See Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 358-9, and 378.

1772. to efface the infamy of the means which procured his elevation to the throne. He wielded well, in most respects, the power he had so ill acquired—confirming the abolition of the *liberum veto*—restraining the licence of the hetmans and grand marshalls, affording some encouragement to science and to commerce. But Poland was in an almost irretrievable state—it is the sad consolation of the lover of freedom, that she would probably have perished from the internal canker in her vitals, even if the vultures which surrounded her had been driven from their prey. The Dissidents, abetted by Russia, deprived of the few remaining rights left to them by former persecutors, waged destructive war with the Catholics, whose patroness was Austria. Some of the Anti-dissidents or Catholics formed a confederacy at Rov, and made an abortive attempt to carry off the King by violence. To this act allusion is made in the following letter—

"Warsaw, 18th Jan. 1772.

"My Lord Earl of Lyttelton,

"The letter by which you so friendly congratulated me on my escape of the 3rd of November last, did not reach my hands, before the 10th instant, by some impediments of the post, now so common in this unhappy country. I thank you with that inmost sense of gratitude, which is the effect equally of my great regard for your person and character, and of the persuasion, that your wishes in my favour, are not mere compliments, but the real desire of your noble heart. If Heaven deigns to continue and com-

plete the protection, which it has so wonderfully shown me, on that late occasion, I shall at last reap the fruits of the maxim, which I constantly pursued in spite of all difficulties, nunquam esse de republica desperandum. 1772.

" This I was teached among you Englishmen: may your goodwill and assistance, help me to the harbour, towards which I must tend, showing so dangerous cliffs on both sides. Though I know that I am not master of your language, I rather chuse to shew you, even by that, my partiality to all what is yours. Besides, I hope you will always perfectly understand, the sincere though incorrect expressions of the man, whose youth you have been pleased to instruct and adorn by your example and conversation, in that happy time of my life, when I was in your country. I owe and give you many thanks, for the kind reception you actually honour my nephew with. May he learn in England under your eyes, to become once a useful patriot of his own country. Farewell, my Lord, and may your life and happiness make long the joy of your friends and friend.

" Stanislas August, R.

" A My Lord Comte de Lyttelton,
" a Londres."

Catherine the Second, Frederic the Second, and Maria Theresa (who at least might have learnt from suffering to pity the sufferer,) daily encroached more and more, under the various hackneyed pleas of tyranny, upon the Polish territories. Russia let loose upon them hordes of savages, whose acts of barbarous cruelty are too horrible

1772. to relate; while Prussia and Austria kept armies at free quarters upon this unhappy country. Towards the close of this year Russia disembarrassed herself of the Turkish war, and the detestable scheme of the confederates was ripe for execution; then was consummated that act of atrocious political iniquity, that fatal precedent, which recoiled upon its authors with such righteous retribution during the French Revolution, which England to her great disgrace tamely beheld, and of which to this day Europe feels the evils —then was effected the first partition of Poland. The next and last letter from Stanislaus to Lyttelton is written some months after this event.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE KING OF POLAND.

Mars. 18.

"Lorsqu'on dit qui'l n'a tenu que à moi de prevenir les malheurs dela Pologne en prenant les Dissidens sous ma protection quand j'ai êtè abandonnè par le parti Catholique, la veritè des faits est tres fort alterèe.

"Lorsqu'on m'accuse d'avoir fait une faute en refusant le commandement de l'armèe Russe il y a à repondre que lors de la declaration de guerre par les Turcs nous n'avions encore eprouvè de tyrannie politiqueque de la Russie. Les Turcs en se declarant cotre l'ouvrage de la Russie fait icy en 1767 ouvroient une esperance de seconer le joug imposè à la Pologne par la Russie. Si j'ai fait une faute politique en me refusant aux propositions, d'ailleurs pas bien claires, que Repnin m'a faites alors, je ne l'ai faite que par patriotisme, malgrè le danger personel auquel l'inimitiè des Turcs

declarèe contre moi même m'exposoit, l'exemple de Jean Sobieski trompè par les mêmes leurres me conseilloit la precaution. La conquête de la Vatachie et la Moldavie (supposè même que l'on eut voulu me les laisser, ce que la position actuelle contredit) seroit devenue pour les Turcs, et les puissances qui les soutenoient, un sujet eternel de guerre contre la Pologne, à laquelle cependant la Russie n'accordoit pas une force d'armèe nationale, ni une soliditè de gouvernement telle qu'il lui en fandroit pour se resoudre à se donner un ennemi redoubtable, tel que la Turquie. Vous me direz, mais cette même Turquie etoit deja votre ennemie declarèe. Elle ne l'etoit que contre moi personellement; et cela par une occasion momentanèe, et par la fougue insensèe du Vizir d'alors, qui en se declarant contre moi a agi contre l'avis de la france, qui lui representoit vainement que cela me forceroit justement à rester toujours dans une especе de dependance de la Russie. D'ailleurs Repnin ne m'offroit qu'une explication tres equivoque sur la garantie, et cependant comptoit me brouiller sans retour avec ma propre nation, et aigrir entierement les maisons de Bourbon, et d'Autriche contre moi, en me tentant du vain titre de Commandant de l'armie Russe. On a vu dans la personne de l'Empereur Charles vii de Baviere à quelles humiliations, à quels chagrins est reduit un Prince, qui avec un grand titre, et aucune puissance propre, accepte dans son propre päys le titre de generalissime des troupes d'un voisin tres puissant. Mais sur tout je vous repete que Repnin ne m'a fait accune proposition positive on claire. 1772.

" Quant à la troisieme assertion comme si j'avois fait

1772. des propositions secrettes au Roy de Prusse, elle est entïerement fausse :—je n'. y. ai jamais songè : vous pouver l'assurer hardiment.

" Mais ce que je vous prierois de dementir tont aussi fortement, ce sont les deux dernieres calomnies dont le Roy de Prusse cherche à me noircir ; l'une que j'ai insinuè moi même aux Dantzigois de se rendre à lui ; l'autre que je separe mes interêts d'avec ceux de l'etat. Je n'ai pas cessè au contraire d'encourager les Dantzigois de resister au Roy de Prusse : vous savez mieux que personne combien je travaille a leur procurer des secours. Vous pouvez assurer positivement, car vous le savez, qu'il est absolumment faux que dans la moindre chose j'ai separè mes interêts d'avec ceux de l'etat, et de ma nation ; et ma conduite ne le dementira jamais la dessus.

" Le Conseil du Senat n'auroit fait rien de plus au premier de mars qu'au huit de fevrier ; et la Diete n'auroit rien fait de mieux au mois de Juin qu'elle ne fera au mois d'Avril si l'Angleterre nous abandonne : Et en áttendant l'augmentation journaliere des impôts de bleds et d'argent dont les trois cours nous accablent, l'extension des saisies dont leurs troupes s'emparent ; et la fausse monnoie que les Prussiens continuent de repandre, sont des maux qui font jetter des hauts cris, non pas à moi, mais à la nation, qui sent absolumment une fin quelconque, et qui prête deja l'oreille aux insinuations des trois cours, et surtout du Roy de Prusse, qui par ses emissaires dit dans nos Provinces que c'est mon obstination contre ses vues qui aggrandit les malheurs de la Pologne, landis qu'il tient un langage si different dans d'autres päys.

" Faites moi voir des moyens de resistance, et vous 1772.
me verrez agir avec la même vigeur à la diete prochaine, qu' au conseil du Senat d'Octobre dernier. Si je plie, ce n'est pas parceque je suis en danger personellement, ou parceque je n'ai plus de quoi vivre; mais parceque les trois cours disent clairement qu'elles partageront le reste de la Pologne, si nous refusons à en signer le demembrement tel qu'il a ètè annoncè au mois de Septembre. Quand je leur objecte l'extension journaliere de ce demembrement, elles repondent, " si vous signez celui de Septembre le surplus vous sera rendu, mais en attendant ceci doit vous servir d'avertissement, et d'annonce du partage total si vous vous. y. refusez : Vous n'aurez ni tribunals ni justice, ni revenu jusqu à la diete, et apres la diete vous n'aurez même plus de Patrie, si vous resistez." Quand je leur parle de la suretè de ce peu qu'ils pretendent nous laisser encore, de la libertè de notre commerce, de l'amelioration de notre gouvernement, Benoit, (ministre Prussien) repond le moins; Stackleberg et Rzenriski (ministres Russe et Autrichien) me disent tout bas si vous signez de bonne grace le demembrement proposè nous vous donnerons du contentement sur ses objets, et nous y. engagerons le Roy de Prusse. Mais la Russie croit avoir besoin du Roy de Prnsse; l' Autriche le craint; qui sait donc si dans cette occasion les deux Imperatrices ne se laisseront pas dicter la loi par lui. Il a fait accroire à la Russie, que sans lui, elle n'obtiendra jamais des Turcs une paix telle qu'elle la desire : Malheureusement elle a attachè son point d' honneur à l'independance des Tartares,—à la proprietè

1772. de deux Fortresses dans la Crimèe ; au commerce sur la mer noire, et par là dans la mediterranèe ; et à un remboursement enorme pour les fraix de la guerre. Les trois premiers articles sont trop durs à digerer aux Turcs. Ce n'est cependant qu'apres qu'elle sera debaraseè de la guerre Turque qu'elle puisse brider le Roy de Prusse." Here the letter ends abruptly.

To return to affairs in England—* "At home Administration had carried everything with such irresistible force in the last session that Opposition seemed to be reduced to little more than a name: and could afford only a weak and unavailing dissent to measures which it was not capable of impeding; whilst its members were weary of fruitless exertions, in which the inequality was so great as scarcely to admit of a struggle. In this state of things it seemed as if nothing but disunion or intrigue in the cabinet was capable of obstructing the views, or endangering the security of the minister: and these, if there were such, were not of a sufficient magnitude to answer either of these purposes." Such is the description given by Mr. Burke of the political state of this period,—and he is an authority not easily gainsayed on this subject. It does not appear that Lyttelton took any part in the great measure which at this time chiefly engrossed the attention of Parliament—the readjustment and control of the affairs of the East India Company.

That the invitation to Hagley was renewed to Lord Chatham, appears from his answer, which follows here.

* Annual Register for 1773, chap. vi.

1773.

"Lyme Regis, June 21st, 1773.

"My dear Lord,

"The double favour of your Lordship's two letters came safe to me at this place, and I beg to offer thanks and acknowledgments more than two-fold for so kind an attention. I have been at Lyme almost a fortnight, breathing the purest and softest air imaginable; which, together with the frequent use of my horse, promises much benefit to me, in a state of limbs a good deal weakened. This necessary arrangement must, I fear, be of short duration, and will hardly admit of my gratifying my ardent wishes, to wait on your Lordship in Worcestershire, once more to enjoy with you the well-known beauties of *Old Hagley*, as well as to admire the charms and glories of the *new*. This unfortunate contretemps will be a plentiful source of regrets to more than myself, as Lady Chatham and the young tribe, so kindly remembered by your Lordship, must share the disappointment: my only resource is to hope that next summer may repay my loss in this. You cannot but smile, my dear Lord, at plans of future excursions in your co-æval in *years* and much your senior in *infirmities:* but ideas of good to come are the inexhaustible consolations of life, and I will indulge the best I may this pleasing vision; in the meantime, allow me, my dear Lord, to dwell with satisfaction on the flattering reality of knowing your Lordship's very friendly and kind wishes to receive so large an emigration from Somersetshire. I cannot conclude without begging to add that I regret the loss

1773. of an occasion to be introduced to the honour of Mrs. Lyttelton's acquaintance.

"I am, ever very affectionately,
"Your Lordship's most faithful and
"obedient humble Servant,
"CHATHAM.

"My two eldest boys, who are my companions here, beg to offer their best respects to your Lordship."

This amiable letter was the last ever written by this great man to his old and valued friend; for in truth the "co-æval in years" was not the "senior in infirmities." Lyttelton's bodily infirmities were less apparent but more fatal than those of Lord Chatham. He was enjoying the summer glories of his park, and the spacious comfort of the excellent mansion he had built at Hagley,* when he was seized with an internal disorder of which he died on the 22nd of August.† The circumstances of his last illness and death are thus related by Dr. Johnstone, a physician of Kidderminster, who attended him:—

"On Sunday evening the symptoms of his Lordship's disorder, which for a week past had alarmed us, put on a fatal appearance, and his Lordship believed himself to be a dying man. From this time he suffered by restlessness rather than pain, and though his nerves were apparently much fluttered, his mental faculties seemed stronger when he was thoroughly awake. His Lordship's bilious and hepatic com-

* See p. 662.

† His former friend, Lord Chesterfield, died on the 24th of March in this year.

plaints seemed alone not equal to the expected mournful event, his long want of sleep, whether the consequence of the irritation in the bowels, or, which is more probable, of causes of a different kind, accounts for his loss of strength and for his death very sufficiently. Though his Lordship wished his approaching dissolution not to be lingering, he waited for it with resignation. He said, 'It is a folly, a keeping me in misery, now to attempt to prolong life;' yet he was easily persuaded for the satisfaction of others to do or take anything thought proper for him. On Saturday he had been remarkably better, and we were not without some hopes of his recovery. On Sunday, about eleven in the forenoon, his Lordship sent for me, and said he felt a great melancholy, and wished to have a little conversation with me in order to divert it. He then proceeded to open the fountain of that heart from whence goodness had so long flowed, as from a copious spring. 'Doctor!' he said, 'you shall be my confessor: when I first set out in the world, I had friends who endeavoured to shake my belief in the Christian religion. I saw difficulties which staggered me, but I kept my mind open to conviction. The evidences and doctrines of Christianity, studied with attention, made me a most firm and persuaded believer of the Christian religion. I have made it the rule of my life, and it is the ground of my future hopes. I have erred and sinned, but have repented, and never indulged any vicious habit. In politics and in public life, I have made the public good the rule of my conduct. I never gave counsels which I did not at the time think the best. I have seen that I was sometimes in the wrong, but I did not

1773.

1773. err designedly. I have endeavoured, in private life, to do all the good in my power, and never for a moment could indulge malicious or unjust designs upon any person whatever.' At another time, he said, 'I must leave my soul in the same state it was in before this illness; I find this a very inconvenient time for solicitude about anything.' On the evening when the symptoms of death came on him, he said, 'I shall die; but it will not be your fault.' When Lord and Lady Valentia came to see his Lordship, he gave them this solemn benediction, and said, 'Be good, be virtuous, my Lord. You must come to this.' Thus he continued giving his dying benediction to all around him. On Monday morning a lucid interval gave some small hopes, but those vanished in the evening; and he continued dying, but with very little uneasiness, till Tuesday morning, August 22nd, when between seven and eight o'clock he expired almost without a groan."

On the 29th of August, Dr. Beattie wrote to the Earl of Kinnoull:—

"Mrs. Montagu's state of health is very indifferent: she complains of a feverish disorder, which has haunted her the greatest part of the summer. She is greatly afflicted at the death of our great and good friend, Lord Lyttelton. This event was unexpected; it is little better than a fortnight since I received a very kind letter from him. The loss to his friends and to society is unspeakable, and irreparable; to himself his death is infinite gain; for whether we consider what he felt here, or what he hoped for hereafter, we must

admit that no man ever had more reason to wish for a dismission from the evils of this transitory life. His Lordship died, as he lived, a most illustrious example of every Christian virtue. His last breath was spent in comforting and instructing his friends. 'Be good and virtuous,' said he to Lord Valentia,* 'for know that to this you must come.' The devout and cheerful resignation that occupied his mind during his illness, did not forsake him in the moment of dissolution, but fixed a smile on his lifeless countenance. I sincerely sympathise with your Lordship on the loss of this excellent man. Since I came last to town, I have had the honour and happiness to pass many an hour in his company, and to converse with him on all subjects: and I hope I shall be the better, while I live, for what I have seen and what I have heard of Lord Lyttelton."† 1773.

The day after the foregoing lines were written, Lord Chatham sent the following letter of condolence to Lyttelton's son and successor:—

"Burton Pynsent, August 30th, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,

"The most unexpected, afflicting account of the sad event at Hagley has filled all here with deep concern. Lady Chatham and I truly feel how great a loss you, my dear Sir, in particular, and all the family and friends of our departed truly virtuous friend have sustained, in the decease of Lord Lyttelton. The best consolation his friends can receive is from the reflection

* Who married Miss Lyttelton. See vol. i. p. 335.

† Forbes's Life of Beattie, page 292.

1773. that those virtues which endear his memory, rendered his last moments tranquil and full of comfort. The melancholy news found Mr. and Mrs. Hood here, whose feeling on this unhappy occasion her own letters will express. Your presence in the mournful scene of Hagley must be of the greatest utility to your whole family, however severe the trial. Lady Chatham desires to express by me her wishes, very sincerely united with mine, that your health may receive no impression from the loss you have sustained, and the sad offices in which you are engaged.

"I am, ever, with truest esteem,

"My dear Sir,

"Your faithful and affectionate humble Servant,

"CHATHAM.

"We beg you will be so good as to offer our due compliments."

So ended the mortal career of the subject of these memoirs. Some of his contemporaries had acquired a more brilliant, but none a more desirable reputation; it was built upon a sure foundation—the devotion of intellectual gifts, and attainments to their right end, "the glory of God, and the relief of man's estate."*

His natural abilities were good; and though not of the highest order, were continually strengthened by careful and unremitting cultivation. His ambition of improvement, springing from a deep sense of the obligations which wealth and station impose upon their possessor, was constant to the hour of his death—to press forward in the pursuit of knowledge, not di-

* Bacon's Advancement of Learning, book i.

verted from the chase by early success and extravagant admiration of moderate efforts; "to scorn delights, and live laborious days," had been the occupation of his life. Its fruits were visible in the variety of his accomplishments, and the fullness of his information upon the subjects to which he had devoted himself. During the course of his life he had maintained an oral or epistolary intercourse with the most celebrated persons of his day, both in England and Europe. Making ample allowance for the language of cotemporaneous flattery, it is impossible to ascribe to that alone the very general estimation in which his opinions were held by all who had any pretensions to almost any kind of literature. Nor indeed is the verdict of posterity greatly at variance with the judgment of his own time. Of how few can it be said, that they have left behind them works in History, Poetry, and Divinity, which after the lapse of nearly a century, maintain an honourable place in the literature of their country? And of how very few, that they combined with success in these pursuits, a laborious and distinguished share in the duties of public life? 1773.

The political scenes in which he had been an actor, were many and various. In the stormy debates which preceded the fall of Walpole, and whose subsiding fury overthrew the brief and baseless reign of Carteret—in the calm and wise administration of Pelham,—and in its enfeebled and fretful continuance under Newcastle, his services were meritorious and eminent, and fairly earned for him the distinction of the Peerage. Retiring, like other inferior luminaries during the meridian splendour of Pitt's glorious sway,

1773. he reappeared, and shone with a calm, steady, and useful light, during those perplexed events, and political intrigues, which obscure and disgrace the earlier part of the reign of George the Third. Throughout this period, his opinions seem to have been held in high esteem. He spoke upon several subjects of great public interest, and always with considerable effect; an homage paid partly, perhaps, to the unimpeachable reputation of the speaker, as well as to the merits of the speech; but the deliberate applause of so great a master of the art as Lord Chatham, and of so acute and invidious a critic as Horace Walpole, (to say nothing of other authorities,) would never have been bestowed upon one who had not great claims to oratorical fame.

Of his private character there can be but one opinion. Rejecting the degenerate standard of his age, he illustrated, in his practice, those nobler views, which he derived from the example of his ancestors, of the requisite education and attainments of an English gentleman. Sincerely and earnestly religious, when to be so was unfashionable, a devoted husband, an affectionate but unhappy father, never deserting his friend, ever opening his hand to distress in every form, he closed a wise and good life by an edifying death. He bequeathed to his posterity both the title which his public services had justly won, and the more valuable distinction which public opinion had prefixed to it, as the meed of his private character; and he is still remembered, with just admiration and respect, as "George, the good Lord Lyttelton."

APPENDIX.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE.
1.	Various ways in which the name of Lyttelton is spelt in "Littleton's Tenures"	795
2.	Pope's Letter	796
3.	Fragment of a Speech on Triennial Parliaments . .	799
4.	Speech on paying £40,000 to the Duke of Aremberg	804
5.	Speech to inquire into the Conduct of the Earl of Orford	812

APPENDIX.

I.

VARIOUS ways in which the name of Lyttelton is spelt in the oldest editions of "LITTLETON'S TENURES."

The name of the Author does not appear in either of these two editions.	Printed about 1480, by Letton and Machlinia.
	. . . . 1481, by Machlinia.
LETELTUN, on Title page LYTYLTON, on Colophon	. . year 1516, by Pynson.
LYTYLTON . LITILTON .	. . . . 1528, Do.
LYTTELTON . LYTTYLTON .	. . about 1550, by Redman.
LITTELTON .	. . . . year 1567.
LITTLETON .	. . . . . 1577.

Drawn up by G. Appleyard, Esq., Secretary to Earl Spencer, from the old Editions of the Tenures at Spencer-House.

II.

The following letter from Pope was accidentally omitted in the first volume. The date is uncertain, but it was probably about 1741, and the last letter which Lyttelton received from him. See pp. 185 and 232 of the first volume.

"Dear Sir,

"Of all the kind opinions you entertain of me, there is one which I deserve, the opinion that I am sincerely yours; and that I love virtue for I love you and such as you: such are listed under her banners, they fight for her; Poets are but like Heralds, they can only proclaim her, and the best you can make of me, is that I am her poor Trumpeter.

"The Prince's visit to Lord Bathurst, was too quick for a letter which I intended him on that occasion. It was a letter of instructions, in what manner a great man should treat a Prince when fortune gives him the leading of one; especially if the Prince happens to be a little short-sighted: what things one should make him see and *how far?* what kind of notions to give him, of the extent, nature, and situation of the *land* about him?—above all, the two great arts so successfully practis'd by my lord on other people, and so much more useful to be practis'd on a Prince; that making him imagine what is highway or common field to all his subjects, to be his own walks and royalties, and that of imposing upon him what was the work of our own hands but yesterday, for the venerable structure of our ancestours.

"But I have something at present to tell you which is more material: the result of the conference with Sir W. W. and the disposition in which it left him.

"He seem'd strongly touched with a sense of the indignity, the folly, and the danger that attend the present state and

conduct of the Opposition. He feels (though a little unwilling to own it), that these are ow'd to a neglect of harkening five or six years ago to the warning a friend then gave him: who apprehended then what is now evident: viz. that the Opposition would be drawn off the original principle on which it was founded by two persons: one of whom never meant, and the other meant only by fits and starts the public good; and to that end a change of measures as well as of men: that these two persons would by their own overbearing and the indolence of others, get a sort of prescriptive right to a negative, in all proceedings: and that the Opposition by consequence would become nothing more than a bubble-scheme, wherein multitudes which intended the publick service, would be employed to no other purpose than to serve private ambition.

"He is fully persuaded that the part taken by his R. H. opens an opportunity of rectifying these errors, by retrieving and preventing these mischiefs: but thinks his R. H. should exert his whole influence, first to prepare and then to back the new measure, who, the moment it takes place, will be the head of the party, and those two persons cease so far to be that instant.

"That it is proper to continue to live with them however, in all the same terms of friendly intercourse, and with the ame appearance of intimacy: may so strengthen their plea to him, by shewing how extremely they have been trusted, deferred to, and comply'd with.

"That all persons, (many of which there certainly are), as may be determined to join in the pursuit of the *original measures* of the Opposition, should be so determin'd by all sorts of private application, whether (Whigs or Torys), but by no means apply'd to in the *collective body*, or too generally, but in separate conversations and arguments.

"That upon every important occasion, the things resolv'd upon should be pushed by the persons in this secret, how much

soever the others may hang off: which will reduce them to the dilemma, of joyning with the Court, or of following their friends with no good grace.

"Sir W. declared he had no difficulty of proceeding in this manner, nay thought on the contrary, that if Sir Tho. saw himself and any two or three old Members more, with the phalanx of young Members, led on such an opposition in a debate, they would be followed by *numbers even at first*, that these numbers would increase *every day*, that a new opposition would be thus created, or rather the old one reviv'd, and in a word, that this must be done, or nothing can be done by any man of sense or virtue.

"This you may depend is the present disposition of Sir W. in which you and Lord C. may certainly confirm him, if you throw oil not water, on it. That such a spirit should be raised in him, was the hint given me by the person in whose room you and I parted last. I see no harm if you had told him *who* has done thus much? but surely he must strongly be told *who* only can corroborate and render practicable the effects of it.

"Pray assure your Master of my duty and service: they tell me he has every body's love already. I wish him popular but not familiar, and the glory of being beloved, not the vanity of endeavouring it too much. I wish him at the head of the only good party in the kingdome, that of honest men: I wish him head of no other party. I think it a nobler situation, to be at the head of the best men of a kingdom, than at the head of any kingdom upon earth. For one is only a proof of his birth, the other of his merit. And God knows *meerly* to be popular, that is, to be at the head of a mob, (for partyes are but higher and more interested mobs), is as much below a Prince, as keeping low company is below a gentleman, though the first of the Club. And our people of England admire a King but as a clown does a squire. They are enough

to spoil a gude King, as the Scotsman said of them when they followed James the First. (This quotation Lord Bathurst sent me in a letter tother day, and it is a good one). Adieu, make my services to Lord Chesterfield, and take them yourself from

"Your sincere Servant,

"A. Pope."

III.

The following fragment of a speech relates chiefly to the question of Triennial Parliaments. Having originally intended to confine these memoirs within the compass of a single volume, I did not print this fragment as I should otherwise have done in the first volume. See p. 55 of vol. 1. The date of the speech is uncertain.

"First with regard to Triennial Parliaments. I shall readily own, that if there was reason to think that by this alteration Parliaments would be more purely chosen, or consist of members more independent, the change ought to be made, notwithstanding any inconvenience that may result from it in other respects. I shall therefore begin by considering the question in this light alone. Can any gentleman think that a Court would be less desirous to obtain a majority in a Parliament chosen for three years than in one chosen for seven; or that if they would use corruption for procuring it in the last, they would not employ the same means to procure it in the first? No doubt they would; because a majority chosen against them in a Triennial Parliament would be as effectual to overturn an administration as in a Septennial one, and therefore self-preservation would demand this security as much in one case as in the other. What then, would be the con-

sequence? Why, country gentlemen must be obliged to undergo the expence of contesting for their elections against the Court twice in seven years instead of once. Could their fortunes endure such a reiterated and redoubled charge? No, they must sink under the weight of it, or give up the contest: and what then will become of the freedom of Parliaments? But it may be said, that it will not be worth the while of a Court to bribe so high for the chusing a Parliament to serve only three years as for one to serve seven. Let us try the truth of that argument in another instance. Does not the Government at this very time pay as much levy money to those who list in the present exigence but for three years, or even for one, as they did before to those who listed for life? This may seem to offend the rule of proportion, but it is done because the Government stands in need of their service, and must have it at any rate. May there not be a necessity of another kind, but equally strong, which may induce a bad Administration, and against a bad one only we are providing, to be as profuse of their levy money for the engaging of members into their service in a Triennial Parliament as in a Septennial one? And will they not in this case, as we see it is done in the other, measure the degree of expence, not by the length or duration of the engagement, but by the degree of their own danger and present necessity?

"If then it does not appear that this alteration will lessen the expense of elections to Parliament, unless by a total acquiescence and yielding them up to the will of the Court, how many other inconveniences are sure to attend it I need not explain; they must be sensible to every gentleman's mind. I will touch only on one, which I think of the greatest importance. It is the first article of my political creed that this country cannot be delivered from the various evils it now labours under, at home and abroad, but by a cordial union of all honest men in the public service, without distinction of parties. It is certainly so. All the virtue and wisdom that is

now in the nation, united together and acting conjointly to the same end, is not too much—I pray God it may be sufficient—to save the nation. Now, Sir, how much that necessary union may be obstructed by the unavoidable heats and animosities that attend on general elections to Parliament, I leave those to judge that are most conversant in scenes of that nature, and know how much harder it is to establish anything like coalition upon those occasions than anywhere else. As to annual Parliaments, that would be a still more violent change, and God knows what inconveniences it might produce. I will mention but one, to show that instead of procuring more freedom to Parliaments, it might very possibly destroy all freedom there. What if a Court should, by its influence over returning officers, obtain a majority in an Annual Parliament by false returns? Before a tenth part of those returns could be tried, there would be an end of the Parliament, and in the mean while all the business of the Court would be done by the majority so obtained. But if this could be obviated, numberless other difficulties would certainly occur to make such an alteration either wholly impracticable or exceedingly dangerous. In answer to this we are told, that Annual Parliaments were a part of our old Constitution. I allow that they were, during some periods, though it was not the general course; but does it follow from thence that we ought to return to them now? No, by no means. I could name many parts of our old Constitution, that it would neither be wise nor safe for us to revert to again in the present state of our Government—many that not only the character of the people of England, but the genius itself of our present Constitution would not be able to bear. We have a free Government as much as our ancestors, probably more, but though it is founded upon the same principles, we have it in many respects under a different form, and the form being changed, so must the methods by which it must be preserved. Indeed the wisest states have adhered to the

principles, but varied the laws by which they were governed, according to those variations which time introduced into their circumstances, bending the rules of their policy to the disposition and order and harmony of things; not vainly and obstinately trying to bend the form of their state to those ancient rules which were established under a different form, and suited to that alone. For want of considering this, there is a modern republic which has brought itself almost to the brink of destruction by adhering tenaciously to one original part of its Constitution, when other circumstances are changed, I mean the United Provinces. In the original frame of their government every town, in every province, has a negative voice, and nothing of moment can be concluded without the unanimous consent of the whole. At first this was not attended with any great inconvenience, because their people were uncorrupted, because they were animated with a strong spirit of liberty, which made them unanimous in all great affairs, and because they had then the power of a Stadtholder to awe, and keep down all factions, and to cement and knitt together undistinct aristocracies, of which their state is composed. But what happens now? Corruption has got among them—flagrant corruption; the spirit of liberty is mixed with a spirit of faction; and there is no longer a Stadtholder to prevent or overrule their divisions; so that the best, the most salutary, the most necessary measures are often obstructed by the opposition of one single town, perhaps the least in the province: an opposition fomented, and sometimes bought, by their worst enemies. Sir, I am assured, that a late very great man in that commonwealth bequeathed it on his death bed, as his last advice to his country, either to restore the office of Stadtholder, or take away the negative voice of the small towns. Because the one without the other was hurtful, and might be pernicious. Now, Sir, to apply this directly to the question before us. The statute of Edward the 3rd, which declares that a Parliament ought to be holden once every year, or oftener if necessary, if

you understand it as I do, not only of Annual Sessions, but Annual Elections, there being no prorogation known till the 21st of Henry the VIIIth, that law, I say, might consist very well with the whole state of our Government then, but can we infer from thence that it would do so now? Are our electors —are the people of England as uncorrupted now as they were in those days, or is there now in the Crown the same strength of prerogative to balance the factions and temper the ferment which such a law might introduce under the present corruptions? No, Sir, there is not; and I hope there will never again be such a weight of power in the Crown as there was in those days. But, on the other hand, would the reviving this law revive the ancient manners again—the same love of order, the same respect to the laws, the same reverence of Government, the same sense of religion as this country was blest with in the reign of Edward the 3rd? or would it give us the spirit, the honesty, the noble simplicity of our old Saxon ancestors, in their annual Witenagemotes?—supposing those assemblies to be annual, which I very much doubt. If it would, Sir, it would be a blessed alteration indeed. But, alas! the causes of our corruptions are much too various, and extended too far, to lie in the reach of any one remedy; nor do I think this would help it in any degree; it would rather, I fear, make it worse. I could pursue this argument a great deal further. I could show how many great reformations ought to be made, which yet it would be impracticable to make at present, before this alteration could have a chance of producing any one good; whereas the evils it would produce are certain and terrible, no less, indeed, than anarchy itself, till the ferment subsided into absolute power. But I am afraid of tiring the house, and therefore I rest it upon the arguments I have already used."

IV.

This Speech was also omitted, for the same reason as the fragment on Triennial Parliaments in the First volume, see p. 230, vol. i.

"On a motion to censure the issuing and paying £40,000 to the Duke of Aremberg, in the year 1742.

"Mr. Speaker,

"I took the liberty some time ago to make you a motion concerning the payment of Forty Thousand pounds, to the Duke of Aremberg, for putting the Austrian troops in motion in the year '42, which I thought at that time, upon the face of the article, as it then stood in the account brought into this house, to be a dangerous misapplication of public money, and destructive to the rights of Parliament.

"The opinion, Sir, of this House was not then taken upon that point; it was put off by a previous question, the debate was adjourned, and several papers relative to it have since been brought in, and you have now heard them read as the authorities upon which this money was paid: Sir, from those papers themselves, from those very authorities, I am more strongly confirmed in my former opinion, that it was done without law, against law, not only against one single law, but against the whole spirit and genius of this Constitution.

But before I proceed to observe any further upon this evidence, I beg leave to remind you, that all the money granted by Parliament, for the year '42, had been tied down by the most strict appropriation; and that besides a very great army, kept up for her service abroad; besides a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, assisting her there, no less a sum than £500,000 had been given that year to the Queen of Hungary, £300,000 of which was for her own immediate use, and the

rest for her ally, the King of Sardinia: so that this house had judged how far it was proper for this nation to go, as an auxiliary power, in the support of an ally, and judged, Sir, allow me to say, not with the sparing frugality of an old English Parliament, but with such a profuse liberality, as this country will feel for years to come. Yet notwithstanding that judgment of Parliament, notwithstanding the fetters laid on the Ministry, as strong as the power of Parliament could possibly lay, they did think fit by their own transcendant authority, to superadd the gift of Forty Thousand pounds more, out of their own grace, and bounty, at the expence of the people of England!

"Sir, it is impossible not to take notice upon the hearing these papers read, how very imperfect, how very obscure, how very lame they seem to be as to the methods, and forms, by which this money was paid. It is said in Lord Stair's letter to my Lord Carteret of November 24th, that but eighteen thousand five hundred pounds had then been paid of the forty thousand given by the King; and yet a receipt had been signed the 17th of October, by the Duke of Aremberg and M. de Nobilly for £20,000, paid by the deputy paymaster upon a warrant drawn by Lord Stair. What can be the meaning of this contradiction? It is likewise declared in His Majesty's warrant for allowing that article in the accounts of the Paymaster General, that forty thousand pounds had been paid in two equal payments, of twenty thousand pounds each, by his deputy at Amsterdam, for putting the Austrian troops in motion, out of money remitted by him for that purpose, pursuant to the orders, and warrants of the Earl of Stair; and yet it does not appear how the Paymaster General had been empowered to comply with those warrants, or that he had in his hands any money at all, for the use of the Queen of Hungary. These are the strange inconsistencies and irregularities which, from the papers now on your table, appear in this transaction, irregularities unheard of before; but whatever

excuse may be given for them—if all the forms of office had been observed with the utmost exactness in the issuing this money, if the methods of doing it had been ever so regular, the act itself, would still be illegal; because the Crown can give no authority which is not in itself, and the disposal of public money, against the express appropriation of Parliament, is not in the Crown. It would be just as agreeable to our Constitution for you, Sir, to issue out warrants in the name of this house, directing the motions of His Majesty's army in Flanders, as for any officers of the Crown, civil, or military, to issue out warrants, or for the King himself to give directions for the disposing of money granted by Parliament, to other uses than those for which it was granted. If these separate powers break in upon one another, there is an end of the form of our Government, and not the form alone, but the whole substance, and vital spirit of it is lost. This is so clear a point, that I should think it misspending your time to dwell on it longer; it only remains to be considered, what could induce an Administration, that had any reverence for the laws of their country, any respect for the rights of Parliament, or any awe of its power, to take such an act as this upon themselves! What were the mighty services that were performed in the year '42, or so much as attempted to be performed, the prodigious importance of which was so irresistible to the minds of our Ministers, as to bear down before it all the fences and bulwarks of this Constitution?

"Sir,—We are told in Lord Stair's letter of July the 13th, that the Duke of Aremberg had represented to him, that the Queen of Hungary was in so great distress for want of money, he was afraid she might very soon not be in a condition to make the weekly payments to her troops, and therefore his Lordship proposes, that the King should assist her Hungarian Majesty as he should think proper, either in the shape of an additional subsidy, or as a part of the subsidies to be granted another year. It does not appear that to this any answer at all was made by our Court, or that the demand was

ever renewed; so that we are to conclude, the Queen of Hungary did pay her troops without any further assistance from us; that want was supplied some other way, and has nothing to do with the question before us. About six weeks after, another demand was made upon a very different foot: it was then for the forming a body of Hussars, for the mounting of cannon, and for other uses not specified there. This is, with some variations, pursued and explained by my Lord Stair, in a letter dated September 1st, which has a memorial inclosed, containing particulars of the expences that would be necessary, for enabling the Queen of Hungary's forces to act in concert with ours, according to the project concerted at the Hague, and approved by his Majesty, all which particulars amounted together upon a very extraordinary computation in most of the articles, to the round sum of Forty Thousand pounds. Sir, what this project was, we are entirely left in the dark: whether it was a practicable scheme, whether in a political view it bore the appearance of being usefull, or hurtfull to England, whether it might not tend to draw us in to make ourselves principals in a war with France without the Dutch, and before we had been attacked by that crown, what was the nature, or object of it, is wholly concealed from us; but this we know, that the money was paid upon that account. Even the last payment made so very late as the 2nd of January, was not for any new service to be performed, but as an arrear due upon what had been granted for the operations projected the autumn before,* though the project itself had been quite dropt for several months, and had never proceeded to any one operation at all. It is also very remarkable, that although this money is said to be indispensably necessary for enabling the Austrian forces to act, no part of it was paid till the 17th of October, when the season for action was in great measure already past, so that, supposing the project to be a good one, it must have been spoilt by this delay, and when it was spoilt, then the money was paid.

* See Letter, 24th November.

" Sir, I have now gone through the whole matter contained in the very surprising defence of this very surprising transaction. We only can judge upon what we know; and, as far as appears to us, nothing was done in the Netherlands, nothing attempted, in the year '42, which could have justified the application of publick money to any purposes there, even under the sanction of a vote of credit: I say, Sir, it would have been misapplying the credit given by Parliament, had any been given, to have paid Forty Thousand pounds of English money, over and above our other great subsidies, for the sake of the motions made by the Austrian troops in that part of the world, through the whole course of the year '42 And yet—Good God! those motions, of which scarce any footstep is to be found, they are to justify paying this money not only without the authority, but against the express direction of Parliament!

" Sir, I have read in history of a great General, I think it was Epaminondas, who having ventured to protract his command three or four months beyond the time prescribed by the laws, and being to answer for that offence, confest himself guilty, and ready to suffer the penalty he had incurred, which by their Constitution was capital, but only desired, that the great things he had done for his country in those four months might be inscribed upon his tomb. This was the noblest defence that could be made of an illegal act, and his country did well in forgiving him upon the strength of it, because the things he had done were great indeed. But I will venture to say, that if the honourable persons concerned in this illegal proceeding, have no better inscription to putt upon their monuments than the exploits of the Austrians in the year '42, they will not be entitled to any place in Westminster Abbey, however they may to one in Westminster Hall.

" Sir, had the service for which this money was paid, been ever so clearly advantageous to England, yet the manner of doing it in direct opposition to the law of the land, the danger

of setting a precedent, even upon fair and plausible motives, which might be hereafter abused to the utter destruction of our most sacred constitutional rights, would have been always enough to make a good and a wise Minister tremble: but to let the name of a project, a mere abortion, which never was ripened into any effect, to let this overthrow the most essential forms of our government, to let it dispense with the most binding laws, to let it shake the foundations upon which the whole power of Parliament stands, is the most dangerous act of ministerial presumption,—is the most wanton usurpation of power that can be conceived; take it in all its circumstances, consider the time, the manner, the motives, the consequences, the long concealment of it from the knowledge of Parliament; a whole Session past over without one word being said of it, a Bill of Extraordinaries brought into this House, and no sort of notice taken of it there, putt all this together, I will be bold to affirm it is the most daring attack upon Parliament that ever any Ministry has ventured to make, which was resolved to carry prerogative to the highest excess, and to depress this House into the lowest degree of subjection.

"Sir, what is the reason that Votes of Credit have always been thought such dangerous things by all lovers of liberty?—the reason is this, because they give too great a facility of squandering away the publick money upon improper, or trifling demands; whereas when Ministers act without such an authority to screen their profusion, they act at their own peril, and nothing less than the most evident and pressing necessity, ought to be ever admitted as a defence for any issues of public money so illegally made: but if they may be defended by the bare requisition of an ally, or of a general, if it is justification enough to say upon such an occasion, 'the money was given because it was askt, and we suppose it was askt because it was necessary,'—there will then be no need of Votes of Credit for the sheltering of Ministers; this will be giving them a greater facility to misapply public money, than even the largest and

most unlimited Vote of Credit cou'd possibly give; it is a dispensing power lodged in their hands, which they will use at discretion; whenever we ask an account of any sum disposed of in this new manner, the same ready answer will always occur, and if we approve it now, there can be no doubt but that it will always meet with the same approbation.

"Sir, I will not say that the honourable persons who have concurred in this extraordinary act, might not have done it with good intentions as to his Majesty's service abroad: but good intentions are no defence of illegal proceedings in high matters of Government. It is the condition of slaves to depend upon the intentions of those who govern them: we have a better security than good intentions, we have good laws, we have the forms of a free Government, which are so many barrs against the danger of mal-administration; but if we suffer them to be broke, whenever our Ministers think proper to plead their good intentions, we give up the advantages of our Constitution, we no longer enjoy the distinguishing privileges of a free people.

"Sir, what the force would be of a real, apparent, important necessity to vindicate this or any other extraordinary act, I shall not dispute: all the restraints of a free Government, how stubborn soever, must bend to that, because if they did not bend, they would break; but are they therefore to bend to every idle breath of a Minister, to every light demand made under that name. No—God forbid!—if once you admitt of such a plea, if once you trifle with the pretence of necessity, you trifle with your destruction.

"Sir, when necessity itself does come upon us, there is no help, we must compound with it as well as we can; but that is an enemy which will seldom attack us; our much more constant danger will be from the name of necessity, it is that name we ought to dread, it is that against which we shou'd be always on our guard; for from the fatal abuse of that name, almost all the Governments, ancient or modern, that had any resem-

blance to ours, have been overturned. I cou'd prove this from Rome, I cou'd prove it from France, I cou'd prove it from Burgundy, and from Castile; I heartily wish that posterity may not be able to prove it from England too. The Constitution, Sir, of this country has, I am afraid, been long undermined; but a more open war is made on it now: to the secret attempts, to the dark work of corruption, is added the violence of an encroaching prerogative; the most dangerous engine of absolute power, a pretended necessity is beginning to play upon our liberties; the breach is already made; but, thank God, we are yet in a capacity of defending that breach, of dismounting that engine, if we have spirit enough to do our duty. At least, Sir, I shall have the comfort of having done mine, by calling upon you to the support of your rights, and trying to wake that spirit of Parliament, which has slumber'd too long under the insults offer'd to your authority. It is with this view, it is with this hope, that I repeat to you now the motion I made you some time agoe—a motion supported and strengthened by that very evidence, which has been brought to justify the matter complained of: I therefore humbly move, that the issuing and paying to the Duke of Aremberg the sum of Forty Thousand pounds, to putt the Austrian troops in motion, anno 1742, was a dangerous misapplication of public money, and destructive to the rights of Parliament."

V.

The following speech was delivered, according to the date, early in 1744, and it appears to have been on a motion brought forward by Lyttelton himself. He spoke on similar motions of Pulteney and Lord Limerick in March, 1742, but I have not been able to find any trace of the debate in which this speech was made. Nor was I aware of its existence till quite lately; for it had been accidentally omitted in the Hagley MSS. originally laid before me, and was sent to me after the first volume was printed It is like the other speeches, written throughout in Lyttelton's handwriting—see vol. i. p. 212.

"Speech for renewing the inquiry into the conduct of the Earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his administration. Anno: D. 1743-4.

"Mr. Speaker,

"I rise up to make you a motion, the importance of which I take to be such, that it deserves your attention in preference to all other business, as much as the satisfaction of the whole people of England, the reputation and honour of Parliament, the support of national justice, and the preservation of this Constitution are above all other considerations.

"Sir, so far as this motion, which I am going to make, affects the person of that Noble Lord who is concern'd in it, I do it with pain, and with reluctance; but as I am convinc'd it is essentially necessary to all those great ends I have mentioned, I must now, and I hope I always shall, as long as I sitt in this House, acquitt myself of the duty I owe to my country, preferably to all other regards whatsoever. And allow me to say, that nothing less than the most pressing sense of that duty, cou'd have imposed that task upon me which I am now about to perform: for though justice requires it, though the nation demands it, yet the pursuing a particular

man has something in it painfull to one's own mind; and which may appear to others in a disagreeable light: but I trust to my future conduct to convince the world that no personal motives, no private enmity, no malignity of temper inspire me upon this occasion, but singly that zeal for the publick, by which our actions here must be directed, or the trust reposed in us betray'd.

"Sir, this House thought proper, last Session, out of a due regard to the unanimous sense of the nation, to begin an enquiry into the conduct of a great Minister, the Earl of Orford, during the ten last years of his administration. That enquiry, Sir, was then grounded upon no other foundation, than the public and flagrant notoriety of the bad situation of our affairs, and the suspicions arising from thence of great mismanagements at home and abroad; but so strong did those general reasons appear, so well were they supported by every gentleman who had opposed the late Administration, and so much regard was paid at that time to their weight and authority, that the House resolved to enquire; and was backt in that resolution by a more universal assent of mankind without doors, than I ever remember to have attended any proceeding of Parliament.

"In order to carry on this enquiry with more effect, and greater dispatch, a secret Committee was then appointed, to which were delegated those Parliamentary powers, that are essentially necessary to the investigation of publick offences, especially such as are of the most secret and dangerous nature. But it quickly appeared by repeated and sensible proof, that those powers cou'd not be exercis'd in so effectual a manner as the publick service required, without the assistance of the whole Legislature. That assistance, therefore, was askt by this House, but it was denied to us, I will not presume to guess for what reasons. Unwilling evidences (and most were unwilling ones who were brought before the Committee), were left in possession of a perpetual plea for hiding all that they

had no mind to tell, under a real, or a pretended apprehension of the risk they might run in accusing themselves; and out of the few that might have been willing ones, several, no doubt, were deterred from it by the same difficulty. Thus the House was reduced to the dilemma, either of breaking through natural justice, in forcing men to endanger themselves by their own evidence; or of suffering truths to be concealed from them of the highest importance to the whole state, at the discretion of those whom they had a right to interrogate, and whose silence wou'd have been criminal, and, therefore, punishable, had that objection of danger been taken away. What a check this was to the enquiry, how near a total extinction of it I need not say; the thing speaks itself: but I wish I cou'd say that only this check had been given to it! I wish I cou'd say that even a higher authority than that which denied the Bill of Indemnity had not been used to stop the enquiry in one of its most material parts! A day may come when it will be proper to say a great deal more upon this article, but I restrain myself now, and only mention it to shew, with how many obstacles the enquiry was clog'd at that time. Yet under all these discouragements, under this load of difficulty, did the Committee form a Report, which lies now upon your table, containing matters of as alarming a nature as ever excited the attention and dread of a free people: an application, Sir, of the power, the influence, the offices of government to the most fatal purpose of invading and tainting the freedom of your elections; a profusion of publick money almost incredible; methods of issuing and receiving that money no less unprecedented, and a suspicion of the use that was made of it so glaringly strong, leading directly to facts so dangerous, so destructive to liberty, and to the fundamental rights of this nation, that it is impossible for any man not hardened to slavery, to consider the consequences of it without horror, I cou'd almost say without despair of the Commonwealth! Such, Sir, was this Report, struck out of that darkness, which corruption and fraud had

spread over the objects of your enquiry, without any of those lights and assistances, which willing offices and favouring courts have usually given to other enquiries of the same nature, carried on against Ministers, who were really and truly removed out of the sanctuary of power; all those helps were wanting; and surely, it does most strongly appear how great occasion there was for an enquiry, when so much cou'd be produced out of one obstructed and crampt by so many difficulties. Nor is it a little honour to those worthy gentlemen who were the members of the secret Committee, that their application, conduct, and knowledge of business, cou'd supply so many wants, and advance so far through such embarrassing and unusual impediments.

"Sir, this Report being made, the Committee proceeded to an examination of a different kind, but of equal importance, in which the honour and trade of the nation were as deeply concerned, as its liberty was in the other; I mean the papers relating to the Convention: an enquiry free from some of those difficulties that had obstructed the other, and therefore likely to have been more effectual: an enquiry necessary to retrieve the reputation of a magnanimous people, brought under the reproach of pusillanimity by those transactions; an enquiry, which not England alone, but all Europe expected of this present Parliament, as the best pledge we cou'd give to the world of our resolution to come into no peace with Spain, inconsistent with the rights of the nation, and the honour and dignity of the English name. But in the midst of this examination, while the expectations of all men were rais'd, and fix'd on the event of it, the royall prerogative was interposed, the King was advised to putt an end to the existence of the secret Committee by proroguing the Parliament.

Need I say any more? Do the facts I have related want any comment? Does not every gentleman already anticipate the motion I am going to make? It was objected last year, that we wanted foundations for an enquiry: Will any man

living tell us so now? If we have not before us now enough to demand a Parliamentary inquest, then, Sir, I am sure that part of our duty is a mere empty name without any meaning, and can never be exercis'd by us at all. What excuse cou'd we make to the people of England for stopping here? In my poor apprehension, not to pursue an enquiry, that has opened to us such matters as these, wou'd be as strange a neglect, as if a man who had found a train of gunpowder laid under his house, should go to sleep in quiet security, instead of examining how far it reached, what mischief and ruin it might occasion, or by what means the guilty person who laid it might be discover'd, and brought to justice. Nay, Sir, the case is as much stronger here, as the safety of a whole nation is a greater object than that of a private family.

"I must therefore suppose that it will be very unnecessary to take up more of your time upon this subject, than just to make it my humble motion—

"That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford, during the ten last years of his being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury."

THE END.

NORMAN AND SKEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

BINDING SLIP MAY 2 5 1955

DA
501
L8P45

Phillimore, (Sir) Robert
Joseph, bart. (comp.)
Memoirs and correspondenc
of George, Lord Lyttelton

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY